



**STOCKHOLM INTERNATIONAL  
PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE**

## **2015 Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT):**

**UN Headquarters: 27 April – 22 May 2015**

### **New York: 27 April 2014**

The 2015 NPT Review Conference opened at UN headquarters on 27 April and will end on 22 May 2015.

The President of the Conference is Ambassador Taous Feroukhi of Algeria. She will be assisted in her work by 34 Vice Presidents. The main work of the conference will be conducted in main committees as follows: Main Committee I (nuclear disarmament) chaired by Ambassador Enrique Román-Morey of Peru; Main Committee II (nuclear safeguards, regional issues including the Middle East) chaired by Ambassador Cristian Istrate of Romania; and Main Committee III (peaceful uses of nuclear energy, strengthened review process) chaired by Ambassador David Stuart of Australia.

SIPRI is represented at the 2015 NPT Review Conference by Tariq Rauf, Director of the Disarmament, Arms Control and Non-Proliferation Programme, who is assisting Ambassador Enrique Román-Morey, Chairman of Main Committee I (nuclear disarmament) as Senior Advisor. Tariq Rauf was Alternate Head of the IAEA NPT Delegation from 2002 to 2010, and a member of Canada's NPT Delegation from 1987 to 2000.

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The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)<sup>1</sup>, which opened for signature in 1968 and entered into force in 1970, is widely accepted as the world's most successful and the most widely adhered to multilaterally negotiated international arms control agreement. All States in the world, except for India, North Korea, Israel, Pakistan and South Sudan are parties to the NPT – the latest party is the State of Palestine. This treaty is the cornerstone of the post-World War II nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation regime, and facilitates cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Since its entry into force in 1970, review conferences have been held every five years to assess the implementation of the Treaty. Preparatory Committee sessions are held in each of three years preceding the quinquennial review conference.

The NPT was extended in force indefinitely 1995<sup>2</sup> through an interrelated package of three decisions and a resolution on the Middle East<sup>3</sup> (nuclear-weapon-free zone). In 2000, the review conference agreed on a number of practical steps to achieve nuclear disarmament and to strengthen non-proliferation. At the 2010 review conference, 64 actions<sup>4</sup> were adopted to strengthen the implementation of the NPT across its three pillars: nuclear non-proliferation; nuclear disarmament; and peaceful uses of nuclear energy; as well as on the establishment of NWFZ in the Middle East.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.un.org/disarmament/WMD/Nuclear/NPT2015/PrepCom2014/background.shtml>.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.un.org/disarmament/WMD/Nuclear/1995-NPT/1995NPT.shtml>.

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.un.org/disarmament/WMD/Nuclear/1995-NPT/1995NPT.shtml>.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.un.org/en/conf/npt/2010/>.

## **Report: Day One (27 April 2015)**

The 2015 NPT Review Conference was opened shortly after 10:30 am in the UN General Assembly Hall by the **Acting President, Ambassador Enrique Román-Morey** of Peru, who introduced the Final Report of the Preparatory Committee (*NPT/CONF.2015/1*) that was adopted on 9 May 2014. The Committee held three sessions during the period April 2012 to May 2014. 148 States parties to the Treaty participated in the work of one or more of the sessions of the Preparatory Committee. States not party to the Treaty, specialized agencies and international and regional intergovernmental organizations, as well as representatives of academia and non-governmental organizations, have attended meetings of the Preparatory Committee in accordance with the modalities of attendance agreed by the Committee. At each session of the Preparatory Committee, a meeting was specifically allocated to representatives of non-governmental organizations to address delegations.

The Acting President stated that the Preparatory Committee was able to agree and make a recommendation on all main issues related to the organization of the Conference, in particular the date and venue of the Conference, the draft rules of procedure and the financial arrangements, the provisional agenda, the allocation of items to the Main Committees as well as background documentation. The recommendations on these issues are reflected in the Final Report of the Preparatory Committee. The Committee decided to defer consideration on a final document, or documents, to the Review Conference.

