



## Nuclear disarmament: France's concrete commitment - Implementation by France of the "13 Practical Steps" contained in the 2000 Review Conference Final Document -

Working paper submitted by France

France is fully committed to achieving all of the NPT objectives. With regard to nuclear disarmament, the best proof of France's unequivocal commitment is its concrete record. As President Sarkozy pointed out in his speech in Cherbourg on 21 March 2008, "*rather than making speeches and promises that are not translated into deeds, France acts.*"

In 2000, the NPT Review Conference adopted in its Final Document a series of measures to be applied in this area, known as the "Thirteen Practical Steps". With a view to the eighth NPT Review Conference in May 2010, France has set out the following measures taken since then and calls on all other States Parties to the NPT to do likewise for the Conference.

Measures	Action taken by France
<p><b>1. Signature and ratification "without conditions" and "without delay" of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) in order that it enter into force as soon as possible.</b></p>	<p>France signed the CTBT on 24 September 1996 and ratified it <b>twelve years</b> ago, on <b>6 April 1998</b>.</p> <p><b>France is going even further:</b> after the measures taken nationally, France is now continuing its firm commitment to the CTBT on a multilateral level.</p> <p>- It is thus actively committed to the <b>universal ratification</b> of the Treaty and its entry into force as quickly as possible.</p> <p>This is one of the measures of the action plan on disarmament proposed by the President of the French Republic in Cherbourg in March 2008 and taken up again in the European Union action plan adopted under the French Presidency.</p> <p>Furthermore, the European Union adopted an action plan setting out systematic high-level work for the Treaty, in particular in the nine countries in Annexe II, whose ratification is essential in order for the CTBT to enter into force.</p> <p>- France's support for the CTBT is also reflected in the actions undertaken as <b>Presidency, jointly with Morocco, since September 2009, of the Article XIV Conference</b> with a view to promoting the entry into force of the CTBT.</p> <p>- Moreover, France is helping to <b>bolster the verification regime and</b> support the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO) Preparatory Commission. In concrete terms, it is helping to implement a <b>verification regime</b> for the Treaty by building 16 CTBT monitoring stations in France and 8 abroad within the framework of bilateral cooperation agreements. With its European partners, France finances actions such as training, improving performance in the</p>

	verification regime, and technical assistance to third countries (totalling <b>over €5 million since 2006</b> ).
<p><b>2. A moratorium on nuclear weapon tests pending the entry into force of the CTBT.</b></p>	<p>The definitive end of nuclear tests was announced on 20 January 1996.</p> <p>Constant commitment by France to a global moratorium on nuclear weapon tests pending the entry into force of the CTBT.</p> <p><b>France is going even further:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- It has dismantled its nuclear test sites and therefore cannot carry out further nuclear testing. It is the only State to have dismantled its nuclear test site in a manner that was irreversible, transparent and open to the international community. Between 1996 and 1998, it was examined by an international expert mission.</li> <li>- France, together with its European partners, is calling upon all interested States to dismantle their nuclear test facilities as soon as possible, in a manner that is transparent and open to the international community.</li> </ul>
<p><b>3. Need for negotiations in the CD on a “non-discriminatory” and “internationally and effectively verifiable” Cut-off Treaty in accordance with the mandate agreed in 1995, with a conclusion within five years</b></p>	<p>Constant commitment by France for almost the past 15 years to launch negotiations on the Cut-off Treaty, which is a priority. This is <b>one of the measures of the action plan on disarmament proposed by the President of the French Republic</b> in Cherbourg in March 2008 and taken up in the EU action plan.</p> <p>In this regard, France welcomes the <b>consensus adoption by the CD of a programme of work on 29 May 2009</b>, providing for a working group to be set up tasked with negotiating a Cut-off Treaty, in accordance with the mandate agreed in 1995. It wants the Conference on Disarmament to start its work as quickly as possible on the basis of this programme.</p> <p>France also welcomes the support from the United Nations Security Council for the launch of negotiations on a Cut-off Treaty, on the occasion of the unanimous adoption of Resolution 1887, and from the United Nations General Assembly, on the occasion of the adoption by consensus of Resolutions 64/64 and 64/29, in whose negotiations France actively participated.</p> <p><b>France is going even further:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- In 1992 it ceased all production of plutonium for its nuclear weapons and took similar steps in 1996 with regard to its highly enriched uranium. It is abiding by a <b>moratorium</b> on the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons.</li> <li>- Moreover, France, together with its European partners, promotes the adoption by the relevant States of an <b>immediate moratorium</b> on the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons.</li> <li>- In 1996, it was the <b>first State</b> to decide to close and dismantle its fissile material production facilities for nuclear weapons at Pierrelatte and Marcoule. The total cost of dismantlement is estimated to be <b>€6 billion</b>, of which 2 billion have already been spent. As the representatives of the</li> </ul>

