

Information Circular

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Communication dated 1 June 2023 received from the Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the Agency

1. The Secretariat has received a Note Verbale dated 1 June 2023, together with an attachment, from the Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the Agency.

2. As requested, the Note Verbale and its attachment are herewith circulated for the information of all Member States.



THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA PERMANENT MISSION IN VIENNA

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CPM-P-2023-34

The Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations and other International Organizations in Vienna presents its compliments to the Secretariat of the International Atomic Energy Agency, and has the honor to present to the latter the summary of the workshop "The AUKUS and Article 14: Challenges Ahead", which was organized by the Permanent Mission of China on May 18, at Vienna International Center.

It is the hope of the Permanent Mission of China that this Note, together with the attached summary, will be duly circulated to all Member States in a timely manner.

The Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations and other International Organizations in Vienna avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Secretariat of IAEA the assurances of its highest consideration.



The Secretariat of International Atomic Energy Agency VIC, Vienna 1400

Chair's Summary¹

'The AUKUS and Article 14: Challenges Ahead'

Workshop organized by the Permanent Mission of China VIC CR.2: 18 May 2023

Note: This summary has been prepared for information of the Board of Governors meeting in June, with the objective of enhancing the awareness of Member States regarding the sensitivity and complexity of the issues concerning any implementation of Article 14 of INFCIRC/153 (Corr.).

On May 18, a workshop entitled **'The AUKUS and Article 14: Challenges Ahead'** was organized by the Permanent Mission of China at the Vienna International Centre. The workshop was attended by more than 80 representatives from 31 Member States of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The Head of the Non-Proliferation and Policy-Making Organs Section, Office of Legal Affairs, Mr. Ionut Suseanu, participated in the workshop as the representative of the IAEA Secretariat.

The discussion focused on various aspects of the AUKUS nuclear submarine cooperation and Article 14 of the Comprehensive Safeguards Agreement (CSA) – IAEA document INFCIRC/153 (Corr.). The event was moderated by Mr. Li Chijiang, Secretary General of China Arms Control and Disarmament Association. Three panelists made presentations and shared their views, which are:

- Dr. Tariq Rauf (Former Head of Verification and Security Policy Coordination, Office reporting to the Director General of IAEA), speaking on "The Looming Challenge to IAEA Safeguards: Naval Nuclear Propulsion";
- Ms. Laura Rockwood (Non-Resident Senior Fellow of the Vienna Center for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation, Former Section Head for Non-Proliferation and Policy in the Office of Legal Affairs of IAEA), speaking on "Fundamental Issues in Connection with Submarines and Safeguards"; and
- Mr. Anton Khlopkov (Director of the Center for Energy and Security Studies), speaking on "The AUKUS and Article 14".

There was a Q&A session in which intensive interactions were made. In this workshop the following views, *inter alia*, were expressed by the presenters and discussants (PDFs of full presentations are attached).

The AUKUS cooperation for acquisition of nuclear-powered submarines marks the first time in history

¹ This Chairs' Summary is solely for information purposes; it reflects the main topics raised and areas of discussion that were relevant to the announced theme, and it does not intend to seek agreement of all participants nor purport to be all inclusive and comprehensive.

for Nuclear-Weapon States under the NPT to transfer naval nuclear reactors that operate using weapons-grade highly enriched uranium as fuel to a Non-Nuclear-Weapon State (NNWS) party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). This would set a precedent with significant challenges for the IAEA safeguards system in terms of verifying the correctness and completeness of declarations of nuclear activities by a NPT NNWS, and for the integrity of the international nuclear non-proliferation regime with the NPT as its cornerstone. The AUKUS project is expected to use about two or more tonnes of 93%-97.3% highly-enriched uranium as fuel for the naval nuclear propulsion reactors. Article 14 of INFCIRC/153 (Corr.) covers the "Non-application of Safeguards to Nuclear Material to be used in Non-proscribed Military Activities".

Thus far, there is no experience or track record for the "non-application" of comprehensive safeguards. The AUKUS project if it goes ahead to completion in its present form of secrecy would set a precedent in the absence of agreed parameters and agreed understandings of the Board of Governors and Member States. Also, thus far, more than eighteen months since the announcement of the AUKUS agreement there have not been any technical, policy or legal briefings or consultations on Article 14 involving the Secretariat, AUKUS parties and Member States. This is a significant break with past Agency practice of open-ended consultations on matters concerning interpretation, implementation or strengthening of Agency safeguards. Such open-ended consultations and committees of the Board were involved in the drafting, negotiation and finalization of safeguards frameworks including INFCIRC/153 (Corr.), the "93+2" safeguards strengthening measures, INFCIRC/540 (Model Additional Protocol), and amendment/recission of Small Quantities Protocols.

With regard to Article 14 of INFCIRC/153 (Corr.), it was noted that to the Secretariat's knowledge there is no formal definition of "non-proscribed military activity". Open-ended consultations would be useful and even required to reach a common agreed understanding of the provisions of Article 14. Furthermore, no State or States could assign the responsibility to themselves to determine the meaning and scope of Article 14 – that could only be done by Member States in open-ended consultations.

It was noted that a "military-to-military" transfer of naval nuclear fuel could not obviate the requirement to invoke Article 14 provisions as a legal and a policy matter. Another important observation was that whatever the arrangement pursuant to Article 14, it must be designed as fit for purpose regardless of who the partner States might be. Ultimately, the acceptability of any given arrangement should be judged on its non-proliferation merits, and be able to survive the following test: if the names of the parties involved are changed, is it still acceptable?

