



# Security Council

Sixty-fourth year

*Provisional*

## 6191<sup>st</sup> meeting

Thursday, 24 September 2009, 9.15 a.m.  
New York

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<i>President:</i>	Mr. Obama .....	(United States of America)
<i>Members:</i>	Austria .....	Mr. Fischer
	Burkina Faso .....	Mr. Compaore
	China .....	Mr. Hu Jintao
	Costa Rica .....	Mr. Arias Sánchez
	Croatia .....	Mr. Mesić
	France .....	Mr. Sarkozy
	Japan .....	Mr. Hatoyama
	Libyan Arab Jamahiriya .....	Mr. Shalgham
	Mexico .....	Mr. Calderón Hinojosa
	Russian Federation .....	Mr. Medvedev
	Turkey .....	Mr. Erdoğan
	Uganda .....	Mr. Museveni
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland .....	Mr. Brown
	Viet Nam .....	Mr. Nguyen Minh Triet

## Agenda

Maintenance of international peace and security

Nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament

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*The meeting was called to order at 9.35 a.m.*

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **Maintenance of international peace and security**

#### **Nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament**

**The President:** I wish to warmly welcome the heads of State and Government, the Secretary-General, the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, ministers and other representatives present in the Security Council Chamber. Their presence is an affirmation of the importance of the subject matter to be discussed.

The Security Council summit will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2009/473, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of Council members' of the Council to document S/2009/463, containing a letter dated 15 September 2009 from the United States of America transmitting a concept paper on the item under consideration.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, the Security Council will take action on the draft resolution before it prior to hearing statements from the Secretary-General and Council members. Accordingly, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:*

Austria, Burkina Faso, China, Costa Rica, Croatia, France, Japan, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mexico, Russian Federation, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Viet Nam.

**The President:** There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1887 (2009).

I want to thank again everybody who is in attendance, and I wish them all good morning. In the more than six decades that this Security Council has been in existence, only four other meetings of this nature have been convened. I called for this meeting so that we may address, at the highest level, a fundamental threat to the security of all peoples and all nations — the spread and use of nuclear weapons.

As I said yesterday (see A/64/PV.3), this very institution was founded at the dawn of the atomic age, in part because man's capacity to kill had to be contained, and although we averted a nuclear nightmare during the cold war, we now face proliferation of a scope and complexity that demands new strategies and new approaches. Just one nuclear weapon exploded in a city — be it New York, Moscow, Tokyo, Beijing, London or Paris — could kill hundreds of thousands of people, and would greatly destabilize our security, our economies and our very way of life. Once again, the United Nations has a pivotal role to play in preventing such a crisis.

The historic resolution that we have just adopted enshrines our shared commitment to the goal of a world without nuclear weapons, and it brings Security Council agreement on a broad framework for action to reduce nuclear dangers as we work towards that goal. It reflects the agenda that I outlined in Prague and builds on a consensus that all nations have the right to peaceful nuclear energy, that nations with nuclear weapons have the responsibility to move towards disarmament, and that those without them have the responsibility to forsake them.

Today, the Security Council endorsed a global effort to lock down all vulnerable nuclear materials within four years. The United States will host a summit next April to advance that goal and to help all nations achieve it. This resolution will also help strengthen the institutions and initiatives that combat the smuggling, financing and theft of proliferation-related materials. It calls on all States to freeze any financial assets that are being used for proliferation, and for stronger safeguards to reduce the likelihood that peaceful nuclear weapons programmes can be diverted to a weapons programme.

The resolution that we passed today will also strengthen the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. We have made it clear that the Security Council has both the authority and the

responsibility to respond to violations of that Treaty. We have made it clear that the Security Council has both the authority and the responsibility to determine and respond as necessary when violations of the Treaty threaten international peace and security. That includes full compliance with Security Council resolutions on Iran and North Korea. I would like to be clear that this is not about singling out individual nations. It is about standing up for the rights of all nations that live up to their responsibilities. The world must stand together. We must demonstrate that international law is not an empty promise and that treaties will be enforced.

The next 12 months will be absolutely critical in determining whether this resolution and our overall efforts to stop the spread and use of nuclear weapons are successful. All nations must do their part to make this work. In America, I have promised that we will pursue a new agreement with Russia to substantially reduce our strategic warheads and launchers. We will move forward with the ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty and open the door to deeper cuts in our arsenal. In January, we will call upon countries to begin negotiations on a treaty to end the production of fissile material for weapons. The non-proliferation Treaty Review Conference in May will strengthen that agreement.

We harbour no illusions about the difficulty of bringing about a world without nuclear weapons. We know that there are plenty of cynics and that there will be setbacks that prove their point, but there will also be days like today that push us forward and tell a different story. It is the story of a world that understands that no difference or division is worth destroying all that we have built and all that we love. It is a recognition that can bring people of different nationalities, ethnicities and ideologies together. In my own country, it has brought together Democratic and Republican leaders like George Schultz, Bill Perry, Henry Kissinger and Sam Nunn, who are with us here today. It was a Republican President, Ronald Reagan, who once articulated the goal that we now seek in the starkest of terms: "A nuclear war cannot be won, and must never be fought".

And no matter how great the obstacles may seem, we must never stop our efforts to reduce the weapons of war. We must never stop until we see the day when nuclear arms have been banished from the face of the Earth. That is our task. That can be our destiny. We

will leave this meeting with a renewed determination to achieve that shared goal.

In accordance with the understanding reached among Council members, I wish to remind all speakers to limit their statements to no more than five minutes in order to enable the Council to carry out its work expeditiously. Delegations with lengthy statements are kindly requested to circulate their texts in writing and to deliver a condensed version when speaking in the Chamber.

I now invite the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Ban Ki-moon, to take the floor.

**The Secretary-General:** This is a historic moment — a moment offering a fresh start towards a new future. I extend a warm welcome to President Obama. We salute his leadership.

This is the first Security Council summit on nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. I have long advocated a stronger role for the Security Council. This was a major element of the five-point nuclear disarmament plan I announced in October last year.

The need for action is clear. Thousands of nuclear weapons remain on hair-trigger alert. More States have sought and acquired them. Nuclear tests have continued. And every day, we live with the threat that weapons of mass destruction could be stolen, sold or slip away. As long as such weapons exist, so does the risk of proliferation and catastrophic use, as does the threat of nuclear terrorism.

Now, some might dismiss the goal of nuclear disarmament as utopian. The cynics say, "Stop dreaming. Be realistic." They are wrong. Nuclear disarmament is the only sane path to a safer world. Nothing would work better towards eliminating the risk of use than eliminating the weapons themselves. The Russian Federation and the United States are leading by example.

I urge the Security Council to make the most of this moment. This should not be a one-time event. We must sustain the momentum.

First, we need new ways to increase transparency and openness regarding the weapons programmes of the recognized nuclear-weapon States. I urge the Council to start consultations on this matter. The Secretariat is ready to serve as a repository.

Secondly, we must make the best use of the United Nations disarmament machinery. I hope, for example, that the Conference on Disarmament can advance the programme of work it adopted this year, including negotiations on a fissile material cut-off treaty. For its part, the Council could promote universal membership in key treaties, work to improve compliance, and assess the need for new agreements, including a nuclear weapons convention. It could also strongly reaffirm the need for early entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty.