The Acting President then noted that as agreed at the third session of the Preparatory Committee held in 2014, upon receipt of the nomination from the Chair of the Group of Non-Aligned States parties to the Treaty, he had communicated the candidacy of Her Excellency Ambassador Taous Feroukhi of Algeria to all States

parties on 17 November 2014 and her candidacy was unanimously endorsed for the presidency of the 2015 NPT Review Conference. Accordingly, he therefore formally recommended that Conference elect Her Excellency Ambassador Taous Feroukhi by acclamation as President of the 2015 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

**The Conference acclaimed Ambassador Feroukhi as President,** whereupon she took up the presidency. Next should have come the Statement by the President of the Conference, but in a small apparent misstep that went completely unnoticed by the delegates, the President invited the representative of the UN Secretary-General to deliver his statement. Israel requested to attend the conference as a State non-party Observer.

Statements were made in the Morning Session by: United Nations – (Deputy Secretary General Jan Eliasson, on behalf of) Secretary General Ban Ki-moon; Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, H.E. Mr. Yukiya Amano; Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) - (Iran, on behalf of) H.E. Dr. Javad Zarif, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Slovakia, H.E. Mr. Miroslav Lajčák, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign and European Affairs; Jordan, H.E. Mr. Nasser Judeh, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of foreign Affairs and Expatriate Affairs; Sweden, H.E. Ms. Margot Wallström, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Switzerland, H.E. Mr. Didier Burkhalter, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mexico, H.E. Mr. Juan Manuel Gomez Robledo, Vice Minister for Multilateral Affairs and Human Rights of Mexico; Spain, H.E. Mr. Ignacio Ybañez, Secretary of State by Foreign Affairs of Spain; Algeria, H.E. Mr. Ramtane Lamamra, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative (NPDI) - (Netherlands, on behalf of), H.E. Mr. Bert Koenders, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Netherlands, H.E. Mr. Bert Koenders, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

In the Afternoon Session, statements were made by: Japan, H.E. Mr. Fumio Kishida, Minister for Foreign Affairs; United States of America, H.E. Mr. John Kerry, Secretary of State; Ireland, H.E. Mr. Charles Flanagan, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade; Egypt, H.E. Mr. Sameh Shoukry, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Marshall Islands, H.E. Mr. Tony A. deBrum, Minister for Foreign Affairs; China, H.E. Mr. Li Baodong, Vice Foreign Minister; United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, H.E. Baroness Joyce Anne Anelay, Minister of State of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office; Italy, H.E. Mr. Benedetto Della Vedova, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation; States parties to the Treaty on a Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone in Central Asia - (Kyrgyzstan, on behalf of), H.E. Mr. Askar Beshimov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs; Republic of Korea, H.E. Mr. Shin Dong-ik, Deputy Minister for Multilateral and Global Affairs; Kazakhstan, H.E. Mr. Yerzhan Ashikbayev, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs; Russian Federation, H.E. Mr. Sergei Ryabkov, Deputy Foreign Minister; New Agenda Coalition (NAC) - (New Zealand, on behalf of), H.E. Ms. Dell Higgie, Ambassador for Disarmament, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade; and Chile, H.E. Mr. Alfredo Labbé, Ambassador, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Some 118 NPT States Parties are listed to make opening statements during the General Debate this week.

Speakers expressed sympathy and support for Nepal and the victims of the recent earthquake there.