The observation was made that it is the <u>Agency</u>, not the IAEA Secretariat, meaning that the Member States of the Agency and its governing bodies, including the IAEA Board of Governors, should be

involved in discussing and approving the Article 14 arrangement. It is difficult to recall a conceptual safeguards document in the history of the IAEA that would have been approved by the Board of Governors by vote rather than by consensus. Establishing a precedent with an arrangement between Australia and the Agency could threaten the universal nature of the safeguards approach and could have a negative impact on the effectiveness and sustainability of the Agency's safeguards system in the long term.

The following account in brief summary form covers the discussion session.

Some viewpoints questioned why the Board of Governors has not taken more of a leading role in developing policy and technical understandings regarding Article 14. It is the Member States of the Agency and its governing bodies, including the IAEA Board of Governors, that should be involved in discussing and approving the arrangement. Establishing a precedent with an arrangement between Australia and the Agency with no active role of the IAEA Board of Governors could threaten the universal nature of the safeguards approach and could have a negative impact on the effectiveness and sustainability of the Agency's safeguards system in the long term. It is therefore important to discuss the arrangement beforehand with the IAEA Member States with a view to adopting it by consensus. Fundamentally, the history of safeguards has proven that inclusive consensus is a long-term solution that takes care of all the concerns.

It needs to be clearly understood that matters concerning the interpretation and implementation of the CSA (INFCIRC/153 (Corr.)) are inherently political and policy matters concerning all IAEA Member States and NPT States parties. The transfer of nuclear materials from Nuclear-Weapon States to Non-Nuclear Weapon States is neither clear nor present in Article 14.

From the negotiation of the history of the CSA (INFCIRC/153 (Corr.)), it is clear that the Agency and Member States should be consulted, and satisfactory administrative arrangements reached concerning the use of any nuclear material for a non-proscribed military purpose under the NPT whether or not the material was initially under safeguards. The arrangement that Australia seems to be requesting under Article 14 involves complicated legal and technical matters, which need careful and holistic analysis and in-depth discussion.

Since the AUKUS submarine cooperation is unprecedented, the safeguards approach to be chosen will define more commonly all future nuclear-powered submarine acquisition programmes, but also any future work on Article 14. Thus, both professional and governmental open-ended discussions between Member States should take place at the Agency to address it. It may make sense to consider creating an experts' mechanism (various forms possible) that would combine the knowledge and experience of

the Agency Secretariat, Member States and relevant experts.

The discussion on the AUKUS and Article 14 is only the beginning of a long intergovernmental process. During the workshop raised many if not all necessary questions but finding answers to all of these questions is not the purpose for now.

The following questions, *inter alia*, were asked during the workshop, which reflect some of the complexities of the AUKUS submarine cooperation project:

- Does the IAEA Secretariat have the authority or mandate to interpret the provisions of the NPT?
- Is the interpretation of the safeguards arrangement of AUKUS to be developed in accordance with Article 14 within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Secretariat and the Board?
- Why have the Board and Member States not taken a leading role in developing policy and technical understandings regarding INFCIRC/153 (Corr.) Article 14 implementation?
- What could be credible safeguards approaches and related technical objectives for HEU-fueled naval nuclear propulsion reactors and fuel?
- How will reaching a broader conclusion under the Additional Protocol be impacted in the case of a NPT NNWS implementing the INFCIRC/153 (Corr.) Article 14 non-application of safeguards to nuclear material to be used in non-peaceful activities?
- How would the comprehensive safeguards agreement deal with the matter of the transfer to a NPT NNWS of HEU-fueled naval nuclear propulsion reactors?
- Can application of safeguards to the AUKUS submarine project can be considered as technical "assistance", and whether this kind of "assistance" would violate Article II of the IAEA Statute?
- What safeguards measures would be required for implementation by Australia to ensure accountability and transparency of its nuclear-powered submarine project, especially given that two or more tonnes of weapons-grade highly enriched uranium will be in use?
- How to evaluate the challenges of the unprecedented AUKUS project to the existing IAEA safeguards system, especially with regard to the Agency's standard practice of inclusive, transparent, open-ended consultations involving all interested Member States on all matters of safeguards, safety and security?
- What support could be provided by interested Member States to the Director General and the Secretariat to facilitate open-ended consultations and technical briefings on matters concerning interpretation and implementation of Article 14?
- What role the Secretariat should play to facilitate the intergovernmental discussion process on AUKUS?



Conflict of interest and Funding

- The author has declared no conflict of interest. No IAEA Member State has influenced the findings of this project.
- No financial support for this project has been sought nor received from any source whatsoever.

Notate bene

- The views expressed in this presentation do not reflect those of the IAEA Secretariat – the views are those of the presenter for purposes of information and discussion ...
- 2) The IAEA is a complex international technical organization with a broad Statutory mandate for nuclear verification supplemented by NPT mandate for CSAs in NNWS party to the Treaty ...

Tariq Rauf: 01/06/2023

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3. For your information, I and my then-colleague Marie-France Desjardins were the first to assess and report on the matter of nuclear-powered submarines (SSNs) and the spread of nuclear weapons in our 1988 publication > cover on the next slide. In 2003 and in 2006, I briefed the Conference on Disarmament on the challenges to safeguards posed by SSNs > references in following slides. Since the September 2021 AUKUS and June 2022 Brazil announcements on acquisition of SSNs, I have published a number of assessments on the challenges to IAEA safeguards of the proliferation of SSNs to NNWS and exemption of several SQs of weapon-usable nuclear material from safeguards due to loopholes in the NPT and INFC IRC/153. Corr.









