

2000 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

23 May 2000

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Summary record of the 8th meeting

Held at United Nations Headquarters, New York, on Thursday, 27 April 2000, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. **Mra** (Vice-President) (Myanmar)

Later: Mr. **Baali** (President) (Algeria)

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In the absence of Mr. Baali (Algeria), Mr. Mra (Myanmar), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

General debate (continued)

Mr. Nhleko (Swaziland) said that, since its entry into force, the Non-Proliferation Treaty had made steady progress towards universality and a significant number of nuclear-weapon States had dismantled their nuclear stockpiles, while others had entered into bilateral arrangements to promote transparency and cooperation. He hoped that those States that had not yet done so would accede to the Treaty without delay. The early entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) was also a high priority for the international community. The strength of that Treaty lay in its ability to create a moral and political norm against the testing of nuclear arsenals and to promote compliance with its verification regime. Swaziland had already set in motion the internal process for ratifying the Treaty.

2. His delegation looked forward to the resumption and early conclusion of negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament on a binding universal legal instrument banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. Those negotiations would reflect the international community's resolve to ultimately eliminate nuclear weapons under strict and effective international controls. An enhanced role for the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was at the core of a strengthened non-proliferation regime. The adoption in May 1997 of a Model Additional Protocol to Safeguards Agreements had ushered in a new era in the history of non-proliferation verification and would have a positive impact on the effectiveness and efficiency of the Agency's safeguards regime. His delegation welcomed the progress that had been made towards the conclusion of regional nuclear-weapon-free zones and reiterated the call made in the 1995 "Resolution on the Middle East" for cooperation to ensure the early establishment by regional parties of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East.

3. **Mr. Tadmoury** (Lebanon) said that, although the world was now closer to a system for preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the Treaty was still not universal, because four States in regions threatened

by political tension and the spectre of armed conflicts had not acceded to it. An overview of achievements during the past five years gave grounds for hope of coming closer to the aims of the Treaty, although the Treaty lacked a mechanism to monitor the implementation of its provisions. Among the positive factors, he noted the cooperation between the United States and the Russian Federation in the reduction of nuclear weapons and the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty, which, he hoped, would be fully implemented. In addition, a more propitious climate had been created for the establishment of additional nuclear-weapon-free zones in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

4. In that connection, he drew attention to the unanimous advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice affirming the obligation to pursue and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects. Under the Treaty, non-nuclear-weapon States should be provided with effective safeguards formulated within a treaty framework designed to preserve international peace and security and to ensure the necessary protection against any nuclear accident. Regrettably, there had been no response to the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions concerning such safeguards.

5. On the other hand, there was scope within the framework of the Treaty for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, particularly in the developing countries, where resources were being depleted by demographic growth and increasing impoverishment and disease. Such peaceful uses were vital in many fields, primarily medicine and the transfer of technology, and in that regard, he emphasized the capacities of IAEA and the possible creation of subsidiary bodies under its auspices for the purpose of promoting the peaceful uses of nuclear power in the service of economic, social and human development, with full IAEA monitoring and under a careful system of environmental protection.

6. The 1995 Review and Extension Conference had adopted the "Resolution on the Middle East", which the United States, the United Kingdom and the Russian Federation had all supported. At the time, the Arab States and the non-aligned States had linked their agreement to the indefinite extension of the Treaty to the adoption of the Resolution, and it was a cause of concern that Israel still refused to accede to the Treaty and to place its nuclear installations under IAEA

safeguards. The peace process begun at the Madrid Conference could not reach fruition unless Israel espoused the principle of transparency by acceding to the Treaty and placing its nuclear installations under IAEA safeguards, so as to give credibility to the Treaty and remove the direct threat to security and stability at the regional and international levels. Israel's compliance with the "Resolution on the Middle East" would constitute a step towards the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, as urged by the General Assembly for many years.

7. The fact that one State in the Middle East was not a party to the Treaty constituted a precedent liable to create an atmosphere for nuclear competition marked by tension and lack of confidence. His delegation called upon the States parties to the Treaty, especially those States that had adopted the "Resolution on the Middle East", to exert their utmost efforts to ensure Israel's accession to the Treaty and persuade it to place its nuclear installations under the safeguards system, inasmuch as that was in the true interest of all States in the Middle East without exception.