	<p>Member States of the Conference on Disarmament, non-governmental experts and journalists saw in <b>visits of</b> the facilities recently organized by France in 2008 and 2009, the <b>dismantling</b> of these facilities is indeed <b>irreversible</b>. <b>France today no longer has facilities that produce fissile material for nuclear weapons.</b></p> <p>- With its European partners, France calls upon all interested States to dismantle such production facilities, or to convert them for non-explosive use only.</p>
<p><b>4. Adoption of a programme of work at the CD establishing an “appropriate subsidiary body with a mandate to deal with nuclear disarmament”.</b></p>	<p>The programme of work (CD/1864) adopted by consensus in May provides for the establishment of a “working group” on nuclear disarmament. France wants the Conference on Disarmament to start its work as quickly as possible on the basis of this programme.</p>
<p><b>5. “The principle of irreversibility to apply to nuclear disarmament, nuclear and other related arms control and reduction measures.”</b></p>	<p>- France has <b>unilaterally</b> taken exemplary and irreversible measures:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dismantlement of the Albion Plateau military site, which hosted the ground-to-ground nuclear component;</li> <li>• The <b>only</b> nuclear-weapon State to have closed and dismantled its nuclear test site (Pacific Nuclear Test Site). France now no longer has nuclear testing facilities.</li> <li>• The <b>only</b> nuclear-weapon State to have decided on and implemented the dismantlement of its facilities dedicated to the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons. This dismantlement was observed by international experts during visits organised by France (16 September 2008, 16 March 2009 and 3 July 2009).</li> </ul> <p>- In the action plan for disarmament adopted on the initiative of the French EU Presidency, France, with its European partners, calls for the dismantlement of nuclear test facilities and of facilities dedicated to the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons.</p>
<p><b>6. “An unequivocal undertaking by the nuclear-weapon States to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals leading to nuclear disarmament to which all States Parties are committed under Article VI of the Treaty.”</b></p>	<p>France respects its undertakings under Article VI of the NPT, as the President of the French Republic solemnly reaffirmed in Cherbourg in March 2008.</p> <p>Commitment by the Heads of State and Government of the G8 meeting in L’Aquila in July 2009 to, <i>“seeking a safer world for all and to creating the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons, in accordance with the goals of the NPT”</i>.</p> <p>Reaffirmation by the United Nations Security Council, meeting at the level of the Heads of State and Government, in its Resolution 1887 adopted unanimously on 24 September 2009 (paragraph 1: <i>“Resolving to seek a safer world for all and to create the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons, in accordance with the goals of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), in a way that promotes international stability, and based on the principle of undiminished security for all”</i>).</p>