Conference on Disarmament: CD/PV.1037 (24 August 2006) CD/PV.1037 2 The PRESIDENT: 1 declare open the 1037th plenary meeting of the Conference on At the outset, I would like to warmly welcome Dr. Tariq Rauf, Head of trity Policy of the Office of External Relations and Policy Coordination of mic Energy Agency. He is with us today, invited by the Conference, to make he prohibition of the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons and ring inseptember of the control of the control of the comments. Conference will reconverse a ple ', entitled ' Transparency in arm tity to ask quest e the floor to Dr. Tariq Rauf. Mr. RAUE (International Atomic Energy Agency): The Initi is grateful for this opportunity to come and make a presenta of production of fissionable material for nuclear weapons or . Since IAEA's main task is material verification, the thrust of ares related to muclear verification. Mr. Robert Fagerholm, who is from t ment of Safeguards. He is a nuclear i on is divided into four parts with a brief introdu-logy as we use it at IAEA in the context of nucl-of nuclear materials coming out of nuclear we stion choices and a conclusion. My statement is Myp 00







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Questions: NPT, INFCIRC/153 Questions: NPT, INFCIRC/153 While NPT Article III.1 obliges NNWS to "accept safeguards in accordance with the Statute of the IAEA and the Agency's Why not derestrict materials regarding Canada's request for safeguards system, for the exclusive purpose of verification of the fulfilment of its obligations assumed under this Treaty with a view para.14 exemption during 1988-1990 (excluding to preventing diversion of nuclear energy from peaceful uses to commercially relevant information such as costs)? nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices" > there is no Did Committee 22 (Safeguards Committee) exceed its provision in the IAEA Statute to exempt nuclear material from mandate in drafting and including para. 14 in INFCIRC/153 safeguards in "non-proscribed nuclear military activities" and how can the NPT States parties be assured that such an exemption from as non-application of safeguards is not mentioned in Article safeguards will not lead to diversion of unsafeguarded nuclear III.1 of the NPT? material in non-proscribed nuclear military activities to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices? Tariq Rauf 01/06/2023 Tariq Rauf 01/06/2023 19 20





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Tariq Rauf: 01/06/2023



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Questions: Technical	Atom for Peace		
AP: INFCIRC/540: implementation of para.14 CSA			
Only in countries with both a CSA and an AP in force with sufficient information and access can the Agency provide credible assurances of both the non-diversion of declared nuclear material from peaceful nuclear activities and the absence of undeclared nuclear material and activities			
 How will this impact on the Broader Safeguards for the State concerned? 	Conclusion		
Tariq Rauf	01/06/2023		



Questions: Technical CSA + AP: implementation re para.14 CSA How will Agency address and investigate open source and third-party information regarding (possible) diversion of nuclear material exempted under para.14? And, in this context seek to discover related clandestine or undeclared activities? What remedies would be available to the Secretariat and Board? Tariq Rauf 01/06/2023

43



44







Naval Nuclear Propulsion: NPT and IAEA Safeguards



2.15. Non-application of safeguards to nuclear material to be used in non-peaceful activities. The use of nuclear material in a non-proscribed military activity which does not require the application of IAEA safeguards. More specifically, this refers to the use by a State with a comprehensive safeguards agreement (CSA) as envisaged in para. 14 of [153] of nuclear material in a nuclear activity which does not require the application of IAEA safeguards (e.g. a non-proscribed military activity such as naval nuclear propulsion).... the IAEA and the State are required to make an arrangement, as provided for in para. 14(b) and 14(c) of [153], so that only while the nuclear projudied. Such an arrangement shall identify, to the extent possible, the period or circumstances during which safeguards will not be applied. **Any arrangement pursuant to para. 14 of [153] will be reported to the IAEA Board of Governors**

49

Naval Nuclear Propulsion: NPT and IAEA Safeguards



2.14. Non-application of IAEA safeguards — refers to the use of nuclear material in a non-proscribed military activity which does not require the application of IAEA safeguards. Nuclear material covered by a comprehensive safeguards agreement may be withdrawn from IAEA safeguards should the State decide to use it for such purposes, eg. for the propulsion of naval vessels. Paragraph 14 of [153] specifies the arrangements to be made between the State and the IAEA with respect to the period and circumstances during which safeguards will not be applied. Any such arrangement would be submitted to the IAEA Board of Governors for <u>prior approval</u>

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(2) In this case, the Agency (meaning in pro Governors through the Secretariat - see Articles VI.F and VII.A and D) would be to the Board of Governors that the Stati "aske clean" the matters referred to in and 14(2) of INFULSD/51 Corrected?	EA Statute of the Agency is concerned, the understanding of the Agency is concerned, the understanding of the Agency is concerned, and, in particular, that your letter is correct and, in particular, that your letter out of the Agency is a concerned to correctly describe the procedures that the Secretariat would follow if
 (3) Similarly, the 'arrangement' referred to would be referred to the Board of Govern its approval; and (4) In the event of a State not following the 	s and would require accercise by a State of the discretion referred to in paragraph 14 which comes to the knowledge of the Secretariat, and any notification received by the Secretariat under that paragraph as well as any arrangement made
this would constitute a breach of the as the Agency and any such breach would be Governors.	mards agreement with in that paragraph, must be reported to the Board of Governors, and it
"On behalf of the Amstralian authorities. I we confirmation of the above and any additional comm wish to make on the operation of paragraph 14."	