8. The statements made at the current Conference had dealt seriously with the aims of the review, but the phase of assessment should lead to the phase of adopting creative decisions promoting the universality of the Treaty and making it an effective instrument for comprehensive nuclear disarmament. In view of the meagre results achieved by the multilateral negotiations within the framework of the Conference on Disarmament and in the field of nuclear non-proliferation, new policies should perhaps be envisaged that would put an end to the current frustrations and create a fresh stimulus. In that connection, he welcomed the Secretary-General's proposal in his report on the Millennium Assembly calling for an international conference to identify ways of eliminating nuclear weapons and their dangers. Such a conference would undoubtedly initiate a promising new phase that took into account the peace, security and prosperity of future generations and their right to a better future.

9. **Mr. Vohidov** (Uzbekistan) said that his Government's foreign policy was based on the principle of non-nuclear development. The initiative of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and his own country to create a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Central Asia enjoyed broad political support in the region and had been reflected in the documents of the past three sessions of the General Assembly and

included in the final documents of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference. The International Conference on Central Asia as a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone, held at Tashkent in 1997, had demonstrated the unanimity of the aspirations of the Central Asian States to ensure a safe and stable world and had set in motion the regional process aimed at establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Central Asia.

10. In order to establish that zone, Uzbekistan regularly conducted consultations with its neighbours and the five nuclear-weapon States. Over the past four years, with the assistance of the United Nations, IAEA and independent experts, the expert group on the formulation of a treaty to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Central Asia had conducted several working meetings. The countries concerned were now very close to finalizing and signing the treaty. Uzbekistan was convinced that Central Asia could become the fifth nuclear-weapon-free zone. He, therefore, appealed to the Conference for support and believed that the draft Central Asian treaty should be endorsed in the final document of the Conference.

11. The situation in the world demonstrated the need to undertake the most stringent measures to strengthen the global system of strategic stability and the entire disarmament process. The trends which had emerged had had an adverse effect on the durability of the non-proliferation regime. It was obvious that nuclear weapons would remain one of the major elements of global policy for a long time. The entry into force of the START II Treaty emphasized the possibilities of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The establishment and strengthening of a nuclear non-proliferation regime was the only way of securing a ban on all nuclear tests.

12. Uzbekistan was a party to the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty and the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material and had signed an Additional Protocol to the Safeguards Agreement with IAEA. In that context, the accession of Bangladesh to the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty, and the decision to ratify that Treaty by the State Duma of the Russian Federation, were encouraging signs. It was to be hoped that the United States of America would soon follow suit. His Government supported the Secretary-General's proposal to convene an international conference to consider ways of eliminating the nuclear threat and also his assessments of the current state of the non-

proliferation regime contained in the report entitled "We the peoples: the role of the United Nations in the 21st century" (A/54/2000). Lastly, Uzbekistan believed that the final document of the Conference should define in a more precise manner the role of the Treaty in promoting the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and nuclear disarmament and in strengthening international peace and security and that concrete measures to encourage the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones should be identified.

13. **Mr. Takev** (Bulgaria) said that the implementation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty had created the necessary conditions for putting an end to the dangerous nuclear arms race and that the current Conference would make a valuable contribution to the improvement of existing mechanisms to control and reduce nuclear arsenals. Implementation of the Treaty and other nuclear non-proliferation regimes had demonstrated the need for an effective control system over the whole spectrum of activities related to nuclear weapons, their delivery systems and the components and materials for their production. States that were not yet parties to the Treaty should therefore accede to it without delay in order to strengthen the credibility and effectiveness of the principles and goals laid down in the Treaty, which was a stabilizing factor in international relations.

14. The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty had a crucial role to play in improving the current nuclear non-proliferation regime and promoting nuclear disarmament. Bulgaria hoped that the Treaty would be ratified by a sufficient number of States to permit its early entry into force and, in that connection, welcomed the recent decision to ratify the Treaty by the State Duma of the Russian Federation. Bulgaria also agreed on the need for effective international arrangements to provide assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, in conformity with the spirit of Security Council resolution 984 (1995).

15. The promotion of international cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy was one of the prime objectives of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Bulgaria's nuclear facilities operated under full-scope IAEA safeguards, and the country cooperated closely with the Agency and with the European Union on nuclear safety and nuclear non-proliferation issues. His Government would shortly take up consideration of an Additional Protocol to the Safeguards Agreement with a view to

its ratification. He regretted the Conference on Disarmament's lack of progress towards the adoption of its programme of work. The proposal for the establishment within the Conference on Disarmament of ad hoc working groups on nuclear disarmament and on the prevention of an arms race in outer space deserved special consideration and might constitute a possible basis for compromise.