Thirdly, disarmament and non-proliferation must proceed together. I encourage nuclear-weapon States here to consider additional measures to enhance security as a way of leading to total elimination. These could include, for example, ways to achieve the effective verification of the disarmament process. At the same time, we must ensure that the International Atomic Energy Agency has the resources and support it needs to implement its growing safeguards responsibilities.

For too long, a divided international community has lacked the will, vision and confidence to move ahead. Together, we have dreamed about a nuclear-free world. Now we must act to achieve it. That starts now.

I congratulate the Council on convening this summit. I welcome the adoption of today's resolution, and again salute the leadership of President Obama. I pledge my continued support and look forward to future meetings on these vital issues here in this Council and beyond, including the crucial 2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. This summit truly adds a new page to the history of this Council. Let us now write a new chapter of peace, security and safety for all.

**The President:** I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

I now invite His Excellency Mr. Óscar Arias Sánchez, President of the Republic of Costa Rica, to take the floor.

**President Arias Sánchez** (*spoke in Spanish*): I am grateful for the opportunity to say a few words in a place so emblematic of international order in the nuclear age. The Security Council is the product of a mixture of stupor and hope, the harvest of an atrocious fear that led to faith in a peaceful destiny for the

human race. This institution was founded on the promise that we would be able to sleep peacefully following the most abominable of wars — a promise, reflected in Article 26 of the United Nations Charter, that the Security Council would promote “the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources”.

That promise has yet to be fulfilled. While we sleep, death is awake. Death keeps watch from the warehouses that store more than 23,000 nuclear warheads, like 23,000 eyes open and waiting for a moment of carelessness. Death is incited and spurred on by those who perfect weapons of mass destruction instead of destroying them, and by those who each year allocate tens of billions of dollars to vertical proliferation. Death is courted by fundamentalists and megalomaniacs, radicals and populists, who sustain their power with gunpowder.

I thank President Barack Obama for the opportunity to discuss the reduction of nuclear weapons in the world. A large group of Nobel peace laureates has gone even farther. For years, we have lobbied for the total abolition of nuclear weapons, because we believe that they run counter to the survival instinct of every species. However, it does not seem plausible to discuss disarmament so long as not even existing agreements are being honoured; so long as there are countries that resist ratifying the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty; so long as some hide data, store fissile material and reject international verification mechanisms, shielded behind their sovereign status; so long as nuclear tests continue to take place; and so long as this Security Council maintains its silence before widely known secrets, such as the clandestine network of proliferation of nuclear supplies, led with impunity from Pakistan by Abdul Qadeer Khan in open mockery of the logic underlying resolution 1540 (2004).

It does not seem plausible to speak of a safer world so long as the proliferation of other types of weapons remains in its perennial second-place position on our international agenda. This Council fails in its historic mission every day that it turns a blind eye to the rampant arms race. The world spends \$3.5 billion every day on weapons and soldiers. Each year, more than \$42 billion in conventional arms are sold to developing nations, where weak or non-existent

democracies are incapable of satisfying the most basic needs of their peoples. Even in Latin America, which has never been more peaceful or more democratic, this year nearly \$60 billion will be allocated to military spending — this in a region with an average of seven years of schooling for its population, and poverty that affects more than 200 million inhabitants.

That is why I ask that we approve the arms trade treaty that my Government has presented to this Organization. If it is legitimate for us to worry about the possibility that terrorist networks may gain access to a nuclear weapon, it is also legitimate for us to worry about the rifles, grenades and machine guns that are given into their hands. Who said that killing thousands in one blow is worse than killing thousands every day?

Twenty years ago, I visited the United Nations during my first presidential term. In those days, we talked about a world without nuclear warheads, a world in which we would finally control the weapons that fuelled wars between brothers. I have come back again as a modern-day Rip Van Winkle, to find that everything has changed — everything except that. Peace remains just out of reach. Nuclear and conventional weapons continue to exist, despite all the promises. It is up to us to ensure that 20 years from now we do not awaken to the same terrors we suffer today.

I am not unaware of the fact that the world's biggest arms sellers are represented here. But today I speak not to the makers of arms, but to the leaders of humanity, who have the responsibility to put principles before utilitarian considerations, and make good on the promise of a future where — finally — we can sleep in peace.

**The President:** I now invite His Excellency Mr. Stjepan Mesić, President of the Republic of Croatia, to take the floor.

**President Mesić** (*spoke in Croatian; English text provided by the delegation*): It is a great honour for me to present, on behalf of the Republic of Croatia, our views on the issue that has been put on the agenda of today's meeting.

I take this opportunity to pay tribute to the United States and to you personally, President Obama, for the initiative to discuss in the Security Council the very delicate issue of nuclear non-proliferation.

If this meeting brings us just one step forward on the path towards a world free of nuclear weapons — a world that you, President Obama, have in a visionary manner set as the objective to which we should aspire — then we will have succeeded. I emphasize that even if we get only one single step closer to this objective we will indeed have succeeded, because the journey towards a world free of nuclear weapons is not, cannot be and will not be easy, simple or short. This, however, does not mean that we should give up or allow despondency to rule our thoughts and deeds — quite the contrary.

The world was faced with nuclear weapons 54 years ago. The horrendous effects of their use imposed the need to start almost immediately to reflect on how to limit their proliferation, which was also the objective of a set of international treaties. However, in spite of all those efforts, today we live in a world where there are 10 or so nuclear Powers, recognized or unrecognized. I deliberately use the term “Powers”, because possession of a single nuclear bomb makes the country that possesses it a Power, if one considers the consequences of its potential use — to say nothing of the fact that the present-day world is burdened with the evil of international terrorism, or what it would mean if a terrorist group were to get hold of nuclear weapons.

What we should do here today, as my country sees it, is to reinforce the role of the United Nations, without the least intention of replacing any institution or forum dealing with non-proliferation, and, unanimously and jointly, and taking into consideration earlier documents of the Security Council and the General Assembly, to state the following: On the one hand, great efforts are needed to attain, first, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons followed by nuclear disarmament. On the other hand, at the same time, every country must be guaranteed its right to the peaceful use of nuclear energy — if necessary with even more stringent measures of universally accepted international control.

Let me be more precise: we have to work together to affirm or establish principles that will help us to head towards a world free of nuclear weapons without necessarily entering into debate over this or that concrete issue.

There are other things that we have to do. First, we must unreservedly support a multilateral contractual system related to nuclear arms control and

disarmament which includes strict implementation and strengthened verification of contractual obligations. Secondly, we must call upon all members of the world Organization to contribute to activities aimed at preventing the abuse of existing treaties and at strengthening anti-proliferation efforts and resources.

Efforts focused first on limitation of nuclear weapons, then on reduction and finally on disarmament have a long history. They have, however, gained a new and strong impetus since the announcement by the United States President that his ultimate objective is a world free of nuclear weapons. Because of that declaration our task today is to send a message to the world, which has authorized us to act here, that there is political will for the pursuit of a policy providing all countries with security without nuclear weapons.