<p>7. “The early entry into force and full implementation” of START II and “the conclusion of START III as soon as possible while preserving and strengthening the ABM Treaty as a cornerstone of strategic stability and as a basis for further reductions of strategic offensive weapons ...”</p>	<p><i>Does not apply to France.</i></p>
<p>8. The promotion and implementation of the trilateral USA-Russia-IAEA initiative (verification of the irreversible release from the military sector of plutonium designated as surplus to requirements)</p>	<p>While not directly concerned by the trilateral initiative, France has contributed to studies for the elimination of surplus US and Russian weapons-grade plutonium, given its expertise in the area of plutonium use in MOX fuels, through its contribution to the AIDA/MOX programme and the fabrication of experimental American MOX fuels.</p>
<p>9. “Steps by all the nuclear-weapon States leading to nuclear disarmament in a way that promotes international stability, and based on the principle of undiminished security for all”:</p> <hr/> <p>- Further efforts to unilaterally reduce their nuclear arsenals;</p> <hr/> <p>- Increased transparency with</p>	<p>Reaffirmation by the United Nations Security Council, meeting at the level of the Heads of State and Government, in its Resolution 1887 adopted unanimously on 24 September 2009 (paragraph 1: “Resolving to seek a safer world for all and to create the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons, in accordance with the goals of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), in a way that promotes international stability, and based on the principle of undiminished security for all”).</p> <hr/> <p>Given developments in the strategic environment, in particular since the end of the cold war, France was able to reduce the size of its forces in each of its components, consistent with a principle of <b>strict sufficiency: France has therefore halved its nuclear arsenal in almost ten years.</b></p> <p>France has an exemplary record, including a further unilateral reduction in 2008.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Total dismantlement of the <b>ground-to-ground component</b>: France is the only State with a nuclear ground-to-ground component to have entirely dismantled it.</li> <li>• Reduction of the <b>sea-based</b> component: reduction in the number of nuclear-powered guided-missile submarines in service from six to four.</li> <li>• Reduction of the <b>airborne</b> component: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Early decommissioning and dismantlement of Jaguar and Mirage III-borne AN52 nuclear bombs;</li> <li>- Withdrawal of Mirage IV strategic aircraft from nuclear missions.</li> <li>- A <b>one-third</b> reduction in 2008 in the number of nuclear weapons, missiles and aircraft in the airborne component, bringing the total French arsenal to fewer than 300 nuclear warheads.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• NB: Termination of the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons (1992 for plutonium, 1996 for highly enriched uranium), termination of nuclear tests.</li> </ul> <hr/> <p>Transparency is particularly <b>important in building</b></p>

regard to the nuclear weapons capabilities, as a voluntary confidence-building measure to support further progress on nuclear disarmament;

**confidence**, which is essential in arms control and disarmament, and a factor of strategic stability. The President of the French Republic underlined the importance of transparency in the speech he gave in Cherbourg on 21 March 2008.

**France has set an example in this area:**

• Transparency on **forces**:

- Announcement in 2008 on the total ceiling of 300 nuclear weapons. France is the **first State** to have made public the total number of its weapons (rather than just the operationally deployed strategic weapons) in its nuclear arsenal ; France has no other weapons in reserve nor weapons awaiting dismantlement.
- Announcement that France has no nuclear weapons in reserve;
- Reaffirmation of the non-targeting of nuclear weapons;
- Pre-notification of all our space launches and missile launches under the HCOC. Apart from the United Kingdom, France is the only nuclear power to give these notifications.

**France is going even further:**

• Transparency on **doctrine**: the French doctrine is regularly and publicly expounded by the highest-level political authorities (see the Cherbourg speech in March 2008). It features the basic elements contained in the white papers, which correspond to strategic reviews submitted to Parliament, in reports annexed to the military budget bills, and in public speeches by the President of the French Republic and the Prime Minister.

