

A Dark Shadow Looms Large Over UN Talks On Abolishing Nukes 联合国废除核武器会谈隐现忧患

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WASHINGTON DC (IDN) – The 193-member UN General Assembly is to hold two key sessions – in March and in June – in what is expected to be a do-or-die attempt towards the elimination of nuclear weapons worldwide.

华盛顿特区（IDN）报道 — 联合国大会193个会员国将于今年3月和6月举行两次重要会议，预计这两次会议对于全球无核化的进展至关重要。

“Whether 2017 will be the year that sees nuclear weapons being banned or whether the effort to achieve this gets turned into a form of “fake news” remains to be seen?,” says a sceptical Tariq Rauf, Director of the Disarmament, Arms Control and Non-Proliferation Programme at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

来自瑞典斯德哥尔摩国际和平研究所（SIPRI）的裁军、军备控制和防扩散项目主任塔里克·拉乌夫（Tariq Rauf）说：“我们为无核化所做的努力是否将在2017年成为另一种形式的‘假新闻’？关于是否能在2017年实现无核化，我们拭目以待。”塔里克·拉乌夫主任对此持怀疑态度。

The dark shadow that looms large over the upcoming General Assembly sessions will be the imposing figure of US President Donald Trump – whose trigger-finger is dangerously close to over 7,000 nuclear weapons, and whose views on nuclear disarmament appear consistently inconsistent, ranging from proliferation to strengthening existing arsenals. [P39] JAPANESE TEXT VERSION PDF

从核扩散到加强现有军备武器，新当选的美国总统唐纳德·特朗普在有关核裁军议题上的观点显得摇摆不定。然而，他有可能让美国7000多颗核武器在总统的权力下一触即发，这一切让即将到来的联合国大会更难以预测。

The primary aim of the two sessions – scheduled for March 27-31 and June 15-July 7 – is to negotiate “a legally binding instrument to prohibit nuclear weapons, leading towards their total elimination”.

大会将于3月27日至31日和6月15至7月7日分两次举行。大会主要将就“构建一项具有法律约束力的文书以禁止核武器，朝全面销毁核武器目标迈进”这一主题进行协商。

But how realistic and feasible is this – considering the strong opposition it is expected to evoke, specifically from some of the major nuclear powers, including the US, Britain, France, and Russia, who are reportedly lobbying behind-the-scenes to scuttle the conference or cause disarray among non-nuclear states.?

然而，考虑到会议可能将引发包括美国，英国，法国以及俄罗斯在内的主要拥核的强烈反对，这一议题的现实可行性还有待商榷。据报道，这些拥核国家在幕后妨碍会议的实施，并且在无核国家之间挑拨离间。

In an interview with IDN, Rauf said all signs indicate that the negotiations will be fraught with deeply-held differences amongst the participating non-nuclear-weapon States.

在接受IDN采访时，拉乌夫（Rauf）说所有迹象都表明与会的无核国家之间根深蒂固的差异将会使得谈判过程更加艰难。

“There are fears that those NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and allied non-nuclear-weapon States who might participate will run interference and complicate the discussions on behalf of their nuclear-armed masters,” he warned.

拉乌夫(Rauf)警告说：“有人担心北大西洋公约组织（NATO）及其盟友国或许会对此次会议进行阻挠并为了自身的核武利益使现有问题更加复杂化。”

Another fault line could be among those non-nuclear-weapon States that want a quick short norm establishing treaty prohibiting nuclear weapons and those that might prefer a more detailed treaty with provisions on verification, said Rauf, former Head of Verification and Security Policy Coordination at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in Vienna.

另外，在无核国家之间也可能就核武问题产生分歧。一些国家希望迅速建立一套废除核武器的国际准则条约，另一些国家则更希望在核验证方面制定出更细致的条款。国际原子能机构对外关系和政策协调办公室核查与安全政策协调负责人拉乌夫(Rauf)补充道。

He said civil society participation could be a prominent feature for the first time in multilateral negotiations on a nuclear weapons treaty, and some member states already have given indications of curtailing the influence or involvement of civil society.

