

**Preparatory Committee for the 2005 Review
Conference of the Parties to the Treaty
on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons**

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Working paper submitted by the Republic of Cuba

1. On 4 November 2002, the Government of the Republic of Cuba deposited its instrument of accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) with the Government of the Russian Federation, thereby becoming a State party to the Treaty.
2. The NPT, which came into existence at the end of the 1950s, has as its main objective preventing the wider dissemination through the world of nuclear weapons and reserves the right to possess such weapons to those States which had already manufactured or detonated a nuclear weapon or other explosive nuclear device before 1 January 1967, namely, the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States, as the five nuclear Powers recognized by the Treaty.
3. Over the years, Cuba maintained reservations regarding the NPT, which it considered to be a discriminatory international regime conducive to the existence of a “club of nuclear-weapon-States”, and because these countries have failed, over all the years that have elapsed since 5 March 1970, the date on which the Treaty entered into force, to attain the ultimate objective of the total elimination of such weapons.
4. Cuba considers that this “privilege” should not be granted in perpetuity and that nuclear weapon States are obliged, in keeping with the provisions of the Treaty and in conjunction with all its other States parties, to embark on negotiations on nuclear disarmament.
5. On becoming a State party to the NPT, Cuba’s fundamental position in this matter has not changed. Our country has decided to work from within the Treaty in order to further what we regard to be our priority in the area of disarmament, namely, achieving the total elimination of nuclear weapons.

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6. For many parties, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty constitutes an end in itself. For Cuba, it is only one step on the path towards nuclear disarmament. Cuba does not reject the concept of non-proliferation in the area of disarmament and arms control. This concept constitutes one of the pillars supporting the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Biological Weapons Convention, legally binding international instruments to which Cuba is a State party. GE.03-61266 (E)

7. Unlike those conventions, however, the NPT has emerged as a multilateral mechanism in which States have unequal rights and have entered into unequal commitments. Only 2.7 per cent of all the States parties to this Treaty enjoy the dubious “privilege” of possessing nuclear weapons.

8. Still worse, one of the nuclear Powers recognized by the NPT, the United States of America, has had no scruples about using its nuclear weapons to threaten other States which are also parties to the Treaty and which, obviously, have undertaken not to possess such weapons. In other words, the very validity of the NPT has been called into question, when not even commitment to its provisions is sufficient to guarantee the national security of non-nuclear-weapon States.

9. Cuba has therefore always maintained that military doctrines based on the possession of nuclear weapons are untenable and unacceptable. No country or group of countries should be permitted to have a monopoly of these devastating weapons. Still less acceptable is the continued development - in terms both of quantity and quality - of weapons of this type by the exclusive club of nuclear Powers recognized by the Treaty. The only way of overcoming the built-in flaws of the NPT, and its selective and discriminatory nature, is by attaining the objective of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, thereby guaranteeing the security of all countries on an equal footing.

10. As a State party to the NPT, Cuba still continues to maintain that the isolated application of the principle of non-proliferation is insufficient to eliminate nuclear weapons. Only the application of a systematic approach, which would also include the components of disarmament, verification, assistance and cooperation, will be able to guarantee the total elimination of nuclear weapons. Cuba is prepared to launch immediate negotiations on a multilateral convention which applies this approach and believes that the Conference on Disarmament, as the sole multilateral negotiating forum in the area of disarmament, is the proper framework for such an undertaking.

11. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is perfectly clear in both its letter and spirit with regard to the objective of nuclear disarmament. Thus, article VI of the NPT requires Parties to the Treaty “to pursue negotiations in good faith on the effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control”.

Regrettably, this provision of the Treaty has not been fulfilled. On repeated occasions and in different forums, Cuba has manifested its dissatisfaction with the lack of clear progress in the implementation of this article, believing that the nuclear weapons States have the primary responsibility for compliance with its provisions.

12. Notwithstanding its reservations regarding the discriminatory nature of the Treaty and its dissatisfaction regarding the non-compliance with its most important provisions, Cuba’s decision to accede to the NPT clearly demonstrates its peaceful disposition and represents a vote for peace and multilateralism.

13. In recent years, we have witnessed a serious deterioration in the international situation. The Government of the United States has not only taken isolationist measures, but has also acted in complete disregard of the multilateral institutions and methods which are regarded as indisputable achievements attained since the Second World War. This country seems bent on disregarding the entire system of multilateral and disarmament and arms control treaties set in place over the last century and, in particular, those relating to weapons of mass destruction: in August 2001, it blocked negotiations on the strengthening of the Biological Weapons Convention; in November 2001, it came close to causing the collapse of the Fifth Review Conference of this same Convention; in December 2001, it withdrew from the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems (ABM Treaty), which until then had been considered an essential instrument in maintaining global strategic stability; in May 2002, it suddenly unleashed a destabilizing process in the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, using methods of financial blackmail. In addition, it is the only country which openly opposes the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty.

14. In addition to all this, we should note the fundamental role which the Washington Government, and also the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) through its New Strategic Concept, accord to nuclear arms in their military doctrine and the serious peril which this poses to non-nuclear-weapon States.