• Transparency on **practical disarmament steps**:

- Visits (unparalleled among the other nuclear-weapon States) to the former Pierrelatte and Marcoule facilities by the Member States of the Conference on Disarmament, non-governmental experts and journalists.
- Opening of the Pacific Test Site from 1996-1998 to an international expert assessment mission to evaluate the environmental impact of the French tests, giving rise to an IAEA report. This is an unprecedented measure by a Nuclear Weapon State.
- **IAEA report on former Algerian testing sites**, to which France actively contributed.
- Regular publication and distribution, within the framework of the NPT, of brochures and information on our disarmament efforts ([www.francetnp2010.fr](http://www.francetnp2010.fr)) ;

• On the basis of proposals made in Cherbourg by the President of the Republic, **France**, with its European partners, **calls on the nuclear powers to reach an agreement on transparency and confidence-building measures**. Consequently, France took part in the P5 Conference on Confidence-Building Measures in London on 3 and 4 September 2009.

- The further reduction of non-strategic nuclear weapons, based on unilateral initiatives and as an integral part of the nuclear arms reduction and disarmament process;

France is not affected as it has no non-strategic nuclear weapons.

In the action plan on disarmament adopted on the occasion of its European Union Presidency, France, with its European partners, calls upon interested States to provide for tactical weapons to be included in the overall arms control and disarmament processes, with a view to their reduction and elimination.

- Concrete agreed measures to further reduce the operational status of nuclear weapons;

France is working towards reducing the operational readiness of nuclear weapons systems when the strategic context so allows and conditions for our overall security are maintained. It has taken **significant steps** to this end, which provide concrete and reliable responses:

- **Detargeting**, announced in 1997, confirmed in Presidential speeches since then, and lately in 2008.
- Lowering the alert status of the two components in 1992 and 1996. These alert level reductions concerned both force response times and the number of weapon systems.
- Moreover, France employs considerable technical means in addition to **strict, rigorous and effective procedures** to ensure that no weapons can be used without an order from the President of the French Republic.

- A diminishing role for nuclear weapons in security policies to minimise the risk that these weapons ever be used and to facilitate the process of their total elimination;

- French nuclear weapons have formed part of a **doctrine** of deterrence right from the outset. This doctrine is **strictly defensive** and severely limits the circumstances in which nuclear weapons could be used, consistent with the requirements of the ICJ and the United Nations Charter. The use of nuclear weapons would therefore be conceivable only in **extreme circumstances of self-defence**, as solemnly recalled by the President of the French Republic in Cherbourg. Our nuclear deterrence protects us from any aggression against our **vital interests** emanating from a State.
- The **size of French nuclear forces** is determined by the principle of **strict sufficiency**. Under this principle, the French arsenal, which guarantees the credibility of our deterrence, is maintained at the lowest possible level compatible with the strategic environment and the foreseeable development of the threat.

Developments in the strategic environment, especially since the end of the cold war, meant that the **size of our forces could be reduced**. France **halved its arsenal** in the space of almost 10 years. The nuclear deterrence budget has therefore been **nearly halved** in 20 years. It currently stands at approximately 0.2% of French GDP (compared with approximately 1% in 1967 and 0.5% in 1989).