We would thereby also respond to the long-standing efforts of participants in the campaign for a nuclear-free world. Among them I include the Secretary-General, non-governmental organizations, civil society, current and former political leaders, parliamentarians, scholars, trade unions and students.

Our objective is peace in security. This objective cannot be reached if the threat of nuclear weapons exists. The decades of the cold war — when admittedly, thanks to the balance of fear, we had global peace, but not security — are the best proof that this is so.

The Republic of Croatia is prepared to make its maximum contribution to efforts aimed at achieving this objective. As a member of the generation that experienced the Second World War, and remembering all later local wars and crises that threatened world peace, I can just add that this is something that we owe to those who come after us. When we leave, let us bequeath to them a better world — a world free of nuclear weapons.

**The President:** I now invite His Excellency Mr. Dmitry Anatolyevich Medvedev, President of the Russian Federation, to take the floor.

**President Medvedev** (*spoke in Russian*): I expect that the current meeting of the Security Council, convened on the initiative of United States President Barack Obama, will help address many problems facing the international community, first and foremost in the sphere of nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament.

I think that today it is obvious to everyone that the issues of security are indivisible and global. Security is affected not only by conflict situations in certain regions of the world, but also by instability in individual countries. And if we want the collective efforts of the international community to be built on objective forecasts and to be effective, we must learn more about each other and openly discuss the accumulated problems, comprehensively analysing them and jointly developing well thought-out decisions.

That is precisely the goal of the Security Council resolution we have just adopted. The measures it contains are a realistic programme of action for the international community to respond effectively to common threats in the nuclear sphere.

Russia has always been a reliable and predictable partner in the area of nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. In the sphere of strategic arms limitation, Russia and the United States of America have carried out unprecedented reductions of strategic nuclear arsenals within the framework of the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. In doing so, we have repeatedly stated and reiterated our readiness to move forward to reduce the number of delivery vehicles of strategic offensive arms more than threefold. Our proposals have been put forward at negotiations that we are holding with the United States, and we are prepared, as has been agreed with the President, to continue working to meet the challenges of missile proliferation; we hope that all interested parties will join us in this endeavour.

Today's meeting is ushering in a time of large-scale and serious work — work that I am convinced will dramatically improve the situation in the world. I am referring to the nuclear security summit and the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference scheduled for next year, along with the signing of a new legally binding Russian-American treaty on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms. We are doing our utmost to have it signed by December.

Our main shared goal is to untangle the problematic knots in the field of non-proliferation and disarmament. Naturally, that is extremely complicated, since the level of mistrust among nations remains too high; nonetheless, it must be done.

I would like to emphasize that the situation in the sphere of non-proliferation is changing less quickly

than we would like. The old, traditional threats persist and new ones are emerging. One of the most dangerous threats, just referred to by certain heads of States, is that of nuclear components falling into the hands of terrorists. I believe that all present would agree that the existing back-up system needs to be modernized. We must consider together how to make it more up-to-date and more efficient.

The issue of peaceful nuclear energy requires serious attention. New nuclear power plants doubtless hold great promise for resolving many problems, in particular those of developing countries, stimulating the economic growth of entire regions and raising the living standards of millions of people on the planet. However, States that carry out such programmes must strictly abide by non-proliferation agreements. I place special emphasis on that here in the Security Council.

What, in our view, are the priorities for international cooperation in this crucial area? There are a few.

First, it is essential to improve, update and strengthen the global non-proliferation and disarmament regime. The tried and tested international mechanisms — above all, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons — continue to play a pivotal role in this area. We must also promote and universalize the safeguards regime of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Secondly, we need to encourage leading countries to sign and ratify the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty as soon as possible in order to ensure its ultimate entry into force. That is very important.

Thirdly, we should make more active use of the new non-proliferation mechanisms, above all resolution 1540 (2004), sponsored by Russia and the United States of America, on the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism; and others.

It is obvious that an effective resolution of many of the aforementioned problems will depend on the interested and constructive engagement of all parties. We expect that the Russian-American efforts in this area will be backed by all nuclear-weapon States. The non-nuclear-weapon States should also honour their obligations in this area, which would help to create a climate favourable to genuine non-proliferation.

Finally, I should like to emphasize that Russia is ready to continue working actively for peace on Earth and for the future of civilization.

**The President:** I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Felipe Calderón Hinojosa, President of the United Mexican States.

**President Calderón Hinojosa** (*spoke in Spanish*): Mexico enthusiastically welcomes the convening by the United States of this very special meeting of the Security Council on nuclear disarmament and the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Mexico is convinced that global peace and security cannot be built on the accumulation of nuclear arsenals. It is very encouraging that the United States and Russia, as we have heard, are negotiating a new strategic arms reduction treaty, precisely because the United States and Russia control some 90 per cent of the approximately 25,000 nuclear warheads in existence. We believe that the ultimate aim should be the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

My country also welcomes the decision of the United States to resume the legislative process for the ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty because that decision and the willingness to review deterrence models proposed in the recent past serve as an example that should inspire other countries to follow suit. We also appreciate the decision to reconsider projects that only generate fear and doubt in humankind.

We cannot accept the paralysis of the multilateral negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament. The time has come to act. The resolution that was negotiated in recent days in the Council and adopted at this meeting should be the first step of a new movement in favour of disarmament.

A growing number of States have developed nuclear weapons or have the capacity to produce them, ignoring the desires of humankind and of those countries that have established vast nuclear-weapon-free zones, such as that in Latin America and the Caribbean. The security of the entire planet is weakened to the extent that the number of possessors of such weapons is growing.

Mexico supports the right of every State to avail itself of nuclear energy for peaceful uses under the full supervision of the relevant international entities, such

as the International Atomic Energy Agency, which is represented here today. Given both the gradual exhaustion of fossil fuels and their effect on global warming, nuclear energy represents an opportunity for sustainable development. However, only the exclusively peaceful use of nuclear energy can allow us to hope that those who covet nuclear arms will abandon their intentions to acquire and use them.

There is the danger that terrorist groups could acquire the equipment and technology to manufacture a nuclear device. If we are to avoid that, it is of fundamental importance that all States comply with resolution 1540 (2004). To demonstrate its commitment, Mexico has taken steps to join some of the international export control regimes, beginning with the Nuclear Suppliers Group. States should step up their efforts in favour of disarmament and non-proliferation without ceasing to promote the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Although nuclear disarmament is the central topic of this meeting of the Security Council, Mexico should also like to draw attention to the proliferation of conventional weapons. Every day, the traffic in small arms and light weapons causes approximately 1,000 deaths and 3,000 injuries worldwide. Mexico urges the members of the Security Council to seek ways to curb this illicit trade without prejudice to the right of each State to buy the weaponry necessary for its legitimate defence and the protection of its citizens. My country considers the negotiation within the United Nations of an arms trade treaty to be of great urgency.