15. The United Nations, as the organization most emblematic of multilateralism and, furthermore, the source of international law in the area of disarmament and non-proliferation, is being damaged by these imperialist acts. Should anyone still harbour any doubts about this, convincing proof may be seen in the recent aggression against Iraq, mounted in disregard for the United Nations Security Council and over the protests of the international community. Efforts must therefore be made, given the current international situation, to unite all peace-loving forces in a stand against this unilateral aggression.

16. It is in this context that the Republic of Cuba has made its decision to accede to the NPT. This decision goes well beyond our national interests and is a manifestation of the political will and the commitment of the Cuban State to the promotion, the strengthening and the consolidation of multilateralism and of international treaties dealing with disarmament, and constitutes an important contribution to the cause of safeguarding the United Nations and supporting its endeavours to further global peace and security, even though the world's most powerful nuclear Power continues to pursue its policy of hostility toward Cuba, a policy which does not exclude the use of armed force.

17. Although it has only recently become part of the NPT, the Cuban Government has never had any plans to develop or to possess nuclear weapons. Our defence plans have never been based on the possession of nuclear weapons or of other weapons of mass destruction. The principles set in place with the victorious socialist revolution of 1959 are diametrically opposed to anything which might be conducive to the existence of such weapons. Cuba has always advocated the elimination of such weapons and called for general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international verification.

18. The only interest which Cuba has in nuclear energy relates to the peaceful uses of such energy under the verification of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Accordingly, all Cuban programmes in which nuclear energy is employed are of a strictly peaceful nature and are continuously monitored by IAEA, on the basis of the safeguards agreements signed between Cuba and the Agency, which have been further strengthened by Cuba's signing of an additional protocol to those safeguards agreements.

19. Cuba recognizes IAEA as the authority responsible for verifying compliance with the NPT. Accordingly, by becoming a State party to the Treaty, the Cuban authorities have taken the first steps towards launching the relevant negotiations with IAEA on a comprehensive

safeguards agreement with the Agency, pursuant to the obligations which it has assumed under article III of the Treaty. A high-level delegation from IAEA has been invited to visit Cuba for that purpose.

20. Following its recent accession to the NPT, Cuba is now poised to participate actively in the preparatory process for the Treaty's Seventh Review Conference. For that purpose, we stand ready to engage in an open and constructive exchange with all States parties to the Treaty which share that wish, with a view to ensuring full compliance with each and every one of its provisions.

21. The NPT review process should be conducted on an article-by-article basis, to ensure that all important issues are properly dealt with.

22. Cuba will attach particular importance to compliance with article VI of the Treaty. The document issuing from the Seventh Review Conference must contain practical commitments clearly reflecting the responsibility and role assigned to the nuclear Powers in the process leading up to nuclear disarmament, a process which must be conducted in a transparent, verifiable and irreversible manner.

23. Although it was not a party to the NPT when the Sixth Review Conference was held in 2000, Cuba welcomed the adoption of the 13 practical steps for the application of article VI. Three years have passed since then and Cuba notes with deep regret that most of these steps have not been complied with. Some have even been transformed into impracticable steps or there are serious doubts about their application, given the unilateral actions of the United States, the principal nuclear Power.

24. The Republic of Cuba takes note of the undertakings to reduce non-strategic nuclear weapons in 2002 entered into by the Governments of the Russian Federation and the United States and believes that these undertakings should be formalized through a legally binding instrument ensuring the irreversibility of the measures that have been adopted and providing for their verification. At the same time, it believes that these undertakings should not be seen as cause for a general sense of complacency nor should they divert attention from our primary objective: nuclear disarmament.

25. At the same time, Cuba will continue resolutely to uphold the inalienable right of all States to pursue the research, development and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and to receive, without discrimination of any kind, transfers of materials, equipment and scientific

and technological information for these purposes. To that end, Cuba recognizes IAEA as the appropriate international authority for the supervision and promotion of the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

26. Cuba supports the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in different countries or regions of the world, on the basis of freely negotiated agreements among the States of the region concerned. Nuclear-weapon-free zones will reinforce the nuclear non-proliferation regime and contribute to the objective of nuclear disarmament.

27. On 23 October 2002, the Republic of Cuba ratified the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean (Treaty of Tlatelolco). As with the NPT, this step by Cuba constitutes a further demonstration of the political will and the commitment of the Cuban State to the promotion, strengthening and consolidation of multilateralism and of the international treaties dealing with disarmament, as well as a contribution to regional efforts to promote nuclear disarmament and international peace and security, despite the fact that the world's principal nuclear Power maintains its extremely hostile policy against our country. With Cuba's ratification, Latin America and the Caribbean had been transformed into the world's first denuclearized zone.

28. Cuba unequivocally supports the position of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in respect of the resolution on the Middle East adopted by the Fifth Review and Extension Conference of the NPT in 1995, which was reaffirmed at the Treaty's Sixth Review Conference in 2000. In that context, Cuba deeply regrets the current situation in the Middle Eastern region and the crimes being committed by Israel against the Arab people, in particular, the Palestinian people. Cuba calls for the immediate application of all the provisions of this resolution, which will contribute to achieving a just and definitive solution to the conflict in the Middle East.

29. The Republic of Cuba reiterates its readiness to work together with all other States parties to the NPT to ensure that all the provisions of this legal instrument are fully complied with and, in that way, to contribute to efforts by the international community to promote peace, security and a world free of the enormous danger posed by the very existence of nuclear weapons.