16. Negotiations on banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear devices would also be an important step towards the strengthening of the nuclear non-proliferation regime. Those negotiations should commence at an early date in the Conference on Disarmament. Adequate export control measures were an important part of international cooperation in the field of nuclear energy and an essential tool for achieving nuclear non-proliferation. Bulgaria adhered strictly to the Nuclear Suppliers' Group guidelines in its export control policy on dual-use goods and technologies. Its efforts were aimed at further improving its national export control system and bringing it into line with the relevant regulatory mechanisms of the European Union so that the competent Bulgarian authorities could successfully combat illegal trafficking in nuclear materials.

17. **Mr. Andjaba** (Namibia) expressed his delegation's support for the statement made by the representative of Indonesia on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Namibia welcomed the recent decisions of the Russian State Duma to ratify the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty and START II and the announcement that the United States of America and the Russian Federation would resume negotiations on START III. Despite those and other positive developments, it was a matter of concern that nuclear arsenals remained at levels far in excess of any reasonable military requirement and that nuclear weapons continued to be developed. There was even some question as to whether the reduction taking place amounted merely to the replacement of obsolete weapons with newer ones.

18. The delay in the entry into force of START II and its Protocol and the recent failure of the United States Senate to ratify the Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty were equally regrettable. Overall, the non-nuclear-weapon States had faithfully fulfilled their obligations under article II but the nuclear-weapon States had failed to honour their commitments undertaken at the 1995 Conference. Nor had there been any serious effort

to draw the four States non-parties into the Non-Proliferation Treaty regime. Claims that nuclear weapons were needed indefinitely for national security or deterrence not only encouraged other States to acquire them but were also contrary to the 1996 advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament (General Assembly resolution 53/77 W, para. 1).

19. Namibia was committed to the goals of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, which it had signed in 1990 soon after gaining independence. It had signed the Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty, and one of the seismological stations under the International Monitoring System would be based in Namibia. His country had concluded a Safeguards Agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and was currently negotiating an Additional Protocol. Namibia was grateful to IAEA for its assistance in promoting the peaceful uses of nuclear energy in the fields of human health, animal health, agriculture and water resources management and hoped that that assistance would continue.

20. The steps that should be taken in order to attain the goals of the Non-Proliferation Treaty included accelerating nuclear disarmament negotiations, promoting universal accession to the Treaty, ratification of the CTBT, establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, imposing a ban on the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons, adherence by States parties to all obligations under the terms of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, and establishing a nuclear weapons register to promote transparency and accountability.

21. **Mr. Daka** (Zambia) said that the failure of the nuclear-weapon States to fulfil the commitments entered into at the 1995 Conference represented a betrayal of confidence and undermined the Non-Proliferation Treaty, which played a crucial role in non-proliferation, nuclear disarmament and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The 2000 Review Conference should therefore address the issue of the reluctance of the nuclear-weapon States to honour their commitment to fully implement the package that had been endorsed by the 1995 Conference. The current Conference should set an agenda for non-proliferation in the new millennium, including practical steps for the systematic and progressive elimination of all nuclear weapons and

recommendations for the implementation of the "Resolution on the Middle East".

22. Zambia was concerned at the continuing restrictions on exports to developing countries of materials, equipment and technology for peaceful purposes. The concerns expressed by nuclear-weapon States about perceived nuclear proliferation should not be used to justify any restrictions on exports to non-nuclear-weapon States of material, equipment and technologies to facilitate the exploitation of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Those concerns should be addressed in the appropriate multilateral forums. Moreover, in order to be effective, all non-proliferation control arrangements should be transparent and open to participation by all States. His Government was therefore troubled by the attempts of some parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty to use the IAEA technical cooperation programme as a tool for political purposes. Lastly, in order to further strengthen the existing Safeguards Agreement, the Conference should reaffirm the legitimate vote of the Conference on Disarmament to pursue nuclear disarmament on the basis of the Model Additional Protocol.

