

# Building Multinational Initiatives: The IPFM experience

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and

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- ▶ I thank the Fissile Materials Working Group for inviting me to this summit and especially Ken Luongo for encouraging me to talk about our experience with the International Panel on Fissile Materials (IPFM).
- ▶ I will describe the structure and work of IPFM, its successes and its limitations, in the hope that the IPFM experience may offer useful insights for future multinational initiatives on FM.
- ▶ IPFM was established in Jan 2006 with a 5-year grant from The MacArthur Foundation.
- ▶ Its mission is to advance the technical basis for cooperative international policy initiatives for securing and reducing all stocks of HEU and separated Pu, and limiting further production
- ▶ All technical reports and information about IPFM are available at [www.fissilematerials.org](http://www.fissilematerials.org)

# **IPFM is very much a multinational endeavor**

**24 Members ( from 17 countries)**

## **7 Weapon states**

**James Acton (U.K.)**  
**Anatoli Diakov (Russia)**  
**Pervez Hoodbhoy (Pakistan)**  
**Li Bin (China)**  
**Yves Marignac (France)**  
**Abdul H. Nayyar (Pakistan)**  
**Pavel Podvig (Russia)**  
**R. Rajaraman (Co-Chair, India)**  
**M.V.Ramana (India)**  
**Mycle Schneider (France)**  
**Shen Dingli (China)**  
**Frank von Hippel (Co-Chair, USA)**  
**William Walker (UK)**

## **10 Non Weapon states**

**Jean du Preez (S.Africa)**  
**José Goldemberg (Brazil)(past co-chair)**  
**Martin B. Kalinowski (Germany)**  
**Jungmin Kang (South Korea)**  
**Patricia Lewis (Ireland)**  
**Miguel Marin-Bosch (Mexico)**  
**Arend Meerburg (Netherleands)**  
**Henrik Salander (Sweden)**  
**Ole Reistad (Norway)**  
**Annette Schaper (Germany)**  
**[Tatsujiro Suzuki (Japan)]**