The Mexican Alfonso García Robles was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his work as architect and promoter of the world's first nuclear-weapon-free zone — that of Latin America and the Caribbean — through the Treaty of Tlatelolco. He held that our children have the right to demand that their parents leave them a world free of nuclear threats. Sixty-four years later, we cannot burden the coming generation with that responsibility. It is time to move ahead not only towards non-proliferation but towards general and complete nuclear disarmament. There is no other way; that is the path we must take.

**The President:** I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Heinz Fischer, Federal President of the Republic of Austria.

**President Fischer:** Today, the Security Council pronounces its commitment to a world without nuclear

weapons. For more than half a century, this goal has been pursued by concerned citizens and political leaders around the world. The international community has undertaken efforts to contain the threat, but many have adjusted to it, almost accepting the nuclear shadow as part of life. But any such complacency is ill-founded; we have arrived at a fork in the road. We can maintain our course and hope that nothing happens, or we can seek real change. Future historians will assess whether today is a turning point. That will not depend on words spoken but on the deeds that follow.

In May 2010 the international community will convene in New York at the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). There we will have to agree on measures that enable progress towards a nuclear-weapon-free world. For Austria, the following points are particularly paramount.

First, the prospect of a world without nuclear weapons must become a goal shared by all States. Austria supports the idea of a nuclear weapons convention equipped with a sophisticated verification mechanism. In the meantime, the NPT remains the core of the global nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation regime. But to fulfil its functions effectively it must be strengthened, it must be institutionalized, and it must become universal.

Secondly, the nuclear weapon States must reduce their arsenals. As you, Mr. President, noted in Prague, "Words must mean something." The words enshrined in article VI of the NPT must be taken seriously. There have been positive developments, yes; but nuclear weapon States must do more.

Thirdly, we must devise a process for entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty. Austria and Costa Rica, as Co-Chairs of the Article XIV Conference, worked hard over the past two years to promote entry into force. That will be possible, however, only with the political commitment of the States that still need to ratify the Treaty.

Fourthly, we must enable the Conference on Disarmament, in Geneva, to negotiate the fissile material cut-off treaty. As current President of the Conference, Austria will make every effort to promote this goal. But to achieve progress, the support of all the members is necessary.



Fifthly, our capabilities to prevent nuclear materials from proliferating to States and to non-State actors must improve. Security Council resolution 1540 (2004) needs better implementation. Austria welcomes its comprehensive review next week. Most importantly, we must enhance the monitoring and verification capabilities of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and ensure strict export control for sensitive materials and technologies. In view of the presence of Director General ElBaradei here today, I wish to thank him warmly and very outspokenly for his excellent work as head of the Agency over the last 12 years in Vienna.

Sixthly, finally we must strengthen trust and confidence. Nuclear-weapon-free zones contribute significantly to sustainable stability. Regions like the Middle East would benefit from such a regime. Ensuring that arms control mechanisms operate in a fair and transparent manner is crucial. Austria's proposal to multilateralize the nuclear fuel cycle under the control of the IAEA could help to avoid a crisis of trust, such as those with regard to the Iranian and North Korean nuclear programmes.

For clarification, I would like to underline that paragraph 11 of the resolution just adopted refers to those countries that have decided to use nuclear energy for peaceful energy reasons, but this is not the case in Austria.

Austria is very satisfied that this resolution is a strong text, a positive contribution to the ongoing disarmament process. But resolutions are not enough. Every State must accept responsibility and active participation. I promise that Austria's support will be there. The Council can also count on the European Union, with its well-known position on these issues and its deep commitment to strengthening the multilateral system. And we can rely on civil society, which throughout the years has remained the motor behind disarmament efforts.

Today we have identified our goals for the future. We now need the energy, the commitment and the persistence to move forward. The support by heads of State and Government at this table today makes me confident that all together we can reach our goals.

**The President:** I now invite the President of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, His Excellency Mr. Nguyen Minh Triet, to take the floor.

**President Nguyen Minh Triet:** Viet Nam welcomes the initiative taken by President Barack Obama of the United States, President of the Security Council for September 2009, to convene this Security Council summit on nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament.

The twentieth century saw the birth of nuclear weapons and their deadly devastation. That century also witnessed an all round nuclear arms race that not only increased tension in international life and wasted resources that could have otherwise been used for development, but also posed to the entire world an unprecedented danger of extermination.

It was also the twentieth century that witnessed a world movement with broad participation by Governments, organizations and individuals demanding the elimination of nuclear weapons and opposing nuclear war for the preservation of peace. Invented by man, right since their birth nuclear weapons have always been a threat to mankind itself, and hence strongly rejected.

Yet there still exists a nuclear stockpile capable of destroying the entire world many times over. The situation of proliferation of nuclear weapons is undergoing new and complex developments. The risk of nuclear weapons falling into the hands of terrorist groups is increasing. Over the past decade, the world's military spending has increased by 45 per cent, while expenditures for nuclear armament have been many times greater than those for Millennium Development Goals, which were set to prevent and mitigate, inter alia, hunger, the degradation of the environment, adverse climate change and pandemics affecting the lives of billions of human beings.

Viet Nam supports all initiatives and proposals of international community to genuine disarmament, including those contained in the position paper of the Non-Aligned Movement circulated for this summit and the five-point proposal of Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. I would like to take this opportunity to emphasize the following points.

First, the prevention of nuclear war and nuclear disarmament leading to the total elimination of nuclear weapons continue to be the earnest aspiration and urgent demand of mankind. Nuclear-weapon States, military alliances and those countries with major military capabilities bear primary responsibilities. Viet Nam shares the international community's desire for

bilateral, multilateral and unilateral plans for early and substantial reductions of nuclear stockpiles and for the assurance of security for non-nuclear-weapon States against the use and threat of use of nuclear weapons. We call for an early commencement of negotiations on an international nuclear disarmament agreement in which those countries having largest nuclear arsenals must take a leading role in nuclear disarmament, because that is an urgent task to ensure world peace.

Secondly, the effectiveness of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, including strengthening the authority of the International Atomic Energy Agency, must be enhanced. This Agency is mandated to prevent the risk of proliferation of nuclear weapons and to ensure nuclear safety and security, as well as impartiality and equality among all States, in accordance with international law. The agreements on nuclear-weapon-free zones reflect the desire of States for, and their right to, the reduction of the risk of nuclear war, and they contribute to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. On this occasion, Viet Nam calls for States to support the Protocol to the Treaty on the South-East Asia Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone, which entered into force in 1997.

Thirdly, the promotion of the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes should constitute a solid pillar of the nuclear non-proliferation regime. In this connection, Viet Nam proposes that an international conference on the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes be convened for an exchange on issues such as international coordination, measures to support the development of policies, science, technology and regulations aimed at nuclear safety and security.

It is the consistent policy of Viet Nam to oppose war and promote disarmament for the protection of peace. This policy reflects the earnest desire of the Vietnamese people, who have always harboured peace but have suffered great losses from wars, and who therefore desire peace not only for themselves but also for mankind. Viet Nam is party to all international treaties prohibiting weapons of mass destruction and is highly appreciated for its serious implementation of its commitments, including those under Security Council resolutions.

Humankind, which invented nuclear weapons, must bear the responsibility for eliminating them so that we can live in a peaceful world. Viet Nam pledges

to contribute its utmost to our common efforts to achieve this noble objective.