23. **Mr. Mwakawago** (United Republic of Tanzania) said that his delegation supported the statement made by the representative of Indonesia on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. His delegation viewed the current Conference as an opportunity to redress inequities in the Non-Proliferation Treaty regime and the failure of nuclear-weapon States to honour their Treaty obligations. It reaffirmed its strong support for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones on the basis of agreements freely arrived at among the States of the region concerned, such as the Treaties of Tlatelolco, Rarotonga, Pelindaba and Bangkok. Tanzania had demonstrated its commitment by its early ratification of the Treaty of Pelindaba. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) played a crucial role in enhancing nuclear safety and should accord the highest priority to achieving full integration of its safeguards system.

24. His delegation reaffirmed its support for the 1995 "Resolution on the Middle East", calling for its full implementation, and urged Israel to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty in order to transform the region into a nuclear-weapon-free zone. He welcomed the progress achieved by the United States and the Russian Federation towards nuclear arms reduction, particularly the ratification of START II by the Russian Federation,

and urged the two countries to initiate START III negotiations. His Government also commended the unilateral limited disarmament measures taken by France and the United Kingdom. Noting the risks and the gravity of the situation resulting from the nuclear tests carried out by India and Pakistan, he said that it was not too late for the two countries to renounce the use of nuclear weapons and return to their pre-May 1998 situation.

25. His delegation, too, was concerned at the possible deployment of a national missile defence system by the United States, in gross violation of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. That Treaty must remain a cornerstone of strategic arms reduction; its violation could trigger a new round in the nuclear arms race. The nuclear-weapon States should focus on consolidating existing disarmament and arms control treaties. Their insistence on maintaining nuclear deterrence, while arguing that the chances of a nuclear war were slim, was terrifying.

26. As long as nuclear weapons existed, there was the ever-present danger of a nuclear war, triggered either by accident or through faulty judgement. The call by non-nuclear-weapon States for negative security assurances was a legitimate concern that had long been ignored by the nuclear-weapon States. It was morally incumbent on the latter to make credible and effective efforts in that regard. The resistance of the nuclear-weapon States, with the exception of China, to renouncing the no-first-use option also gave cause for grave concern. Those States must urgently commit themselves to a no-first-use policy, coupled with a de-alerting of their nuclear arsenals in all their forms.

27. **Mr. Salamanca** (Bolivia) expressed his country's full support for the statements made by the representative of Peru on behalf of the Andean Community and the representative of Mexico on behalf of the New Agenda Coalition. It was deeply concerned by the nuclear tests carried out in India and Pakistan; the slow pace of arms limitation negotiations; the continuing non-accession of four States to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, three of which possessed nuclear weapons; the undermining of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty by the United States missile defence system; and the United States Senate's rejection of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty. The Non-Proliferation Treaty represented the hopes of countries like Bolivia that resources once used to produce nuclear weapons would be rechannelled into

development. The underlying key ideas that had led to the drafting of the Non-Proliferation Treaty thirty years earlier should remain central to the deliberations of the current Conference on its implementation.

28. His delegation welcomed the decision by the State Duma of the Russian Federation to ratify the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty and START II. It was concerned, however, at the recent statement by the Russian Prime Minister according priority to strengthening the country's military potential. In conclusion, his delegation urged the four countries whose accession would ensure the universality of the Treaty to become parties to it and agreed wholeheartedly with the representative of Brazil that a single nuclear weapon was one too many.

29. **Mr. Osei** (Ghana) said that his delegation supported the statement made by the representative of Indonesia on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. As a non-nuclear-weapon State and a State party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, Ghana reaffirmed its commitment to it and other disarmament processes. However, it shared the disappointment and pessimism of many non-nuclear-weapon States about the lack of progress, largely because of the unwillingness of the nuclear-weapon States to demonstrate the necessary flexibility and political will to move forward. The nuclear-weapon States could not expect the non-nuclear-weapon States to remain committed indefinitely to the NPT and other disarmament treaties when they themselves evinced different attitudes. Yet, for the sake of mankind, everyone must remain hopeful. His delegation believed that the pursuit of a new, rather than a renewed, agenda, engendered such hope, and therefore wholeheartedly supported the New Agenda Coalition.