## **Princeton University Researchers**

**Harold Feiveson**  
**Zia Mian**  
**Alexander Glaser**

# The Panel's Work

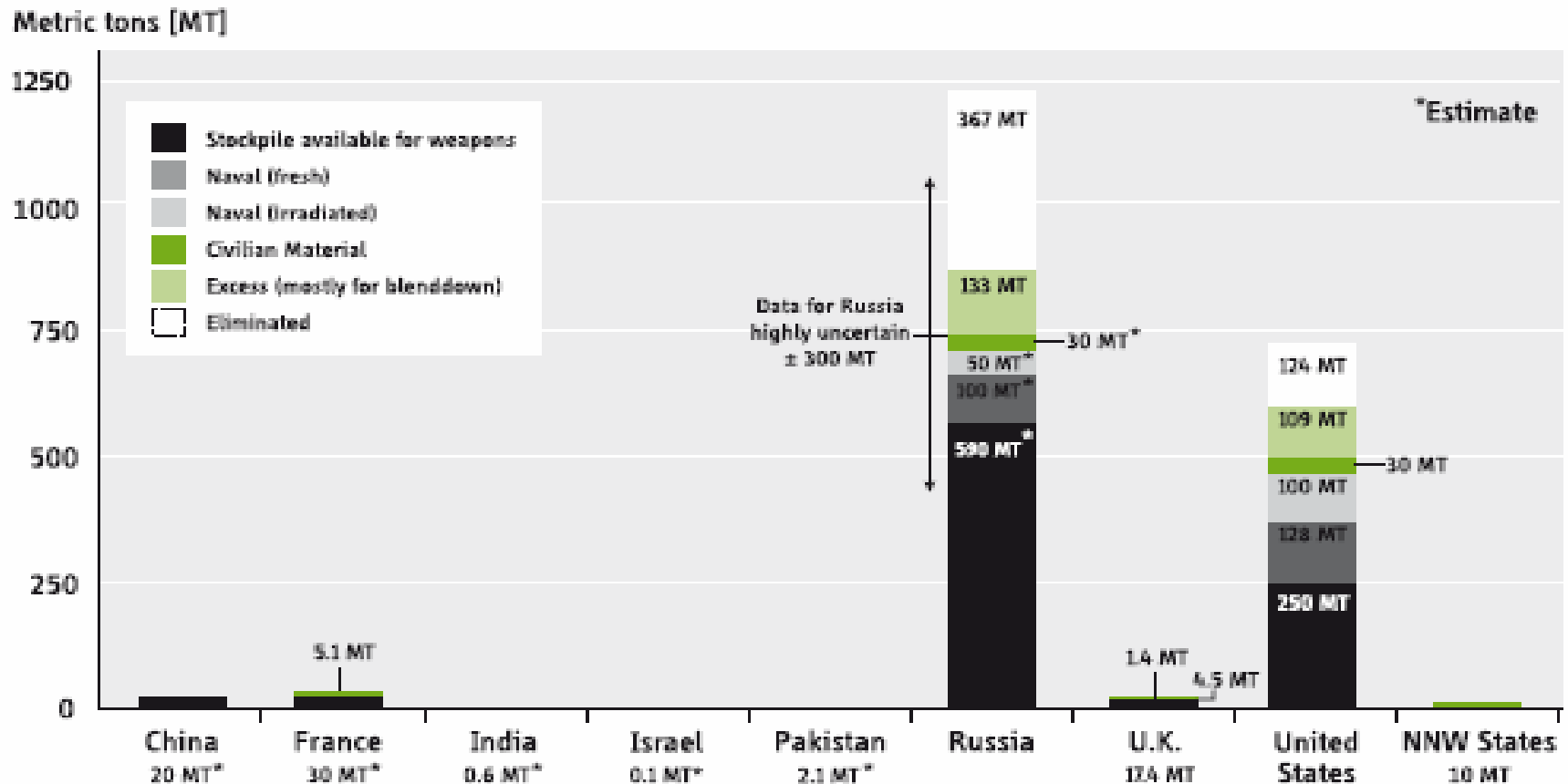
The Core of the work of the Panel is in the form of technical, scholarly publications on various aspects of FM, authored by IPFM members and outside experts.

## Annual Global Fissile Material Reports (GFMR, green covers) (2006, 07, 08 and 09)

- ▶ Each GFMR contains up-to-date country-wise data on FM and warhead stocks.
- ▶ Chapters on subjects like FM storage, verification, re-use of FM etc contain state-of-the-art analysis --explained in a reader-friendly language . GFMRs can be useful Primers for beginners
- ▶ Some years we also focus on specific themes.
- ▶ GFMR 2008 Scope and Verification of an FM(C )T
- ▶ GFMR 2009 A Path to Nuclear Disarmament,

# Worldwide HEU stocks (IPFM Global FM report 2009 )

Total 1610 ± 300 tons



Though the P5 nations possess the overwhelmingly large fraction of HEU, in absolute quantities there is plenty in about 40 other nations. Just the NNW states possess about 10 tons, worth about 400 warheads ! The Pu is situation is similar. So the program of securing FM cannot be limited to P5 countries, but must be a truly multinational effort.

# Research Reports (Orange)

- #8: Fast Breeder Reactor Programs: History and Status , 2010
- #7: Consolidating Fissile Materials in Russia's Nuclear Complex , 2009
- #6: The Safeguards at Reprocessing Plants under an FM(C)T ,2009
- #5: The Legacy of Reprocessing in the United Kingdom , 2008
- #4: Spent Nuclear Fuel Reprocessing in France ,2008
- #3: Managing Spent Fuel in the United States: The Illogic of Reprocessing ,2007
- #2: Japan's Spent Fuel and Plutonium Management Challenges 2006
- #1: Fissile Materials in South Asia: Implications of the US-India Nuclear Deal (2006)

# Draft FMCT document

In addition to these Reports, we worked jointly to hammer out a draft FMCT treaty document

**A Draft Fissile Materials Cutoff Treaty document with article-by-article explanations**

- ▶ We also brought out a Companion Volume : “Country Perspectives on the Challenges to a Fissile Material (Cutoff) Treaty “ in which members from 8 different countries reported on what their nation’s posture was on FMCT
- ▶ Both are available at [www.fissilematerials.org](http://www.fissilematerials.org)

# Some IPFM practices that may have helped

Considerable effort is spent, especially by the Princeton sub-group, in critically reviewing and editing practically every sentence in every article put out under the IPFM banner.