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AUKUS Nuclear-Powered Submarines: NPT and IAEA Safeguards

- Key issue: exemption from safeguards of HEU/(LEU) used for nuclear submarine fuel under INFCIRC/153 (Corr.) para. 14
 US Virainia-class SSN (S9G NPNR)
- UK Astute-class SSN: ship propulsion reactor (S5G) licensed for production and use by the UK from the USA
- US legislation and US-UK nuclear cooperation agreement does not allow retransfer or supply to third country, without specific prior permission from the US Congress
- Quantity + Isotopic composition of HEU-fuel, fabrication information, etc. remain highly classified: 97.3% HEU /200 kg per submarine
- Requirement for exemption of HEU-fuel from safeguards on the grounds of protection of classified information

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67

Brazil Nuclear-Powered Submarine Programme

- 1970s: Submarine Development Programme PROSUB is one of the main strategic projects of the Brazilian Armed Forces and aims to increase the national defence infrastructure and ensure Brazilian maritime sovereignty
- December 2008: Brazil purchased four Scorpène-class conventionally-powered submarines from France > Brazil's goal is to build the first nuclear submarine in the Southern Hemisphere > nuclear submarines are currently operated by China, France, Russia, UK and US > Brazil has partnered with France to develop its own nuclearpowered attack submarine > Alvaro Alberto
- 2018: after many years delay and a series of problems, the prototype of the naval nuclear propulsion reactor: Brazilian Multipurpose Reactor or LABGENE was launched by Nuclebrás
- 2022 June: Brazil starts discussions with IAEA on its nuclear-powered submarine acquisition programme – exemption from safeguards

68

Brazil Nuclear-Powered Submarine Programme

IAEA safeguards are applied in Brazil pursuant to the 1991 Agreement between the Republic of Argentina, the Federative Republic of Brazil, the Brazilian-Argentine Agency for Accounting and Control of Nuclear Materials and the International Atomic Energy Agency for the Application of Safeguards, Quadripartite Agreement, reproduced in IAEA INFCIRC/435 which also serves since 30 July 1999 as Brazil's safeguards agreement under the NPT (IAEA INFCIRC/435/Mod.3 dated 2 March 2000)

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69

Brazil Nuclear-Powered Submarine Programme

Under Article III of the Argentina-Brazil "Agreement on the Exclusively Peaceful Utilization of Nuclear Energy", IAEA INFCIRC/395, "None of the provisions of the present Agreement shall limit the right of the Parties to use nuclear energy for the propulsion of any type of vehicle, including submarines, since propulsion is a peaceful application of nuclear energy"

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Brazil Nuclear-Powered Submarine Programme

Whereas Article 13 of the Quadripartite Agreement, partly mirrors Article 14 of the standard INFCIRC/153/Corr., and provides for "special procedures" for "a State Party ... to exercise its discretion to use nuclear material which is required to be safeguarded under this Agreement for nuclear propulsion or operation of any vehicle, including submarines and prototypes, or in such other non-proscribed nuclear activity as agreed between the State Party and the Agency"

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Brazil Nuclear-Powered Submarine Programme

- May 2022, Brazil submitted to the IAEA) its initial proposal for special procedures to be applied to nuclear material used in naval nuclear propulsion, pursuant to Article 13 of the Quadripartite Agreement
- "Nothing in the NPT precludes the use of nuclear energy for such purposes, which are fully consistent with the IAEA safeguards regime ... in pursuing the legitimate goal of naval nuclear propulsion, Brazil is committed to transparency and open engagement with the IAEA and ABACC, ensuring their ability to fulfil their non-proliferation mandates"

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Brazil Nuclear-Powered Submarine Programme

- ≻ May 2022, Brazil:
- "Similarly to bilateral comprehensive IAEA safeguards agreements based on INFCIRC/153, the Quadripartite Agreement envisages the possibility of using nuclear material in certain non-proscribed military activities, including nuclear propulsion ... in this case, as specifically indicated in its Article 13, special procedures regarding the application of safeguards to nuclear material will apply while the nuclear material is used for nuclear propulsion in submarines and prototypes"

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Brazil Nuclear-Powered Submarine Programme

≻ May 2022, Brazil:

- "A long-standing objective pursued by Brazil for many decades, the development of nuclear propulsion is a fully indigenous and autonomous project ... the submarine, its nuclear reactor and fuel are being designed, developed, built and assembled in Brazil. It will be a nuclear-powered, conventionally armed vessel ... its reactor will use low-enriched uranium (LEU)
- All nuclear facilities of the Brazilian Navy are subject to safeguards under the Quadripartite Agreement and will remain so"

74

Brazil Nuclear-Powered Submarine Programme

- ≻May 2022, Brazil:
- "consultation process underway between Brazil and the IAEA will ensure that such special procedures will be sufficient to enable the Agency to draw the relevant safeguards conclusion on the non-diversion of nuclear material, while protecting sensitive technological and operational parameters related to the nuclear-powered submarine
- ABACC's role in the implementation of special procedures will include keeping records of the total quantity and composition of nuclear material used in nuclear naval propulsion"

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Brazil Nuclear-Powered Submarine Programme

≻ May 2022, Brazil:

 While nuclear installations operated by the Navy on land will continue to be licensed and supervised by ANSN [National Authority for Nuclear Security], including the prototype on land of the nuclear reactor to propel the submarine, the onboard nuclear plants will be licensed by Naval Agency for Nuclear Safety and Quality (AgNSNQ) ... The nuclear reactor on the submarine will therefore undergo a double licensing process: its prototype, by ANSN; and the onboard plant, by AgNSNQ"

200

Brazil Nuclear-Powered Submarine Programme

➤ May 2022, Brazil:

 This double licensing makes the Brazilian case unique in the world ... in other countries with naval propulsion capabilities, the licensing of both land-based prototypes and submarines is carried out exclusively by the respective military regulatory bodies"

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Nuclear-Powered Submarines: IAEA Director General

Washington, 14 March 2023: "We have to check before it [the SSN] goes in the water and when it comes back ... this requires highly sophisticated technical methods because there will be welded units, [but] our inspectors will want to know what is inside and whether, when the boat comes back to port, everything is there and there has not been any loss ... it's the first time something like this will be done ... we are going to be very demanding on what they are planning to do ... so, the process starts now ... and the proof of the pudding is in the tasting ... We are going to put together a solid, watertight system to try to have all the guarantees ... if we cannot do that, we would never agree" [emphasis added]

79

Nuclear-Powered Submarines: IAEA Director General

Vienna, 14 March 2023: "This process involves serious legal and complex technical matters. The required arrangement under Article 14 of the CSA and the development of the necessary safeguards approach must be in strict conformity with the existing legal framework. Importantly, once that the arrangement is finalized, it will be transmitted to the Board of Governors of the IAEA for appropriate action..."

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80

Nuclear-Powered Submarines: IAEA Director General

<u>Vienna, 14 March 2023</u>: "The Agency's role in this process is foreseen in the existing legal framework and falls strictly within its statutory competences. The Agency will conduct the work on this matter in an independent, impartial, and professional manner. I will ensure a transparent process that will be solely guided by the Agency's statutory mandate and the safeguards agreements and additional protocols of the AUKUS Parties. An effective arrangement under Article 14 of Australia's CSA to enable the Agency to meet its technical safeguards objectives for Australia under the CSA and AP will be necessary. Ultimately, the Agency must ensure that no proliferation risks will emanate from this project..."

81



82



Proliferation of Nuclear-Powered and Nuclear-Armed Submarines

- 1988: USSR "lease" of Charlie-class SSN to India
 Russia "lease" of Akula-class SSN
- India reverse-engineers and copies USSR/Russia nuclear propulsion technology > product "Arihant" SSBN

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Proliferation of Nuclear-Powered and Nuclear-Armed Submarines

- Next in line??: RoK, Japan, Iran, Argentina, (Israel)...
- Risks: refitting of conventionally armed land-attack sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCM) on NNWS SSNs with nuclear warheads owned by NWS? > stationing of SLCM-N on SSNs of NPT NNWS under forward deployment arrangements such as for forward deployed nuclear weapons in five NATO NPT NNWS...??

85



Conclusions • This presentation has outlined the significant challenges posed by the acquisition of nuclear-powered submarines by NPT NNWS to IAEA safeguards • Thus far, the IAEA Secretariat and Board have deflected requests to convene open-ended consultations and technical briefings • Thus far, the reporting by the Secretariat has not provided any specific information on safeguards approaches and technical objectives for safeguards relating to naval nuclear propulsion • SIR 2022 reporting is inadequate and lacks the expected level of transparency Torig Rauf 01/06/2023













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Laura Rockwood

WORKSHOP ON AUKUS 18 May 2023

Thank you for this opportunity to join you today to address a matter of considerable importance. I am honoured to be able to contribute to this discussion.

At the outset, I feel it is important to address a number of fundamental issues in connection with submarines and safeguards that are currently on the minds of those having to consider the implications of such activities.

- Nuclear naval propulsion is not prohibited under the NPT. The only prohibitions under the NPT are nuclear weapons and nuclear explosive devices. The negotiators explicitly debated the issue and decided NOT to prohibit the use of NM for naval propulsion.
- Nor is the transfer of HEU prohibited under the NPT, regardless of its enrichment level. Indeed, highly enriched uranium has been regularly supplied as fuel for research reactors.
- And the conclusion of a para. 14 arrangement is not in violation of Art. 2 of the Agency's Statute, which provides that Ithe Agency "shall <u>ensure</u>, so far as it is able, that assistance provided by it or at its request or under its supervision or control is not used in such a way as to further any military purpose. The application of safeguards does not constitute "assistance" as contemplated under the Agency's Statute. Moreover, as confirmed in a legal opinion issued during the negotiation of INFCIRC/153 (COM.22/4), the inclusion of a provision accommodating the non-application of SG to military naval propulsion is permitted under Article III.A.5 of the Statute.
- And while Australia's request to commence negotiations with the Agency on an Article 14 arrangement has generated some controversy, it is not unprecedented. Indeed, Canada submitted just such a request in 1988.

So we should put these arguments to rest and focus on more real and challenging issues.

The issue of nuclear naval propulsion as it relates to comprehensive safeguards agreements (CSAs) does indeed raise questions that warrant addressing. Your presence today as representatives of Member States of the Agency reflects the importance you and your governments attach to this matter.