**UN Deputy Secretary General Eliasson** delivered a statement on behalf of **UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon** and said that eliminating nuclear weapons is a top priority for the United Nations. No other weapon has the potential to inflict such wanton destruction on our world. The Non-Proliferation Treaty is the cornerstone of the non-proliferation regime and an essential basis

for realizing a nuclear-weapon-free world. We all must remember that a world free of nuclear weapons is a critical global public good that benefits all nations. This Review Conference is to ensure that the Treaty retains its central role in our collective security. It is to chart a clear path forward for what the NPT regime will be in 2020 – the fiftieth anniversary of its entry into force. He called upon States parties to work hard and constructively in the coming weeks to produce an outcome that strengthens the Treaty. He also called for an outcome that promotes its universality, ensures compliance by all Parties with all provisions, and reinforces the NPT’s principal goals which are to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and bring about their elimination. He urged States Parties to build on common ground, to be inclusive and to show flexibility. A Middle East zone free of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction can provide substantial benefits, in addition to the disarmament and non-proliferation gains that would flow from such an agreement.

Eliasson noted that it was disappointing that too little progress had been made, despite the determined efforts by the facilitator, Ambassador Laajava, and the expectations of the international community for results. The Review Conference must focus on seeking means to enable the States of the region to move forward on this issue with a shared vision and a shared purpose.

He added that between 1990 and 2010, the international community took bold steps towards a nuclear-weapon-free world. There were massive reductions in deployed arsenals. States closed weapons facilities and made impressive moves towards more transparent nuclear doctrines. Eliasson expressed deep concern that over the last five years this process seems to have stalled. It is especially troubling that recent developments indicate that the trend towards nuclear zero is reversing. Instead of progress towards new arms reduction

agreements, there have been allegations about destabilizing violations of existing agreements.

Eliasson stated that instead of a Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty in force or a treaty banning the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons, there was an expensive modernization programmes that will entrench nuclear weapons for decades to come. Instead of pursuing proposals to accelerate nuclear disarmament, including the secretary General's Five Point Plan, there has been a dangerous return to Cold War mentalities. This reversal is a regression for our world. He called on leaders to abandon short-sighted political posturing and instead embrace a bold and global vision that meets the demands of humanity. True national security can only be achieved outside and away from the shadow of the nuclear threat. This shadow must be removed for the sake of present and future generations.

In her statement, the **Conference President Ambassador Taous Feroukhi** called for the cooperation of States Parties in reaching an agreed outcome that contributed to strengthening the NPT and pledged to do her utmost to ensure a successful review conference.

The **Director General of the IAEA, Ambassador Yukiya Amano**, stated that the Agency and the NPT have a common goal, which is to ensure that humanity derives maximum benefit from the peaceful use of nuclear science and technology. The Final Document of the 2010 NPT Review Conference emphasized the importance of the IAEA's Technical Cooperation Programme, which it recognized as “one of the main vehicles for the transfer of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes”. The impact of the Agency's work in the daily lives of millions of people around the world is extraordinary and deserves to be better known.

Amano noted that in the nuclear energy field, the most important development in the past five years was undoubtedly the accident at

the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant in Japan in March 2011. The accident caused great distress and hardship for the people affected. It also undermined public confidence in nuclear power throughout the world. Extensive efforts have been made since then to strengthen nuclear safety. The Fukushima Daiichi accident was a painful reminder that a terrible accident can happen anywhere. Plant operators, nuclear regulators and governments must demonstrate total commitment to the principle of “safety first”.

Amano added that as the 2010 Final Document noted, IAEA safeguards are a fundamental component of the nuclear non-proliferation regime and play an indispensable role in the implementation of the NPT. The Agency continues its efforts to increase efficiencies, without compromising effectiveness, in the implementation of safeguards. Today, the Agency applies safeguards to more than 1,250 facilities in 180 States. That is 100 facilities more than at the time of the 2010 NPT Review Conference. Last year, IAEA inspectors spent nearly 13,000 calendar-days in the field. Six non-nuclear-weapon States party to the NPT have brought comprehensive safeguards agreements with the Agency into force since the last Review Conference. For countries which have yet to do so, the Agency cannot draw any safeguards conclusions. He urged all remaining NPT non-nuclear-weapon States to conclude comprehensive safeguards agreements, and bring them into force, as soon as possible.