- ▶ Articles are subject to rounds of drafting and iterations, sometimes to the annoyance of the authors !
- ▶ But as a result, the technical aspects of the reports have gradually gained a reputation for being accurate and reliable, even by those who disagree with the implied policy recommendations.
- ▶ Another feature that has helped is that our reports have covered a wide range of Fissile Materials issues—estimates of stocks, consolidation and security, draft FMCT document, verification techniques, reprocessing, fuel cycles, warhead dismantlement, MOX fuel...
- ▶ The success of IPFM in putting together a body of experts from several disparate nations to produce wide ranging reports was lauded by the journal NATURE in its Editorial, Vol 451, Issue no. 7175, 10 January 2008

# Interactions with governments, media, NGOs in Capitals

Another feature that has helped has been our practice of holding some of our Panel meetings in different national capitals and arranging interactions with the local government officials, NGOs and media

**Tokyo** Mar 2010:

**Washington DC** Oct, 2009

**Beijing** Oct 2008:

**London** Oct 2007

**Ottawa**, Sept, 2006.

**The Hague** March , 2006

Typically in these capitals, a few senior representatives from their foreign ministries/ nuclear agencies/ strategic community made presentations, and listened to ours, on topics of special interest to their country.

## Examples:

Japan 2010: on breeders, reprocessing and Pu stocks,

Washington DC 2009: on the Obama administration's arms control initiatives

London 2007: Reprocessing and MOX-fuel Fabrication at Sellafield

# Interactions with International bodies

- ▶ **CD in Geneva:** A session with the full CD at the Council Chamber, Palais des Nations on 16<sup>th</sup> May 2006, at which IPFM members gave presentations on FMCT. Arranged by courtesy of the Dutch Permanent Representative
- ▶ **First Committee of the UN General Assembly, N.Y.** 19 Oct 2006
- ▶ **IAEA in Vienna:** All day session during the IAEA general conference in Vienna on 1st October 2008 arranged by the German Ambassador. We presented our draft FMCT document
- ▶ And gave talks on verification, existing stocks and managed access to weapon and naval reactor facilities
- ▶ **Berlin Article VI Forum,** January 29, 2009
- ▶ As a consequence, Several countries have taken note of the IPFM FMCT draft (Japan, Netherlands, Germany, Canada...)  
Their FM policy makers are using it to define their positions
- ▶ Some have placed our FMCT document on the table at CD  
Many consider it a useful alternative to the US draft

# Limitations and some difficulties

- ▶ We did not seek prior blessings or funds from any government
- ▶ Our membership consists only of non-governmental scientists, and some ex-officials, like-minded in their concerns about FM
- ▶ This helped us in working independently without worrying about the views and sensitivities of individual nations to different aspects of FM.
- ▶ But it also meant that we did not have much direct influence on official policy making, other than provide information
- ▶ Multinational initiatives to actually secure FM has to involve the respective govts and that is going to be much harder.
- ▶ Even finding non-governmental members from different countries is not easy. Some nations with large nuclear establishments do not have correspondingly rich expertise in civil society and academic institutions.

- ▶ In particular, in countries like India, Pakistan, Israel and even France we had difficulty in finding members who had both the expertise and the willingness to work on an independent Panel.
- ▶ If we did manage to put together a rainbow coalition of 24 members from 17 disparate countries, it was largely because of our founding co-chair, Prof. Frank von Hippel .
- ▶ It was Frank's personal prestige in the arms control community that attracted fissile material experts from around the world, many of whom he had mentored in the past. It was his reputation that helped get such a generous grant. Finally it was his expertise on all aspects of fissile materials that informed IPFM publications. He pored over every article and kept us all honest.
- ▶ So one lesson for any new endeavor on fissile materials– have a strong and dedicated group at your headquarters as we were fortunate to have at Princeton, and if you can,
- ▶ get Frank on your side !

▶ THANK YOU