**The President:** I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda.

**President Museveni:** I will not read out my statement, for I would then repeat what other leaders have said. Instead, I will make four points.

First, I thank President Obama for convening this special meeting of the Security Council to discuss this very important topic.

Secondly, it is clear that the possession of nuclear weapons is the main cause of other countries wanting to acquire them. It is not logical to say that a few of us should possess nuclear weapons and others should not. I am therefore very pleased to hear some countries that have nuclear weapons say that they are aiming to get rid of all of them.

Action leads to reaction; reaction leads to counter-reaction. We therefore need to look at history to see how all of this began. Germany wanted nuclear weapons in order to dominate the world with them. The United States beat Germany and acquired those weapons first. It then used them. After that, the Soviet Union had to acquire nuclear weapons in order to counterbalance the United States; then China had to acquire them, and so on. Thus, we can see that the main cause of nuclear proliferation is actually the possession of those weapons.

Thirdly, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is based on three principles that I think are very good: non-proliferation, disarmament and the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Finally, I would like to inform the Security Council that Africa is interested not in nuclear weapons, but in nuclear energy. The reason for our interest in nuclear energy is that all the rivers in Africa have a potential total hydropower capacity of approximately 300,000 megawatts. In Africa, we expect to have a population of 1.3 billion by 2020. The United States, with its population of only 300 million people, currently uses 1 million megawatts, but all the rivers in Africa have the potential of only 300,000 megawatts. Even if all the sites on African rivers were developed, we would not have enough electricity to sustain our population, unless, of course, it were scientifically proved that Africans do not need

electricity. However, if one does not come to this absurd conclusion, it is clear that Africa will have to use all energy sources available, including nuclear energy.

Some people speak of solar energy, but a kilowatt hour of solar energy currently costs about 40 United States cents, whereas a kilowatt hour of nuclear or hydropower energy costs about five to six cents. Therefore, nuclear energy is of great interest to Africa.

**The President:** I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Hu Jintao, President of the People's Republic of China.

**President Hu Jintao** (*spoke in Chinese*): The current international security environment is complex and fluid. Nuclear proliferation remains a pressing issue and nuclear disarmament a long and arduous task.

To create a safer world for all, we must first and foremost remove the threat of nuclear war. I would like to propose in this connection that we make efforts in the following five areas.

First, we should maintain global strategic balance and stability and vigorously advance nuclear disarmament. All nuclear-weapon States should, in good faith, fulfil their obligations under article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and publicly undertake not to seek the permanent possession of nuclear weapons. Countries with the largest nuclear arsenals should continue to take the lead in making drastic and substantive reductions in their nuclear weapons.

The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty should enter into force at an early date, and negotiations on a fissile material cut-off treaty should start as soon as possible. When conditions are ripe, other nuclear-weapon States should also join the multilateral negotiations on nuclear disarmament. To attain the ultimate goal of complete and thorough nuclear disarmament, the international community should develop, at an appropriate time, a viable long-term plan composed of phased actions, including the conclusion of a convention on the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.

Secondly, the international community should abandon the nuclear deterrence policy based on first use of nuclear weapons and take credible steps to reduce the threat of nuclear weapons. All nuclear-weapon States should make a firm and unconditional

commitment not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States or nuclear-weapon-free zones, and conclude a legally binding international instrument in this regard. In the meantime, nuclear-weapon States should negotiate and conclude a treaty on the non-first use of nuclear weapons.

Thirdly, we should consolidate the international nuclear non-proliferation regime and prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. All countries should join the NPT and make genuine efforts to uphold and enhance its authority and effectiveness. The safeguards functions of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) should be strengthened. All countries should strictly comply with non-proliferation obligations, refrain from resort to double standards, and tighten and improve export controls to prevent proliferation.

Fourthly, the right of all countries to the peaceful use of nuclear energy must be fully respected and active international cooperation undertaken in that regard. Developed countries should actively assist developing countries in developing and using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The IAEA should increase its efforts to promote technical cooperation and assistance in nuclear power, nuclear safety and security, and nuclear technology applications.

Fifthly, the international community should take strong measures to enhance nuclear security and reduce nuclear risks. Countries should act in strict observance of all international legal instruments governing nuclear security, take credible steps to ensure the security of their nuclear facilities and materials, and effectively prevent the diversion of nuclear materials. The international community should intensify cooperation and combat nuclear terrorism through concerted efforts.

China has consistently stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. I wish to take this opportunity to solemnly reiterate that China is firmly committed to a nuclear strategy of self-defence. We have adhered to the policy of no first use of nuclear weapons at any time or under any circumstances, and have made an unequivocal commitment that we will unconditionally not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States or nuclear-weapon-free zones. China does not participate in any form of nuclear arms race. We will continue to keep our nuclear capabilities at the

minimum level required for national security and make efforts to advance the international nuclear disarmament process. China will continue to play a constructive role in upholding the international nuclear non-proliferation regime.

**The President:** I now invite His Excellency Mr. Nicolas Sarkozy, President of the French Republic, to take the floor.

**President Sarkozy** (*spoke in French*): France fully supports your initiative to hold this meeting, Mr. President, as well as the efforts you have made with Russia to reduce nuclear arsenals. However, let us speak frankly. We are here to guarantee peace. We are right to talk about the future. But the present comes before the future, and the present includes two major nuclear crises. The peoples of the entire world are listening to what we are saying, including our promises, commitments and speeches. But we live in the real world, not in a virtual one.

We say that we must reduce. President Obama himself has said that he dreams of a world without nuclear weapons. Before our very eyes, two countries are doing exactly the opposite at this very moment. Since 2005, Iran has violated five Security Council resolutions. Since 2005, the international community has called on Iran to engage in dialogue. A proposal for dialogue was made in 2005. A proposal for dialogue was made in 2006. A proposal for dialogue was made in 2007. A proposal for dialogue was made in 2008. And another was made in April 2009. President Obama, I support America's extended hand. But what have those proposals for dialogue produced for the international community? Nothing but more enriched uranium and more centrifuges. And last but not least, it has resulted in a statement by Iranian leaders calling for wiping off the map a Member of the United Nations. What are we to do? What conclusion are we to draw? At a certain moment, hard facts will force us to take decisions. If we want a world without nuclear weapons in the future, we must not accept violations of international rules. I completely understand the differing positions of others. But all of us may one day be threatened by a neighbour that has acquired nuclear weapons.

Secondly, there is North Korea — and there it is even more striking. It has violated every Security Council decision since 1993. It pays absolutely no attention to what the international community says.

Even more, it continues ballistic testing. How can we accept that? What conclusions should we draw? I say that also in this case, whatever the opposition, at a certain moment we will all have to unite to adopt sanctions and to ensure that Security Council and United Nations decisions are complied with.

Lastly, I share the views of the Presidents of Uganda and China with regard to access to nuclear energy for civilian purposes. We the nuclear Powers must accept the transfer of technology in order that everyone can have access to this clean energy. I should add that this should prevent those claiming to be carrying out nuclear research for civilian purposes from conflating their activities with military research.