<p>- The engagement as soon as appropriate of all the nuclear-weapon States in the process leading to the total elimination of their nuclear weapons</p>	<p>France is committed to seeking a safer world for all and to creating the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons, in accordance with the goals of the NPT.</p> <p>Concrete nuclear disarmament actions.</p> <p>France constantly takes into account all the political and strategic conditions that make the reduction of its nuclear arsenal possible, in accordance with the principle of strict sufficiency, and with the pace and procedures determined in a sovereign manner.</p> <p>More generally, through its work for peace, regional crisis resolution and collective security, as well as through its promotion of general and complete disarmament, France is helping to create the conditions which will ultimately allow for the elimination of nuclear weapons.</p>
<p>10. Arrangements by all nuclear-weapon States to place, as soon as practicable, fissile material designated as no longer required for military purposes under the IAEA or other relevant international verification.</p>	<p>France has no fissile material in excess of its defence requirements.</p>
<p>11. Reaffirmation that the ultimate objective of the efforts of States in the disarmament process is general and complete disarmament under effective international control.</p>	<p>France's permanent commitment, reaffirmed in the action plan on disarmament adopted by the EU, as well as at the G8 in L'Aquila in July 2009 and the Security Council Summit of 24 September 2009. Our fundamental aim is first and foremost to move towards a safer world. Beyond all the discussions and good intentions, if we really want nuclear disarmament to become a reality, we must realise that it is inextricably linked with collective security and the strategic environment.</p> <p>Therefore, as highlighted by Article VI of the NPT, <b>all States are responsible for disarmament</b>, whether they be nuclear-weapon States or not. Creating the appropriate conditions for a world without nuclear weapons means encouraging the progress of all countries in all fields of disarmament, reducing imbalances regarding conventional weapons, working towards reducing international tensions and improving collective security. Indeed, if we fail to implement nuclear disarmament alongside credible efforts in all other areas (whether they be universalization of biological and chemical weapons prohibition, conventional disarmament, ballistic non-proliferation or prevention of an arms race in outer space), a new and highly destabilising scenario of an arms race could be the result.</p> <p>To this end, France is extremely active in all these other fields :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- France's ratification of the <b>Oslo Convention on Cluster Munitions</b> on 25 September 2009 and the active promotion of its universal ratification;</li> <li>- Participation in the <b>Ottawa Convention</b> on the Prohibition of Anti-Personnel Mines and the active promotion of its universal ratification;</li> <li>- Support for improving the implementation of politically binding instruments on the <b>trafficking of small arms and light weapons (SALW)</b>;</li> <li>- Participation in the <b>Chemical Weapons Convention</b>;</li> <li>- Participation in the <b>Biological Weapons Convention</b>.</li> </ul> <p>France considers it extremely important to seek</p>

	<p>additional mechanisms to effectively evaluate compliance with the obligations of the Convention by its States Parties;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Participation in the <b>HCOC</b>, of which France is President from summer 2010;</li> <li>- Participation in the <b>MTCR</b>, of which France is the permanent point of contact;</li> <li>- Participation in the <b>NSG</b> and the <b>Australia</b> group.</li> </ul> <p><b>France is going even further</b> and is committed to encouraging the conclusion of new instruments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- France, together with Switzerland, instigated the launch of negotiations in the United Nations on the issue of marking and tracing <b>SALWs</b>. France would like to see such negotiations produce a legally binding instrument;</li> <li>- Active support for the process leading to the adoption of an <b>Arms Trade Treaty</b>;</li> <li>- Adoption by France and its European partners, on the occasion of the French Presidency of the EU, of a <b>Code of Conduct for outer space activities</b> (confidence-building and transparency measures for the security of space objects).</li> <li>- France's commitment, with its European partners, <b>to negotiating a treaty banning short- and intermediate-range ground-to-ground missiles</b>.</li> </ul>
<p><b>12. Regular reports, within the framework of the NPT, by all States Parties on the implementation of Article VI and the relevant 1995 paragraph, and recalling the 1996 Advisory Opinion of the ICJ.</b></p>	<p>France regularly publishes working documents under the NPT review cycle, as well as reports produced for Parliament and the general public. It also makes necessary information available online (<a href="http://www.francetnp2010.fr">www.francetnp2010.fr</a>).</p>
<p><b>13. The further development of the verification capabilities that will be required to provide assurance of compliance with nuclear disarmament agreements for the achievement and maintenance of a "nuclear-weapon-free world".</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support for the <b>CTBT verification regime</b>, at national and European level. In concrete terms, France is helping to implement a verification system for the Treaty by building <b>16 CTBT monitoring stations in France and 8 abroad</b> within the framework of bilateral cooperation agreements. The completion of the CTBT verification regime is consequently one of the elements of the EU action plan on disarmament adopted at the French Presidency's initiative and endorsed by the European Council in December 2008. European support for the verification regime has brought with it a <b>substantial financial engagement (over €5 million since 2006)</b>.</li> <li>• Promotion of the negotiation of a <b>cut-off treaty</b> with verification provisions;</li> <li>• Regular participation in seminars on this issue.</li> </ul>