The implementation of an additional protocol significantly increases the Agency's ability to detect any undeclared nuclear material and activities. 24 States have brought additional protocols into force since 2010, bringing the total to 125.

Amano expressed serious concern about the nuclear programme of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It is nearly six years since Agency inspectors were asked to leave the DPRK.

Nevertheless, the Agency maintains its readiness to play an essential role in verifying the DPRK's nuclear programme. Concerning safeguards implementation in the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Agency continues to verify the non-diversion of nuclear material *declared* by Iran under its Safeguards Agreement. Nevertheless, the Agency is not in a position to provide credible assurance about the absence of *undeclared* nuclear material and activities in Iran, and therefore to conclude that *all* nuclear material in Iran is in peaceful activities. There have been important developments concerning safeguards implementation in Iran. In November 2013, the Agency and Iran agreed to cooperate further to resolve all present and past issues under a *Framework for Cooperation*. As far as issues with possible military dimensions are concerned, the IAEA will do all it can to clarify these issues, as requested by the IAEA Board of Governors and the UN Security Council. The Agency will then present an objective, impartial report to our Member States.

In November 2013, a *Joint Plan of Action* was agreed between Iran and the so-called E3+3 countries: China, France, Germany, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. The parties asked the Agency to undertake monitoring and verification in relation to the nuclear-related measures. With the endorsement of the IAEA Board of Governors, the Agency has been doing that effectively for the past fifteen months. The IAEA welcomes the recent announcement by the E3+3 countries and Iran on key parameters for a joint *Comprehensive Plan of Action*. The Agency will continue to play an essential role, including in verifying nuclear-related measures under the comprehensive agreement which hopefully will be reached between Iran and the six countries.

**Dr Javad Zarif, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran**, delivered the statement on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). He stated that five years ago, the Review Conference succeeded in

agreeing to an action plan on nuclear disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation, peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and implementation of the 1995 Resolution on the Middle East. Regrettably, the status of the implementation of the 2010 action plan is far from encouraging. The nuclear-weapon-States have not made progress in eliminating their nuclear weapons. The role of nuclear weapons in security policies of the nuclear-weapon-States has not diminished. Some nuclear weapons States are modernizing their nuclear arsenals and planning research on new nuclear warheads, others have announced their intention to develop new delivery vehicles for nuclear weapons. The non-nuclear-weapons States Parties have not yet received unequivocal and legally binding security assurances. The transfer of nuclear technology continues to face impediments inconsistent with the Treaty, and no progress has been made to achieve universal adherence to the Treaty in the Middle East; to give but a few examples of the lack of implementation of the 1995, 2000 and 2010 agreements.

Zarif highlighted that the broad support for the UN General Assembly High Level Meeting on Nuclear Disarmament in 2013 and the Vienna Conference on Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons in 2014 reflects increasingly widespread concern and impatience with the lack of progress towards the total elimination of nuclear weapons. The nuclear-weapon-States, in the 2010 NPT Review Conference, committed to accelerate concrete progress on the steps leading to nuclear disarmament, and to fulfilling their obligations under Article VI of the Treaty and their unequivocal undertakings to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals. He expressed deep concern at the continued lack of progress in the implementation of nuclear disarmament obligations and commitments by the nuclear-weapon-States, which could undermine the object and purpose of the Treaty and the credibility of the non-proliferation regime. He remained deeply concerned by military and security doctrines of the nuclear-weapon States as well as that of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in which

they justify the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons and maintain unjustifiably the concept of security based on nuclear deterrence and nuclear military alliances.