We support the totality of what is contained in the resolution. We also fully support President Obama's initiative. I hope that we will have the courage together to declare sanctions against countries that violate Security Council resolutions. In doing so, we will confer credibility on our commitment to a future world with fewer nuclear weapons and, perhaps one day, a world free of nuclear weapons.

**The President:** I now invite His Excellency Mr. Blaise Compaore, President of Burkina Faso, to take the floor.

**President Compaore** (*spoke in French*): Today's Security Council meeting is addressing a major issue concerning current challenges in the area of non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament. This is a timely meeting in the light of the numerous enormous potential risks for the planet's destruction. I would therefore like to convey to you, Mr. President, as well as to the entire delegation of the United States, my gratitude for having taking the initiative to hold this debate.

International security requires a cessation of nuclear tests and the elimination of all nuclear arsenals. In that regard, Burkina Faso calls for strict adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The irreversible and devastating effects of nuclear weapons should be a source of additional motivation for all of us.

Collective security entails respect by all for international norms and the values of justice and equity. It also requires that we consider the following issues in depth: How are we to dissuade States from renouncing the acquisition of weapons of mass

destruction when other countries are developing nuclear programmes and carrying out tests? How can we contemplate a civilian nuclear programme without causing suspicion and mistrust? How can we prevent nuclear material from falling into careless and irresponsible hands? The possession of and illicit trafficking in nuclear, biological and chemical weapons by non-State actors and terrorist groups pose a real threat for all humankind.

It is therefore important to combine and intensify our efforts to ensure the effective implementation of the measures that have been adopted to combat this scourge. Our collective responsibility is clearly involved here. We must fully assume that responsibility courageously and with perseverance. Mobilization by all States, regional and subregional organizations, civil society and opinion-makers is essential. The fair, transparent and responsible implementation of resolutions will help to reduce antagonism and tension and, above all, to restore trust between all countries. Likewise, more rational use of such instruments and mechanisms as the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty and the Conference on Disarmament will contribute to making the world a safer place.

Mr. President, your dedication to building a world free from nuclear dangers and the process begun between the United States of America and the Russian Federation augur well for the success of the ongoing negotiations on reducing the nuclear arsenals of both countries.

The establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency responded to the need to protect the world from the harmful use of the atom and to benefit from nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Now more than ever, we must commit ourselves to that goal, support the Agency and make civilian nuclear energy — to which all States have a right — an effective tool for development. That is the will that justified the 1996 adoption of the Treaty of Pelindaba, establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Africa. In the context of the energy crisis, African States should thus be given an opportunity to gain access to nuclear energy for civilian purposes.

The question of nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament is at the heart of the problems related to the maintenance of international peace and security. The Security Council has a particular role to play in

that regard. In accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, it must assume that role with objectivity and effectiveness.

Mr. President, aware of the force of your convictions, your personal commitment to multilateralism, your opinions and your courageous initiatives on the problems of disarmament, I remain convinced that you will be able to assume the leadership necessary for the implementation of the outcome of our work. I can assure you of the full cooperation of Burkina Faso in that regard.

**The President:** I now invite His Excellency The Right Honourable Gordon Brown, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, to take the floor.

**Mr. Brown** (United Kingdom): With the unanimous agreement today, under the leadership of President Obama, and with the great speeches that have been made around this table, we are sending a united, unequivocal and undivided message across the world today that we, as leaders of nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear-weapon States, are together committed to creating the conditions for a world free from nuclear weapons.

Today's meeting is also a recognition that we are at a decisive moment. We face the risks of a new and dangerous era of new State nuclear-weapon holders and perhaps even non-State nuclear-weapon holders. So, as we prepare for next year's summit in Washington, D.C., and the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons — and, I am pleased to say, on the advice that we have received from the great statesmen who are here today, Mr. Schultz, Mr. Perry, Mr. Kissinger and Mr. Nunn, as well as from all the countries around this table — I believe we should be prepared to act now to renew and refresh for our times the global bargain that is at the heart of the non-proliferation Treaty. It is a bargain under which we affirm the rights and responsibilities of those countries which forgo nuclear weapons, and it is a bargain under which there are tough responsibilities to be discharged by nuclear-weapon States.

I believe that there are three elements to the renewal of the non-proliferation Treaty. First, we have to be clear that civil nuclear power remains an essential part of any solution to the challenges of climate change and energy security, that that means that access to this

affordable, safe and dependable energy source must be expanded and that, as we have heard from Africa today, we should be prepared to offer access to civil nuclear power to non-nuclear-weapon States.

In doing so, I believe that we must, as the international community, be completely confident that we are able to ensure effective mechanisms for multilateral control of the entire fuel cycle, safeguarding fissile material and preventing proliferation with tough and immediate sanctions for those who break the rules. Our country recently published ideas on how that might be done and how we might establish a new partnership among industry, academia and Governments to solve the technical and policy challenges in this area. I hope that others will join us in this work.

Secondly, accompanied with access of non-nuclear-power States to civil nuclear power, we must strengthen the non-proliferation regime, for increased access to civil nuclear power must not mean increased risk of the further proliferation of nuclear weapons. I believe that the lesson of recent months is that we cannot stand by when Iran and North Korea reject the opportunities of peaceful civil nuclear power and instead take steps to develop nuclear weapons in a way that threatens regional peace and security.

Today, I believe, we have to draw a line in the sand. Iran must not allow its actions to prevent the international community from moving forward to a more peaceful era. And, as evidence of its breach of international agreements grows, we must now consider far tougher sanctions together. I believe that, in future, the onus of proof must be on those who breach the non-proliferation Treaty, and we must give the International Atomic Energy Agency the resources it requires to meet and discharge its responsibilities.

I hope that we can also make more progress on securing the entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty and make real advances on a fissile material cut-off treaty. And we must take collective action together to enhance nuclear security globally to ensure that terrorist groups cannot gain access to nuclear materials. I warmly welcome President Obama's initiative to hold a summit on nuclear security next year. Today, the United Kingdom deposited with the United Nations our instrument of ratification of the International Convention for the

Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism, and I hope that other countries will do likewise.

But there is a third obligation in these future negotiations. Nuclear-weapon States must pursue active disarmament with a credible road map that will command the confidence of all non-nuclear-weapon States. We should commit to making irreversible the steps on disarmament that we have already taken; we should work together to map out the next steps on the road to the elimination of nuclear weapons. Credibility is the key, and the International Atomic Energy Agency already undertakes detailed inspections. We need to be more transparent if we are rapidly and verifiably to reduce nuclear weapons globally.

The United Kingdom has already taken some major steps towards disarmament, reducing by 75 per cent the explosive power of our stockpile. France has made important progress too. And, of course, the United States and Russia have made strong progress on negotiating a new treaty on strategic offensive arms. The current plan to reduce warhead stockpiles to fewer than 1,500 should, in our view, be followed by further reductions of all nuclear-weapon types. Thereafter, we believe, the talks should be expanded to include all other countries. Britain is determined to play its part in full, making our deterrent part of a broader negotiation.