拉乌夫(Rauf)说民间社会组织的参与在有关核武器条约的多边谈判中首次成为引人注目的焦点。一些成员国已经透露出限制民间社会组织在此事务中的影响力与参与度的信号。

John Burroughs, executive director of the Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy (LCNP), told IDN that judging by the organizational meeting held February 16 at UN Headquarters, and attended by over 100 countries, there is considerable momentum toward negotiation of a “treaty prohibiting nuclear weapons, leading to their elimination” – a ban treaty.

核政策问题律师委员会执行主任约翰·巴勒斯(John Burroughs)告诉IDN，从2月16日于联合国总部召开，由100多个国家参与的组织会议来看，与会各国为“构建一项具有法律约束力的文书以禁止核武器，朝全面销毁核武器目标迈进”这一主题的实现以及缔结禁止核试验条约的僵局打开了新局面。

The process arises out of the frustration of most non-nuclear weapon states with the failure of the nuclear-armed states to move rapidly and decisively on nuclear disarmament, pursuant to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) obligation to negotiate nuclear disarmament in good faith and UN General Assembly resolutions going back to the very first one, he noted.

约翰·巴勒斯(John Burroughs)还说, 大多数无核国家对拥核国家核裁军行动感到失望。拥核国家难以积极果断地实施核裁军计划, 或许他们从一开始就难以以真诚友善的初衷履行《核不扩散条约》下的义务和联大决议。正是这一状况促使了此次联合国组织会议的召开。

For several years, he pointed out, the United States, United Kingdom, France, and Russia, all possessing nuclear weapons, have made clear their opposition to this process. They will not be participating, nor will most states in military alliances with the US.

他同时指出, 多年来包括美国, 英国, 法国以及俄罗斯在内的拥核国家在无核化这一进程中明显展现出不愿合作的姿态。这些拥核国家以及美国的军事盟国大多都不愿参与合作。

“In an interesting development, however, China and India were both present at the organizational meeting, and apparently will participate in the negotiations. It would seem they want to demonstrate their commitment to multilateral negotiation of nuclear disarmament, though it is unlikely that they would join a ban treaty at the outset.”

“然而, 有趣的是中国和印度都参与了这次组织会议。不仅如此, 两国今后也将继续积极参与与此议题有关的谈判协商。虽然这两个国家都不太可能真正签署或加入禁止核试验条约, 但他们都想展现出对核裁军多边谈判的支持态度。”

The Netherlands was also present at the meeting, and press reports indicate that Japan, while not at the meeting, is still deciding whether to participate, said Burroughs, who is also Director, UN Office of International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA).

巴勒斯(Burroughs)同时也兼任联合国国际反核武器律师协会主任, 他说, 荷兰也出席了这次组织会议。有报道也透露消息说虽然日本并没有现身会议现场, 但其仍在考虑是否加入这一协定。

Raul told IDN this push by a large majority of non-nuclear-weapon States has opened up stark differences not only with States possessing nuclear weapons, but also within the ranks of the non-nuclear-weapon States.

劳尔(Raul)([typo here: This should be Rauf instead of Raul in the original article . The translation should be ‘拉乌夫’](#))告诉IDN由大多数无核国家推动的这次会议不仅使它们与拥核国家之间产生分歧, 在无核国家内部也争议不断。

States in nuclear-armed alliances such as NATO and US’ Pacific allies, plus Russia, vehemently oppose any negotiations on a multilateral treaty prohibiting nuclear weapons, while paying lip service to achieving a world without nuclear weapons through an undefined “step-by-step” or “phased” approach with no defined time line.

一些国家虽然自身没有核武器但却是北大西洋公约组织(NATO)或美国在亚太地区的核武装盟友。

这些国家以及俄罗斯对多边禁止核武器条约表示出强烈反对, 只在口头上表示出对于无核化进程的支持。他们提出达到废除核武器这一目标需要采取“循序渐进”或“阶段性”的方法, 但却无法在时间上给出具体的承诺。

Three international conferences (Oslo 2013, Nayarit 2014, and Vienna 2015) drew global attention to the deep concern over the pervasive threat to humanity posed by the existence of

nuclear weapons and the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any detonation of a nuclear explosive.

三次国际性会议(2013年的奥斯陆会议,2014年的纳亚里特会议,2015年的维也纳会议)让核武问题成为国际社会的焦点。国际社会担心现存的核武器会对人类社会造成普遍的威胁,核爆试验以及核武器的使用会给人道主义带来灾难性的影响。

Given these risks, the majority of non-nuclear-weapon States stressed the need for urgent action by all States towards achieving a world without nuclear weapons and noted that progress to date towards nuclear disarmament had been very slow.