Zarif stated that the NAM recognizes the IAEA as the sole competent authority for the verification of the fulfillment of safeguards obligations assumed by States parties under the NPT, express full confidence in the IAEA and strongly rejects attempts to politicize the work of the IAEA. In this context, the Group underlines the importance of strict observance of the IAEA Statute and relevant comprehensive safeguards agreements, in conducting verification activities. The NAM underlined the importance of universal adherence to the Treaty and call upon all non-parties to the Treaty to accede to the Treaty, as non-nuclear-weapon States, and place all their nuclear facilities under IAEA full-scope safeguards. All States Parties should make every effort to achieve the universality of the Treaty and refrain from taking any actions that could negatively affect prospects for the universality of the Treaty.

Zarif said that the Group of NAM States Parties to the NPT emphasize the significance of full, effective and non-discriminatory implementation of Article IV of the Treaty on “the inalienable right of all the parties to the Treaty to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination and in conformity with Articles I and II of this Treaty”. This constitutes one of the fundamental objectives of the Treaty and as stipulated in that Article, nothing in the Treaty shall be interpreted as affecting this inalienable right. Each State party, in line with its national requirements and in accordance with the rights and obligations under the Treaty, has a sovereign right to define its national energy and fuel cycle policies, including the inalienable right to develop, for peaceful purposes, a full national nuclear fuel-cycle. Accordingly, the choices and decisions of each State party in the field of peaceful uses of nuclear energy should be

fully respected. The NAM also underlined the right of all States parties to participate in the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The NAM strongly rejected, and called for the immediate removal of, any restrictions or limitations posed on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, including restrictions on exports to other States parties of nuclear material, equipment and technology for peaceful purposes. Concerns related to nuclear proliferation shall not, in any way, restrict the inalienable right of any State party to develop all aspects of nuclear science and technology for peaceful purposes, without discrimination, as stipulated in Article IV of the Treaty. States parties should refrain from any action that would limit certain peaceful nuclear activities on the grounds of their “sensitivity”, as the Treaty does not prohibit the transfer or use of nuclear technology, equipment or material based on such grounds.

**Sweden’s Minister for Foreign Affairs, Margot Wallström,** stated that as long as nuclear weapons exist, there is a risk that they will be used. And the consequences of their use would be catastrophic. This realization has led to increased engagement, not least through the humanitarian initiative. This broad engagement must be used to garner support and to push for real results in the disarmament field. She said that “We must not lose hope. We cannot afford to. The risks are too high and too much is at stake. We must work tirelessly to achieve a world free of nuclear weapons”. The initiative on the humanitarian perspective on nuclear weapons has gained increased momentum, and is now supported by more than 150 States, Sweden being one of them. Putting human beings first, at the heart of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, is key. Sweden will strive to make this a guiding principle of this Conference. It would be essential for this Conference to agree on recommendations that take the work on the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons forward. Sweden and partners have produced a working paper to this end.

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Wallström added that the NPT created the framework through which it has been possible to prevent the wider proliferation of nuclear weapons. The number of nuclear weapons has been reduced, and the applications of nuclear energy have benefited many. Today, 45 years after the NPT entered into force, the grand bargain remains unfulfilled, and the promise of a world free of nuclear weapons still seems far off. Nuclear arsenals are being enhanced in some parts of the world, States are developing new vehicles for the delivery of nuclear weapons, and billions of dollars are spent annually to upgrade nuclear armaments. Obligations under the NPT and commitments undertaken during previous Review Conferences need to be implemented with increased urgency including the unequivocal undertaking by the Nuclear Weapon States to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals.

**Sameh Shukri, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt,** highlighted the need for further progress in nuclear disarmament and called for the universalization of the NPT – and for Israel to join the NPT and to place all of its nuclear activities and facilities under full-scope IAEA safeguards. He expressed regret regarding the failure of the depositaries of the NPT and the UN Secretary-General to convene the 2012 Conference on a Middle East zone free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, as agreed at the 2010 NPT conference. In this regard, he called for a new process to be launched under the aegis of the UN Secretary General, as the mandate of the Facilitator for the Middle East zone conference had expired.