Under the NPT, NNWSs party to the treaty agree not to acquire nuclear weapons and nuclear explosive devices, and the NWSs agree not to provide them. The negotiators of the treaty specifically decided not to prohibit non-explosive miliary uses of nuclear material, specifically nuclear naval propulsion.

Committee 22 was an open-ended committee of the Board established to negotiate what became INFCIRC/153 – the document that serves as the basis for all CSAs required for NPT NNWSs. The drafters negotiated a provision to ensure that the exclusion from safeguards of nuclear material for non-explosive military nuclear uses – if and when it were ever invoked – would not serve as a mechanism – a cover, if you will – for the diversion of nuclear material for nuclear material

Paragraph 14 was the result of those deliberations. It is reflected in almost all CSAs concluded by the IAEA, with the paragraph numbers in INFCIRC/153 corresponding, by and large, to article numbers in the actual CSAs.

It is often referred to as "withdrawal" of nuclear material from safeguards to distinguish it from provisions related to the termination of safeguards on nuclear material or the exemption of nuclear material from certain provisions under the agreement. However, the title of this provision – "non-application of safeguards" – was explicitly formulated by the negotiators to underscore that the IAEA "should be consulted and satisfactory administrative arrangements reached concerning the use of any nuclear material for a military purpose permitted under [the NPT], whether or not the material was initially under safeguards." It was explicitly stated that "The provision should thus be applied to all material which was either actually under safeguards and to be withdrawn or which had never been placed under safeguards and which was intended to be used in a permitted nuclear activity."

Operation of this provision is not automatic, and it was certainly not intended as a blanket exemption of nuclear material, facilities or activities due to their military nature. But is it required? Yes. A State may not use nuclear material for a non-prohibited military nuclear activity without invoking paragraph 14 and concluding an arrangement with the IAEA. Paragraph 14 explicitly provides that, if the State intends to exercise its discretion to use nuclear material which is required to be safeguarded under the safeguards agreement in a nuclear activity which does not require the application of safeguards under the Agreement, the specified procedures **will apply**. The agreement is unambiguous on its face and supported by the negotiation history – I will revert to that point in just a moment.

Para. 14 requires the State to conclude an arrangement with the Agency:

- Para. 14 does not, on its face, require Board approval. The original proposal tabled by the Secretariat during Committee 22 would have required for Board approval; this was not accepted, and was followed by text that would have required approval by the Director General. Ultimately, the text agreed to simply called for the conclusion of the arrangement "with the Agency".
- In response to an inquiry by Australia in 1978 exchange, the then Director General of the IAEA stated that any such arrangement would be provided to the Board for "appropriate action" (see the exchange of letters published in ...).
- There are arguments on both sides: On the one hand, some argue that such an arrangement would be similar to the Subsidiary Arrangements, which are not approved by the Board. Others contend that such an arrangement is distinguishable from Subsidiary Arrangements as the latter relate to the implementation of a safeguards agreement within parameters specifically laid down in agreements that have been approved by the Board. Ultimately, it is for the Board to decide on what the "appropriate action" may be.

Para. 14(a): State must make clear that:

• The nuclear material involved is not subject to a "no military use" undertaking, i.e. an undertaking in respect of which Agency safeguards apply that the nuclear material will be used only in a peaceful nuclear activity

• The material will not be used for production of nuclear weapons or nuclear explosive devices

Para. 14(b): content of the arrangement

- It must identify, to the extent possible, the period or circumstances during which safeguards will not be applied, and require that the Agency be informed of the total quantity and composition of the material in the State and upon export.
- It shall relate to "such matters as" the temporal and procedural provisions and reporting arrangements. Thus, this is not an exclusive list of what the arrangement should include.
- That the non-application of safeguards provided for under the CSA will only be while the nuclear material is in that activity, and that safeguards are to be reapplied as soon as the nuclear material is reintroduced into a peaceful nuclear activity.
- What is peaceful as opposed to non-peaceful? While there is no definition of either term, the negotiators agreed that the following activities were not inherently military and therefore **not entitled to exclusion**:
 - Activities such as transport and storage
 - Activities or processes that merely change chemical or isotopic composition (e.g. enrichment and reprocessing)
- At what point should the arrangement take effect? What activities could be excluded from safeguards? Clearly, this aspect of the arrangement will constitute a significant element of the negotiations. As Australia will not be engaged in enrichment or reprocessing of the reactor fuel, that could simplify the negotiation process. However, clarity would have to be had regarding when, in accordance with the terms of the CSA, the nuclear material in the reactor would have to be brought back under safeguards.
- Is it possible to apply some verification measures under the arrangement? Absolutely

 if that were not the case, there would hardly have been a need for a paragraph 14.
 The provision calls for the non-application of safeguards under the safeguards agreement but the arrangement is intended to build in guiderails to make sure the material and activities involved are not misused for prohibited purposes. It is important to note at this point that there is nothing in the Statute of the IAEA that limits the application of safeguards to peaceful nuclear activities.

Para. 14(c): the Agency's agreement shall not involve approval, or classified knowledge of, the military activity or relate to the use of nuclear material therein.

• A key question will be how to get safeguards as close as possible to the submarine reactor without access to classified information, minimizing the time during which the material will not be subject to routine verification under the CSA.

What about the process? How should this arrangement be negotiated?