考虑到这些风险,大多数无核国家向国际社会施压,强调各国核裁军行动迟缓的现状并要求世界各国采取紧急行动以推进无核化进程。

These States, said Rauf, also highlighted that the NPT had obligated nuclear-weapon States to disarm, but in nearly 50 years of the Treaty this obligation had not been met and there were no signs of it being met.

拉乌夫(Rauf)说,这些无核国家还强调根据《核不扩散条约》(NPT),拥核国家有义务进行核裁军。然而近50年拥核各国并没有积极履行这项义务,也没有迹象表明它们今后会积极履行由《核不扩散条约》所规定的各项义务。

These States also noted that there was a legal gap regarding the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons, as there was no nuclear disarmament treaty along the lines of the Biological Weapons Convention and the Chemical Weapons Convention that respectively prohibited biological and chemical weapons and mandated their total elimination.

这些无核国家同时也指出国际上与禁止和销毁核武器有关的法律存在不少空白和漏洞。《禁止生物武器公约》以及《禁止化学武器公约》明确规定了生物化学武器必须予以彻底销毁。与之对应地,目前并没有出现相关的国际性核裁军条约。

Accordingly, these States proposed a menu of four distinct approaches for the pursuit of a world without nuclear weapons, including: a comprehensive nuclear weapons convention; a nuclear weapon ban treaty; a framework agreement; and a progressive approach based upon building blocks.

无核国家也相应地为无核化进程提供了四种不同的方法,包括:1.拟定全面详尽的核武器公约。

2.拟定一份禁止核武器条约。3.达成相关议题框架性协议。4.先构建多边合作基石,再采取循序渐进的实现方式。

Some NATO States on the other hand responded that there was no such legal gap and that the NPT provided an essential foundation for the pursuit of nuclear disarmament.

然而,一些北约国家却回应相关领域并不存在法律空白与漏洞。它们认为《核不扩散条约》已经为核裁军提供了法律依据与框架。

They stressed that the international security environment, current geopolitical situation, and role of nuclear weapons in existing security doctrines should be taken into account in the pursuit of any effective measures for nuclear disarmament; and as such, a nuclear weapon ban treaty was not in their national security interest.

北约各国还强调在考量制定更加有效的核裁军措施时必须充分考虑其他相关因素。比如整体国际安全环境，当前的地缘政治形势以及核武器在现存国际安全战略中所扮演的角色。综上所述，新的禁止核武器条约与他们的国家安全利益不符。

These States also maintained that a nuclear weapon ban treaty would create confusion as regards implementation of the NPT and complicate fulfilment of the NPT's nuclear disarmament obligations.

北约各国同时指出新的禁止核武器条约的出现会与现行的《核不扩散条约》产生混淆，这或将阻碍拥核国家在《核不扩散条约》框架下充分地履行自身义务，导致不必要的麻烦。

“In fact, a nuclear weapon ban treaty would not affect the NPT,” said Rauf. Those States that are parties to the NPT would still be bound by it and obligated to its full implementation.

“实际上，禁核条约并不会对《核不扩散条约》产生影响。”拉乌夫说。出台新的禁核条约后，那些签署了《核不扩散条约》的北约缔约国依旧会被其约束并履行其规定的相关义务。

A nuclear ban treaty could go beyond the NPT and prohibit possession of nuclear weapons and deployment of nuclear weapons (including in foreign States, as for example in Belgium, Italy, Netherlands and Turkey that host US nuclear weapons under NATO auspices; or as in Japan and South Korea in earlier times).

新的禁核条约是对《核不扩散条约》的延伸，它不仅禁止国家拥有核武器还规定各国无法在海外部署核武器。（例如美国在北约的支持下可以在比利时，意大利，荷兰和土耳其部署其核武器。在这之前美国还可在其亚太盟友日本，韩国两地部署核武器）

Just as the 1963 Partial-Test-Ban Treaty banning nuclear test explosions in the atmosphere, outer space and under water does not conflict with the 1996 Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty banning all nuclear test explosions; similarly the 1968 NPT could not be in conflict with a nuclear weapon ban treaty, declared Rauf.