**US Secretary of State John Kerry** highlighted the importance of the NPT for nuclear non-proliferation, disarmament and peaceful uses of nuclear energy. He expressed support for the IAEA, in particular for safeguards and its peaceful uses initiative (PUI). He noted that the US was the largest financial contributor to the IAEA,

having given more than \$400 million in the last few years – he announced an additional contribution of \$50 million for the PUI. Kerry noted the importance of IAEA safeguards for verification in Iran and highlighted the Joint Plan of Action agreed between the EU/E3+3 and Iran. He informed that the US had dismantled a total of 10, 241 nuclear warheads, and that 4,717 nuclear warheads were in the active inventory. Kerry noted President Obama’s offer to reduce by another third its nuclear weapons through an agreement with the Russian Federation. He criticized Russia’s rejection of this offer and commented on US allegations of Russian non-compliance with the 1987 INF Treaty as well as with the Budapest Memorandum of 1992 on security assurances for Ukraine. Kerry informed that the administration had sent for Senate advice and consent, the Protocol to the Central Asian nuclear-weapon-free zone on negative security assurances, signed by the US.

**Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Sergei Ryabkov**, conveyed a message from President Vladimir Putin that stated that Russia consistently implements all the provisions of the NPT including Article VI, and that Russia has reduced its nuclear weapons to a “minimal level”. He noted that the NPT has been a cornerstone of the international security system ensuring “strategic parity” and global stability. Ryabkov, responded to the US allegation of INF Treaty non-compliance and charged that the US itself was in violation by deploying long range UAVs (drones), and criticized US plans for global dominance, missile defences and nuclear weapons stationed in Europe.

**Minister for Foreign Affairs of China, Li Baodong**, said that both nuclear weapon States and non-nuclear weapon States shoulder the responsibility of promoting global nuclear governance in a way that serves the common interests of all parties, and are entitled to the benefits of global nuclear governance. He stated the practice of double standards must be abandoned and full respect for the legitimate interests and concerns of all countries is

necessary. He noted the need to solve hot-spot issues peacefully through equal consultation and dialogue, stay committed to multilateralism and consensus building, and uphold the authority of multilateral mechanisms, including the NPT review process, UNGA first committee, Conference on Disarmament and UN Disarmament Commission.

Li Baodong noted that China, as a staunch champion for nuclear disarmament process, stands for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and has faithfully fulfilled its nuclear disarmament obligations under the Treaty. Over the decades, China has pursued a nuclear strategy of self-defence and kept its nuclear arsenal at the minimum level required for its national security. China has neither deployed nuclear weapons in any other country nor taken part in any form of nuclear arms races. Among nuclear-weapon States, only China has pledged unconditionally not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon States.

Li Baodong added that China actively promotes the peaceful use of nuclear energy. While fully respecting and firmly upholding the legitimate rights of all countries to the peaceful use of nuclear energy, China has taken an active part in and promoted relevant international cooperation. He expressed support for the IAEA in playing an important role in this regard and called on developed countries to provide more assistance to developing ones. He said that China also supports IAEA's central role in enhancing nuclear security and safety and assisting all countries to improve their nuclear security and safety capacity.

Full texts of statements are available on the 2015 NPT conference web site: <http://www.un.org/en/conf/npt/2015/statements.shtml>.

## **Looking Ahead**

The General Debate will continue on Tuesday, 28 April. Thus far, the mood in the Conference is subdued but cordial. Efforts are underway to find Chairs for the subsidiary bodies (SB) for each of the three main committees – while a candidate apparently is available for SB-1 (disarmament), there appears to be some challenges in finding chairs for SB-2 (Middle East) and SB-3 (elements of peaceful uses). Vice Chairs for Main Committee I have been proposed (Slovenia and Netherlands), and Croatia has been proposed to chair the Drafting Committee. Reports suggest that the five nuclear-weapon States are continuing with their efforts to agree on a joint statement.

Tariq Rauf

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