30. It should be recalled that the negotiations for the Treaty involved a bargain between the five nuclear-weapon States and the non-nuclear-weapon States; since the developing countries had kept their part of the bargain, they had a right to access to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes to facilitate socio-economic development. His delegation welcomed the responsiveness of IAEA to the most pressing global challenges — poverty and disease, natural resources management and environmental degradation — through applied nuclear science and technology, working in partnership with other development agencies. In Ghana, primary health care was being enhanced through a project funded by IAEA. His

delegation believed that the Conference should identify opportunities for the Agency's continued work at the multilateral, regional and bilateral levels to provide financial and institutional support for the application of nuclear technology to benefit human and economic development. The technical cooperation efforts of IAEA would need to be fully complemented by the provision of adequate budgetary resources.

31. The demonstration of commitment, political will and flexibility at the Conference by the nuclear-weapon States would be critical to establishing the necessary trust and goodwill among States parties, thus promoting transparency and unrestricted exchange of nuclear materials, as well as scientific information to facilitate the development of programmes for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Everyone had a stake in the outcome of the review process. Flexibility on the part of the key nuclear actors would boost the disarmament process. The choice was to focus on the wider goal of promoting the survival of mankind, or to remain fixed in a narrow, parochial and short-sighted vision of national goals and be doomed.

32. **Mr. Alvim** (Brazilian-Argentine Agency for Accounting and Control of Nuclear Materials (ABACC)) recalled that, in July 1991, the Governments of Argentina and Brazil had signed an agreement at Guadalajara, Mexico, on the exclusively peaceful uses of nuclear energy. That agreement had been the outcome of a lengthy process of building trust and easing possible tension that had culminated in the establishment of the Common Market of the Southern Cone (MERCOSUR). In signing the Guadalaran Agreement, Argentina and Brazil had sought to ensure conditions for the application of full-scope international safeguards in the two countries. At the same time, Argentina, Brazil and Chile had proposed modifications to the Treaty of Tlatelolco and had started negotiations on a full-scope Safeguards Agreement with IAEA, with ABACC as one of the parties, which was known as the Quadripartite Agreement.

33. The Guadalajara Agreement was more stringent than the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to which Argentina and Brazil had subsequently acceded. Therefore, no transition stage had been needed for the application of safeguards when the NPT had come into effect in the two countries. The new international situation at the end of the century highlighted the need to strengthen not only traditional

safeguards but also the regional approach. Regional nuclear safeguards organizations had the advantage of proximity to and familiarity with the countries in question, and, representing the unwavering political will of the member countries, promoted non-proliferation in their regions and were committed to the exclusively peaceful use of nuclear energy.

34. Regional safeguards also made sense from the technical and economic standpoint, when integrated with IAEA safeguards. The integration of safeguards efforts was therefore of the utmost importance, especially for the application of the Additional Protocol, in respect of which Brazil, Argentina and ABACC had stated their intention of starting negotiations. ABACC was fully empowered to play a leading role in the application of the new safeguards. Technical cooperation between Argentina and Brazil was a way of establishing trust between them, and with the international community. Argentina, Brazil and ABACC had increased cooperation in the safeguards area, and in other fields, while ensuring the transparency required for the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

35. Over nearly eight years, ABACC had carried out 944 inspections; during those inspections and joint inspections with IAEA, it had made considerable progress in reducing the inspection effort, with no loss in effectiveness. In particular, the two agencies had made significant progress in the use of inspectors and equipment. Complying with its obligations under the Guadalajara and Quadripartite Agreements and the Treaty of Tlatelolco, ABACC had forwarded 3,200 accounting reports to IAEA, as well as 770 inspection reports to both countries and 30 to IAEA, and 19 declarations to Brazil and Argentina, of which 11 had been related to compliance with the Treaty of Tlatelolco and had been forwarded to the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean. The ABACC secretariat felt that the efforts undertaken by Argentina and Brazil to eliminate the risks of nuclear weapons in the region had made an appreciable contribution to world peace.

36. *Mr. Baali (Algeria) took the Chair.*

Election of Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of the Main Committee, the Drafting Committee and the Credentials Committee *(continued)*

37. **The President** said that the following nominations had been received: Mr. Reznikov (Belarus) for the post of Vice-Chairman of Main Committee I; and Mr. Villagra-Delgado (Argentina) for the post of Vice-Chairman of the Drafting Committee.

38. *Mr. Reznikov (Belarus) was elected Vice-Chairman of Main Committee I; and Mr. Villagra-Delgado (Argentina) was elected Vice-Chairman of the Drafting Committee.*

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.