As to the actual negotiation of the arrangement, and suggestions that there is "normal or standard practice" of the IAEA in developing procedures and guidance on safeguards-related matters, it is important as well to note that the IAEA has in the past employed a variety of mechanisms. Among those mechanisms have been:

- Committees created by the Board of Governors: Committees 22 and 24 on the negotiation of 153 and 540, respectively, and Committee 25 established to consider further strengthening safeguards. While Committees 22 and 24 were successful, Committee 25 was wildly unsuccessful.
- Advisory groups appointed by the Director General: Standing Advisory Group on Safeguards Implementation (SAGSI)
- Technical working groups convened in collaboration with representatives of relevant technology holder States: LASCAR (negotiations limited to reprocessing technology holders); Trilateral Initiative (negotiations initiated by the Russian Federation that included the US and the IAEA)
- External initiatives of its Member States: Hexapartite Project, which involved commercial centrifuge enrichment technology holders and those on the verge of becoming technology holders, as well as Euratom and the IAEA
- Bilateral negotiations between the IAEA Secretariat and individual States

So, as to a committee? While that approach works in some cases, it does not in others. It depends on the context and the political environment. Experience suggests that, when dealing with novel and complex technical issues, particularly in a politically volatile environment, there is merit to leaving their resolution to the technical experts.

Military-to-military transfers?

It has been suggested by some that, because Australia's CSA – and by extension any CSA – is limited in application to NM in "peaceful nuclear activities", in light of the formulation of para. 1 of 153, that the NM transferred to Australia in the context of AUKUS is not NM "subject to SG under its CSA" and that therefore Article 14 is not applicable.

Could a military-to-military transfer be invoked to obviate the need for a paragraph 14 arrangement? **No, as a legal and a policy matter**.

LEGAL

- In accordance with customary international law, a treaty should be interpreted in good faith in accordance with the ordinary meaning to be given to the terms of an agreement in their context and in light of their object and purpose.
- Para. 1 of INFCIRC/153 requires that the State accept safeguards, <u>in accordance with</u> the terms of the Agreement, on all source or special fissionable material in all peaceful nuclear activities within its territory, under its jurisdiction or carried out under its control anywhere, for the <u>exclusive purpose of verifying that such</u> <u>material is not diverted to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices</u>.
 Para. 2 of 153 requires the Agency to ensure that SG are applied to <u>all</u> such material for the exclusive purpose of verifying that such material is not diverted to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.
- The reference to "peaceful nuclear activities" tracks the language of the NPT, which
 was intended to accommodate the interest among some non-nuclear-weapon States
 in the 1960s in the possibility of nuclear naval propulsion (nuclear-powered
 submarines), not as a means of securing an exclusion of nuclear material from
 safeguards due its use in a military activity.

- Paragraph 34(c) of INFCIRC/153 requires that nuclear material of a composition and purity suitable for fuel fabrication or isotopic enrichment, or produced later in the nuclear fuel cycle (as would be the nuclear material in a reactor core), becomes subject to <u>all of the safeguards procedures under the safeguards agreement</u> upon its import into a CSA State. This provision is not limited to the import of such material for peaceful purposes. Thus, the nuclear material contained in a reactor would become subject to safeguards upon its import, regardless of the purpose for which it was imported.
- Pursuant to paragraphs 95-96, a State is required to notify the IAEA of the expected transfer into the State of nuclear material in an amount greater than one effective kilogram (again, as would be the nuclear material in a submarine reactor core), in any case not later than the date on which the recipient State assumes responsibility for the material. Likewise, the State would be obliged to report the export of such material pursuant to paragraph 92 to 94. In neither of these provisions is there an exclusion for nuclear material used in or transferred for use a military activity.
- Thus, from a plain reading of INFCIRC/153, taken in its context and in light of its object and purpose, it must be concluded that a State party to a comprehensive safeguards agreement has committed itself to notifying the IAEA of the production and import of nuclear material, even if the material is intended for use in a non-proscribed military nuclear activity, and *furthermore* to complying with the provisions of paragraph 14 should it wish to exercise its discretion "to use nuclear material which is required to be safeguarded ... in a nuclear activity which does not require the application of safeguards.
- This is unambiguous from a plain reading of the text and is supported by the negotiation history of INFCIRC/153, which clearly confirms that interpretation. As noted above, the drafters emphasized that the IAEA "should be consulted and satisfactory administrative arrangement reached concerning the use of any nuclear material for a military purpose permitted under [the NPT], <u>whether or not the</u> <u>material was initially under safeguards"</u>.

POLICY

- The worst possible outcome of this exercise would be an interpretation that the US/UK could provide nuclear powered submarines to Australia without Australia having to conclude a paragraph 14 arrangement with the IAEA. Why? Because it would imply that a State could circumvent comprehensive safeguards simply be asserting that nuclear material is in a military activity.
- To interpret paragraph 1 of INFCIRC/153 as providing what would be tantamount to an automatic exclusion from safeguards of nuclear material simply because it was already in, or produced for use in, a military activity would in effect, allow a State to conceal prohibited nuclear activities behind a military shield. It would create an enormous loophole in safeguards, thereby defeating the very object and purpose of comprehensive safeguards agreements, a result not only contrary to international treaty law but highly undesirable as a matter of policy.
- Just to bring this home, I'd like to remind you that IAEA Member States rejected that argument in 1993 when the DPRK attempted to thwart IAEA access to two locations

on the basis that they were military in nature. The IAEA advised the DPRK that there was no automatic exclusion for IAEA access to information or locations simply by virtue of such information or locations being associated with military activities – a view shared by the Board of Governors.