例如，1963年签订的《禁止在大气层，外层空间和水下进行核武器试验条约》（简称：《部分禁止核试验条约》）与1996年签订的《全面禁止核试验条约》并不产生冲突。同样地，新的禁核条约与现行的《核不扩散条约》也不会产生冲突。拉乌夫阐述道。

Burroughs said a ban treaty, as now envisaged, would prohibit the possession and use of nuclear weapons, but not contain detailed provisions regarding such matters as verified dismantlement of nuclear weapons and governance of a world free of nuclear weapons.

巴勒斯(Burroughs)说就目前所预想的情况来看，新的禁核条约将会明令禁止拥有和使用核武器，但对于核裁军的核验以及如何管理一个无核世界等问题却没有相应的规定与条款。

The thought is that it does not make sense to negotiate on issues directly affecting states with nuclear weapons without their participation; their expertise, views, and commitment would be needed to satisfactorily resolve the issues.

问题在于，如果主要拥核国家不愿参与相关议题的讨论的话，那么与之利益相关的谈判和会议则不会取得实质性进展。因此，从拥核国家的角度，观点以它们在核领域的专业性为突破口从而寻求解决问题的方法就显得十分必要了。

A ban treaty in this approach would reinforce existing norms as to non-use of nuclear weapons – codifying the incompatibility of use with international humanitarian law governing the conduct of warfare. It would also reinforce existing norms as to non-acquisition of nuclear weapons under the NPT and regional nuclear weapon free zones, he added.

国际人道主义法在战争治理方面规定不得使用核武器，这一规定得到各国普遍认可。通过上述方式拟定新的禁核条约能够进一步强化各国现已达成的共识。不仅如此，新的禁核条约还能加强各国在《核不扩散条约》下就无核交易，区域无核化等问题所达成的共识。巴勒斯补充道。

Burroughs said a ban treaty would also build upon, and in a sense unite, the treaties establishing the nuclear weapon free zones. The first of those treaties, the Treaty of Tlatelolco establishing the Latin American and Caribbean zone, celebrated its 50th anniversary on February 14 in Mexico City.

全球已有一些地区根据条约成功地建立了区域无核区。巴勒斯(Burroughs)补充说，新的禁核条约不仅会以已有的相关区域性条约为基础，还会反作用于这些条约，加强区域间各条约的整合。世界无核武器区的先驱《特拉特洛尔科条约》成功地在拉丁美洲和加勒比地区建立了无核区。今年2月14日人们在墨西哥城庆祝以纪念其开放签署50周年。

“The significance of a ban treaty may be above all political, a powerful and definitive statement that the status quo as to nuclear weapons is unacceptable, that nuclear weapons must never be used again, and that there must be no more delays in fulfilling the promises of nuclear disarmament made in the NPT and in the UN context, notably the 1978 General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament”.

“禁核条约的重要性或许超越了所有政治层面的需求，这将是一个强烈而明确的声明：核武器的现状是不可接受的，核武器也绝不能再次被人类使用。各国履行其在《核不扩散条约》框架以及联合国相关决议，尤其是1978年裁军特别联合国大会下承诺的义务已经刻不容缓。”

But depending on the content of the treaty, he pointed out, there will also be specific legal consequences.

巴勒斯(Burroughs)同时指出，根据所拟定的具体条约内容的不同，条约所产生的法律后果也不尽相同。

For example, there may be a prohibition on financing of nuclear weapons which could significantly affect investment in companies making nuclear weapons, and for states joining the ban treaty, there will likely be a requirement not to assist or cooperate in any way with

preparation for use of nuclear weapons by states outside the treaty, said Burroughs. [IDN-InDepthNews – 25 February 2017]

例如，禁核条约中可能出现禁止与核武器相关的金融融资活动条款，这将极大地影响到对制造核武器公司的投资。对于签署加入禁核条约的国家来说，它们应该做好相应准备不以任何方式帮助或协作任何条约外国家开发准备或使用核武器。[IDN深度报道 – 2017年2月25日]

Photo: Montage of an inert test of a United States Trident SLBM (submarine launched ballistic missile), from submerged to the terminal, or re-entry phase, of the multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles. Credit: Wikimedia Commons.

图片：美国三叉戟潜射弹道导弹合成图。多弹头分导重返大气层运载工具从水下到终端发射器或再入段遥控。

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