We stand ready to participate and to act. I pledge today that the United Kingdom will retain only the absolute minimum credible and continuing nuclear deterrent capability. As a demonstration of that pledge, I can say that today, subject to technical analysis and to progress in multilateral negotiations, my aim is that, when the next class of submarines enters service in the mid-2020s, our fleet should be reduced from four boats to three. I have therefore directed our National Security Committee to report to me before the end of this year.

This conference today recognizes that we are at a watershed moment. The choices being made now by each nation will determine whether we face a future arms race or a future of arms control. But if we rise to this challenge, then our generation — a generation that has known all too often only the horrors of conflict and the perils of proliferation — will be remembered not for the years of tension, but for the years of progress. And we will be remembered for the time we came together to secure the future of our world for generations to come.

**The President:** I now invite His Excellency Mr. Yukio Hatoyama, Prime Minister of Japan, to take the floor.

**Mr. Hatoyama (Japan):** At the outset, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to President Obama for his timely initiative to hold this meeting.

On 6 and 9 August this year, I visited Hiroshima and Nagasaki and spoke in person with atomic bomb survivors and their second- and third-generation descendants. I cannot help feeling choked with emotion at the fact that just two atomic bombs claimed more than 200,000 lives, and at seeing people who still suffer from the after-effects of radiation more than 60 years after the bombings. I would like to encourage all leaders of the world to visit Hiroshima and Nagasaki and absorb with their own eyes and ears the cruelty of nuclear weapons.

As a matter of historical fact, Japan chose not to possess nuclear weapons even after achieving its post-war reconstruction. In 1970, Japan signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and ratified it six years later. In 1996, Japan signed the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) and ratified it a year later.

Why has Japan chosen to walk a non-nuclear path when it has the potential to develop nuclear arms? Japan is the only country that has suffered from atomic bombing. However, Japan has chosen this path to prevent the vicious cycle of a nuclear arms race. Japan made this choice because, as the only victim of nuclear bombing, it saw moral responsibility in doing so.

Each time neighbouring countries take further steps in nuclear development, some suspect that Japan might want to go nuclear. That is only because they do not understand our firm determination not to acquire nuclear weapons and to fulfil our responsibility to act as the State that has suffered from atomic bombing.

I hereby renew Japan's firm commitment to the three non-nuclear principles. However, it is not sufficient for Japan to just renounce the possession of nuclear weapons. Despite our wish for the elimination of nuclear weapons, nuclear-weapon-holding States still possess large nuclear arsenals and the world remains under the threat of nuclear proliferation.

It is a harsh reality that efforts for nuclear non-proliferation have come to a critical moment in the face of challenges such as the nuclear issue of the

Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Iran and the risk of terrorists acquiring nuclear material and technology. Thus, Japan should take the lead in the pursuit of the elimination of nuclear weapons.

The vision of a world without nuclear weapons proposed by President Obama this April has encouraged and inspired people around the world. It is high time for us to take action.

First, Japan calls upon nuclear weapon States to reduce their nuclear arsenals. Progress in ensuring transparency and in disclosing information will enable confidence-building, thus creating a virtuous cycle for further nuclear disarmament. The creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone, when coordinated between the five nuclear weapon States — the Permanent Five — and non-nuclear-weapon States in the region, would also contribute to nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation and consequently to global and regional peace and security, as stated in today's resolution.

Secondly, Japan again strongly encourages the early entry into force of the CTBT and the immediate commencement of negotiations on a fissile material cut-off treaty. I recall that a Japanese fishing boat named "Daigo Fukuryū Maru" encountered the hydrogen bomb testing at the Bikini atoll in the South Pacific on 1 March 1954. Freezing the capability of nuclear Powers to produce nuclear weapons by a fissile material cut-off treaty would contribute to both nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. It would also constitute an indispensable measure towards making the NPT regime more universally equitable. We have no time to waste.

Thirdly, Japan itself will engage in active diplomacy to lead international efforts in nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. For example, Japan will submit a draft resolution on nuclear disarmament to the General Assembly, support the activities of the International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament co-chaired by Madam Kawaguchi of Japan and Mr. Evans of Australia, and promote efforts to strengthen the skills, expertise and resources of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

I wish to express my respect for the role played by Director General ElBaradei of the IAEA. I also wish to express my trust and confidence in and strong support for the soon-to-be new Director General, Ambassador Amano.

Fourthly, Japan will make a resolute response to nuclear proliferation activities. The nuclear development of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea poses a great threat to the peace and security of Japan and the international community and must not be tolerated. Japan will take necessary measures to implement Security Council resolution 1874 (2009) more effectively. Japan is also concerned about the nuclear issue of Iran. In this regard, the Security Council plays an increasingly important role, and Japan calls for the strengthening of the Council. Furthermore, Japan will contribute to the nuclear security summit to be held next year.

Fifthly, as stated in the resolution adopted today, it is necessary to reduce the risk of proliferation and to adhere to the highest level of standards in each area of nuclear safeguards, security and safety when using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

The period up to the NPT Review Conference in May next year will be critically important in testing the ability of the international community to take pragmatic steps forward toward nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. All the nations of the world, with or without nuclear weapons, have the responsibility to take action towards nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation.

**The President:** I now invite His Excellency Mr. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, to take the floor.

**Mr. Erdoğan** (Turkey) (*spoke in Turkish; English text provided by the delegation*): It gives me great pleasure to be here today. Let me at the outset extend my sincere thanks to President Obama for his initiative to convene this Security Council summit focusing on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, as well as nuclear safety and security. The summit gives us an opportunity to discuss these issues, which require global attention and attention at the highest level. Those factors make this meeting very pertinent and timely. We share a common responsibility towards humanity on these matters.

Forty years ago, when the threat of nuclear destruction was hovering over the fortunes of mankind with a greater magnitude than today, leaders of the world united to produce the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), which is indisputably one of the most important treaties of the twentieth century. The Treaty is very important because

it reflects mankind's universal and fundamental desire for peace and security. Today it remains as relevant and indispensable as it was 40 years ago, with its three mutually reinforcing pillars: non-proliferation, nuclear disarmament/general and complete disarmament, and the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Over the years, much has been achieved along these lines. However, there is still a need to bolster the integrity and credibility of the NPT regime. Therefore, I believe that today's meeting is an important opportunity to demonstrate our readiness to achieve these goals and demonstrate strong global ownership to this end. I believe that will re-energize the international community and lead to new initiatives as we head towards the NPT Review Conference next year.

There is a need for an incremental and sustained approach with respect to nuclear disarmament. In this regard, the unequivocal undertaking by all five nuclear weapon States to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals is therefore one of the big achievements of the NPT. This responsibility must now be upheld, building on article VI of the Treaty and the 13 practical steps for nuclear disarmament agreed upon in year 2000. It is in this context that we welcome and encourage the efforts to replace the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) with a new legally binding instrument.

Irreversible progress on nuclear disarmament will also reinforce the other two pillars of the NPT. In particular, it is important that nuclear non-proliferation should go hand in hand with nuclear disarmament efforts. That should include the entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty, the initiation of negotiations for a fissile material cut-off treaty in the Conference on Disarmament and promoting role of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) as the sole multilateral body in advancing the safe and peaceful use of nuclear technology.