As a final note, while some argue that Australia's non-proliferation credentials should allow for greater flexibility in the arrangement to be concluded between the States and the IAEA, it is clear that any such arrangement will inevitably be invoked as a precedent for other States.

To that end, whatever the arrangement, it must be designed as fit for purpose regardless of who the partner states might be.

Ultimately, the acceptability of any given arrangement should be judged on its nonproliferation merits, and be able to survive the following test: if the names of the parties involved are changed, is it still acceptable?

Workshop "The AUKUS and Article 14"

Remarks by Anton Khlopkov, Director, Center for Energy and Security Studies Vienna (Austria), 18 May 2023

1. First of all I would like to thank the organizers, the Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the International Organizations in Vienna, for the invitation to participate in the workshop on such a relevant topic as the AUKUS Nuclear Submarine Deal and the application of the IAEA safeguards in this context.

2. The AUKUS Nuclear Submarine Deal, first announced in September 2021, raises numerous questions yet to be answered. Some of these questions, in my opinion, are only natural due to the sensitive nature of the project and the fact that it sets the precedent (no submarines were previously supplied to the NNWS which are parties to the NPT). Simultaneously, other questions are, in fact, artificially induced by the project participants by the lack of information and transparency about the activities involved.

3. I well understand the concerns of those who say that the AUKUS Submarine Deal poses nuclear proliferation risks or that it is not proliferation risks-free.

First, the project is slated to use about 4 tons of 93%-enriched uranium. In theory, this amount of material is enough to produce 160 simple nuclear warheads. It is worth to recall in this context, for example, that the first nuclear warheads of the only country in the Middle East, which posses with nuclear weapons, were made from HEU stolen (according to some estimates, about 300 kilograms) from a plant in Apollo, Pennsylvania, owned by NUMEC Corporation, that specialized in producing nuclear fuel for submarines. The use of low enriched instead of high enriched uranium would address several nonproliferation risks associated with the AUKUS Nuclear Submarine Deal would.

Second, there is no track record (there is no experience) for the application of safeguards in similar projects. The relevant concept needs to be developed.

4. Under Article 14 (b) of the Comprehensive Safeguards Agreement (CSA), a State and the Agency shall **make an arrangement** so that, only while the nuclear material is in such an activity (i.e., a non-proscribed military activity), the safeguards provided for in the Agreement will not be applied. "The arrangement" should define, to the extent possible, the period or circumstances during which safeguards will not be applied.

I would like to point out that it is the **Agency**, not the IAEA Secretariat, meaning that the Member States of the Agency and its governing bodies, including the IAEA Board of Governors, should be involved in discussing and approving the arrangement.

5. Let me remind here that this is about drafting (and approval) of an arrangement under the current bilateral Agreement between Australia and the Agency for the Application of Safeguards in connection with the NPT (INFCIRC/217; CSA). So, it is natural that Canberra and the Agency will play a central role in the process of preparing an arrangement.

6. However, this should not mean that Australia and the IAEA Secretariat draws up and approves the draft arrangement behind closed doors. In this case, the analogy with the

Subsidiary Arrangements, which are drafted between the IAEA Secretariat and a State in accordance with Articles 40-41 of the CSA and are not submitted to the IAEA Board of Governors, is not applicable. First, the Subsidiary Arrangements is a technical document. The content of the Subsidiary Arrangements is described in sufficient detail in the CSA, and second, they are essentially a technical document based on existing models/templates which describes nuclear facilities in a particular state and the procedures for applying safeguards to the nuclear material therein.

In the case of "the arrangement" under the Article 14 of the CSA there is a need to develop a conceptual document and here the Member States should be actively involved in the process.

7. It is difficult to recall a conceptual safeguards document in the history of the IAEA that would have been approved by the Board of Governors by vote rather than by consensus. Establishing a precedent with an arrangement between Australia and the Agency could threaten the universal nature of the safeguards approach and could have a negative impact on the effectiveness and sustainability of the Agency's safeguards system in the long term. It is therefore important to discuss the arrangement beforehand with the IAEA Member States with a view to adopting it by consensus.

8. In his statement on March 14, 2023, in relation to the AUKUS announcement, the IAEA DG Grossi drew attention to the fact that drafting an appropriate arrangement involves "serious legal and complex technical matters" as well as "the development of the necessary safeguards approach". One cannot but agree with this statement. In this context, it may make sense to consider creating an expert mechanism (various forms possible) that would combine the knowledge and experience of the Agency Secretariat and the IAEA Member States.

9. In particular, such a mechanism could include specialists with experience in operating naval reactors. Safeguards would not apply to the nuclear material while in a nuclear submarine as fuel and the submarine is at sea, but the knowledge of such specialists would help develop procedures related to the application of safeguards to the nuclear material before loading and after unloading of the nuclear fuel. Similar expert groups have previously been created to develop safeguards approaches at complex and sensitive facilities: for example, for nuclear materials in geological disposal facilities and at the Rokkasho nuclear reprocessing plant in Japan.

10. As for the implementation of Article 14 of the CSA in the context of the AUKUS Nuclear Submarine Deal, it's not simply about a safeguards approach to the nuclear material of a submarine propulsion system, but rather about a "state-level approach" to the implementation of the CSA and its Additional Protocol. In this context (following the "state-level approach"), the question of whether Virginia-class nuclear submarines, the ones, which will be supplied to Australia, are designed to carry nuclear weapons on board becomes particularly important.

Thank you for your attention.