On the other hand, Turkey believes that States in full compliance with their safeguards obligations should enjoy unfettered access to civilian nuclear energy as enshrined in the NPT. We believe that in this day and age, having weapons of mass destruction is not going to bring additional safety or security to any country. On the contrary, those weapons endanger peace and stability. It is for that reason that Turkey believes that it is very important to have nuclear-free zones, especially and starting with the Middle East,



and we continue to support such activities in all areas, particularly in the Middle East.

It is also very important that the safety of nuclear resources remain a priority issue for the international community. There is no doubt that confidence in nuclear sources will continue to be very important. On the other hand, nuclear terrorism and illicit trafficking in nuclear material pose a grave security threat that needs to be addressed with a global commitment.

Within this framework, we should work on a comprehensive and mutually reinforcing approach, making use of available United Nations and IAEA conventions, as well as other applicable multilateral instruments. Resolution 1540 (2004) and its effective implementation is thus of great importance.

Against this background, I would like to take this opportunity to say that we support the resolution that we voted upon this morning (resolution 1887 (2009)).

**Mr. Shalgham** (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, allow me to express the appreciation of the Libyan delegation for the Council's initiative in holding this summit and for the United States delegation's preparation of the draft resolution we just voted upon (resolution 1887 (2009)).

My country undertook an historic initiative when it voluntarily ceased production of the nuclear bomb it was on the verge of producing. In so doing, it greatly served the cause of international peace and security. The decision was based on our deep belief in the primacy of peace for all mankind over any limited national motivations. Libya deserves the thanks and gratitude of the world. Libya must be helped to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Indeed, furthermore, because of the great service it made to international peace and security, Libya deserves a permanent seat in the Security Council.

All States have the right to develop their capabilities to use nuclear energy and enrich nuclear fuel — but for peaceful purposes only. States must be encouraged to use nuclear energy for peaceful means. However, the world cannot accept attempts by any States to produce nuclear weapons.

As brother leader Muammar Al-Qadhafi stated before the General Assembly yesterday, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) must inspect all States, including those possessing nuclear weapons. Its role must not be limited to non-nuclear

States alone if we wish the Agency to be a truly effective international agency. However, if its role is limited to non-nuclear States, the Agency will lose its global character. The Agency must monitor all States without exception.

We want the Middle East to be a nuclear-weapon-free zone, a fully free zone. However, the Israeli Dimona nuclear plant must be inspected. Israel cannot remain above the law. The IAEA must have open access to Dimona. Otherwise, all the States of the Middle East will say, "We have the right to acquire nuclear weapons; why Israel alone?"

Nuclear energy is just another type of energy, just like oil and natural gas. As President Museveni stated, States requiring energy must be helped to use this important source of energy, but for peaceful purposes alone. At the same time, we cannot accept the military use of such energy, as it is the most dangerous weapon threatening mankind.

In conclusion, we support the paper presented by the Non-Aligned Movement to the summit, and I thank you, Mr. President, for your initiative. Let me express our appreciation of the United States delegation for preparing the draft resolution we voted on this morning (resolution 1887 (2009)).

**The President:** I shall now give the floor to the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mr. Mohamed ElBaradei, in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council.

**Mr. ElBaradei:** Mr. President, thank you for inviting me to address this timely, and I hope groundbreaking, summit. I would like to thank you, Sir, for taking this courageous initiative, an initiative that rekindles hope for a world at peace with itself and a security system that is balanced, equitable and humane.

I will limit myself to a few key issues.

First, the global nuclear non-proliferation regime is fragile and has many shortcomings. The legal authority of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) is severely limited in some countries because many States have not concluded the required agreements with the Agency. As a result, in over 90 States the Agency either has no verification authority at all or its authority is inadequate. That means we often cannot verify whether or not a country

is engaged in clandestine nuclear activities. Furthermore, our verification mandate is centred on nuclear material. If the Agency is to be expected to pursue possible weaponization activities, it must be empowered with the corresponding legal authority.

A second issue is the growing number of States that have mastered uranium enrichment or plutonium reprocessing. Any one of these States could develop nuclear weapons in a very short span of time, if, for example, it decided to withdraw from the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT).

To address this, I believe that we need to move from national to multinational control of the nuclear fuel cycle. As a first step, I have proposed the establishment of a low enriched uranium bank to assure States a guaranteed supply of nuclear fuel for their reactors so that they might not need their own enrichment or reprocessing capability. A number of complementary proposals have also been made in that regard. Our ultimate goal, however, should be the full multinationalization of the fuel cycle as we move towards nuclear disarmament.

A third issue is providing the highest level of security for nuclear and radioactive material. In my view, the biggest risk the world faces today is that of extremists getting hold of such material. More than 200 incidents of illicit trafficking, losses or thefts were reported to the IAEA last year. And this might be only the tip of the iceberg. We need to intensify our efforts to secure vulnerable nuclear and radioactive material. The Council's initiative to secure such material within four years could not be more timely.

A fourth issue is the need to strengthen the IAEA. I should emphasize that, at the current level of funding, the IAEA will not be able to fulfil its mission in nuclear verification and security. The Agency infrastructure is dilapidated, and we lack state-of-the-art technology key to modern-day verification.

A fifth issue is that the IAEA cannot do its work in isolation. It depends on a supportive political process, with the Security Council at its core. The Council needs to develop a comprehensive compliance mechanism to address, in a consistent and systematic manner, cases of non-compliance with safeguards obligations or of countries withdrawing from the NPT. This should include giving the Agency the additional authority it may need to deal with specific cases.

A sixth issue is that the Security Council must put more emphasis on addressing the insecurities that lie behind many cases of proliferation, such as endemic conflicts, security imbalances and lack of trust.

Finally, I am grateful to see nuclear disarmament back at the top of the international agenda. I would like to express my gratitude to the "four horsemen" — George Shultz, Henry Kissinger, Sam Nunn and William Perry — for their pioneering work, their statesmanship and their contribution to making this environment a reality. I am also grateful to see a recognition of the intrinsic link between nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, an idea that you, Mr. President, have expressed quite often.

By demonstrating their irreversible commitment to achieving a world free from nuclear weapons, the weapon States can greatly contribute to the legitimacy of the non-proliferation regime and gain the moral authority to call on the rest of the world to curb the proliferation of these inhumane weapons.

To turn the ideas discussed today into action will require an environment of mutual trust, which I hope this summit will help to create.

**The President:** There are no other speakers inscribed on my list.

I want to thank all the participants for their contributions to this meeting. My thanks go particularly to all the distinguished heads of State and Government, the Secretary-General and the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The statements that we heard today, I think, affirm our commitment to a difficult but achievable goal.

I am inspired and encouraged by the seriousness with which all of you have approached this question. I am extraordinarily encouraged by the unanimous adoption of the resolution. Words alone will not get the job done, but with our having affirmed our stated goal, I am confident that if we are diligent we can in fact move this process forward and provide the sort of peace and security for our children and our grandchildren that all of us so desperately want.

I want to thank all of you, again, for your participation.

*The meeting rose at 11.20 a.m.*