

## Информационный циркуляр

**INFCIRC/1091** 6 июня 2023 года

Общее распространение Русский Язык оригинала: английский

## Сообщение Постоянного представительства Китайской Народной Республики при Агентстве от 1 июня 2023 года

1. Секретариат получил вербальную ноту Постоянного представительства Китайской Народной Республики при Агентстве от 1 июня 2023 года и приложение к ней.

2. В соответствии с просьбой вербальная нота и приложение к ней настоящим распространяются для сведения всех государств-членов.

## КИТАЙСКАЯ НАРОДНАЯ РЕСПУБЛИКА ПОСТОЯННОЕ ПРЕДСТАВИТЕЛЬСТВО В ВЕНЕ

CPM-P-2023-34

Постоянное представительство Китайской Народной Республики при Организации Объединенных Наций и других международных организациях в Вене свидетельствует свое уважение Секретариату Международного агентства по атомной энергии и имеет честь представить ему резюме семинара-практикума «AUKUS и статья 14: грядущие проблемы», который был организован Постоянным представительством Китая 18 мая в Венском международном центре.

Постоянное представительство Китая надеется, что настоящая нота вместе с прилагаемым резюме будет должным образом и своевременно распространена среди всех государств-членов.

Постоянное представительство Китайской Народной Республики при Организации Объединенных Наций и других международных организациях в Вене пользуется случаем, чтобы возобновить Секретариату МАГАТЭ уверения в своем самом высоком уважении.

> Вена, 1 июня 2023 года [печать]

В Секретариат МАГАТЭ

### <u>Резюме Председателя<sup>1</sup></u>

### «AUKUS и статья 14: грядущие проблемы»

Семинар-практикум, организованный Постоянным представительством Китая ВМЦ, CR.2, 18 мая 2023 года

Примечание. Настоящее резюме было подготовлено в информационных целях к июньскому заседанию Совета управляющих для повышения осведомленности государств-членов относительно конфиденциального и сложного характера вопросов, касающихся осуществления статьи 14 документа INFCIRC/153 (Corr.).

18 мая в Венском международном центре состоялся организованный Постоянным представительством Китая семинар-практикум по теме «AUKUS и статья 14: грядущие проблемы». В мероприятии приняли участие более 80 специалистов из 31 государства — члена Международного агентства по атомной энергии (МАГАТЭ). Секретариат МАГАТЭ представлял начальник Секции нераспространения и директивных органов Бюро по правовым вопросам г-н Йонут Сусеану.

Участники обсудили различные аспекты сотрудничества AUKUS в области атомных подводных лодок и статьи 14 Соглашения о всеобъемлющих гарантиях (СВГ) (документ МАГАТЭ INFCIRC/153 (Corr.). Модератором мероприятия выступил г-н Ли Чицзян, генеральный секретарь Ассоциации по контролю над вооружениями и разоружению КНР. С докладами выступили три участника дискуссии:

- д-р Тарик Рауф (бывший начальник Секции координации политики в области проверки и сохранности, находившийся в прямом подчинении Генеральному директору МАГАТЭ), «Надвигающийся вызов гарантиям МАГАТЭ: военно-морские ядерные силовые установки»;
- г-жа Лора Роквуд (старший научный сотрудник Венского центра по разоружению и нераспространению, бывший руководитель Секции нераспространения и директивных органов Бюро по правовым вопросам МАГАТЭ), «Фундаментальные вопросы, касающиеся подводных лодок и гарантий»;
- г-н Антон Хлопков (директор Центра энергетики и безопасности), «AUKUS и статья 14».

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Резюме Председателя предназначено исключительно для сведения; оно отражает основные поднятые темы и области обсуждения, которые имели отношение к заявленной теме и не претендует на всеохватность и полноту. Согласие с изложенным всех участников обсуждения не требуется.

Была проведена сессия вопросов и ответов, участники которой активно взаимодействовали между собой. В ходе семинара-практикума докладчики и участники обсуждений высказали, в частности, следующие мнения (полные версии презентаций в формате pdf прилагаются).

Сотрудничество AUKUS, направленное на получение атомных подводных лодок, не имеет прецедентов: впервые в истории государства, обладающие ядерным оружием, в рамках Договора о нераспространении ядерного оружия (ДНЯО) передают ядерные силовые установки для военных кораблей, работающие на высокообогащенном уране оружейной чистоты, государству, не обладающему ядерным оружием (ГНЯО), — участнику ДНЯО. Этот прецедент создаст серьезные проблемы для системы гарантий МАГАТЭ в плане проверки достоверности и полноты заявлений ГНЯО о ядерной деятельности, а также для целостности международного режима ядерного нераспространения, краеугольным камнем которого является ДНЯО. В рамках проекта AUKUS в качестве топлива для реакторов ядерных силовых установок предполагается использовать около двух или более тонн высокообогащенного урана (93–97,3%). В статье 14 документа INFCIRC/153 (Corr.) идет речь о «неприменении гарантий к ядерному материалу, который планируется использовать в незапрещенной военной деятельности».

На сегодняшний день примеры такого «неприменения» всеобъемлющих гарантий отсутствуют. Проект AUKUS, если он будет реализован в его нынешнем секретном виде, создаст прецедент в отсутствие согласованных параметров и консенсуса среди членов Совета управляющих и государств-членов. Кроме того, с момента, когда было объявлено о проекте AUKUS, прошло уже более восемнадцати месяцев, однако до сих пор не проведено ни одного брифинга или консультации по техническим, политическим или юридическим аспектам статьи 14 с участием Секретариата, участников AUKUS и государств-членов. Это сильно расходится со сложившейся практикой Агентства по проведению совещаний открытого состава по вопросам, касающимся интерпретации, осуществления или повышения эффективности гарантий Агентства. Такие совещания открытого состава и комитеты Совета участвовали в составлении, обсуждении и уточнении рамочных документов по гарантиям, включая INFCIRC/153 (Corr.), мер по укреплению гарантий «93+2» и документа INFCIRC/540 (Типовой дополнительный протокол), а также в изменении/аннулировании протоколов о малых количествах.

В отношении статьи 14 INFCIRC/153 (Согг.) было отмечено, что, насколько известно Секретариату, официального определения «незапрещенной военной деятельности» не существует. Совещания открытого состава были бы полезны и даже необходимы для выработки единого согласованного понимания положений статьи 14. Более того, ни одно государство или группа государств не может самовольно определять смысл и сферу применения статьи 14 — это могут сделать только государства-члены на совещаниях открытого состава.

Было отмечено, что передача ядерного топлива «от военных к военным» не избавляет от необходимости соблюдать положения статьи 14 как с юридической, так и с политической точки зрения. Еще одно важное замечание заключалось в том, что, какими бы ни были договоренности в соответствии со статьей 14, они должны соответствовать своему назначению, независимо от состава государств-партнеров. В конечном счете приемлемость любых конкретных договоренностей должна оцениваться с учетом их достоинств в плане нераспространения, а сами такие договоренности должны выдерживать следующий тест: если изменить названия участвующих сторон, будет ли оно по-прежнему приемлемым?

Было высказано мнение, что речь идет об <u>Агентстве</u>, а не о Секретариате МАГАТЭ, а это значит, что в обсуждении и утверждении договоренностей по статье 14 должны участвовать государства — члены Агентства и его руководящие органы, включая Совет управляющих МАГАТЭ. Сложно вспомнить в истории МАГАТЭ случай, когда Совет управляющих принимал бы концептуальный документ по гарантиям путем голосования, а не консенсуса. Договоренности между Австралией и Агентством могут создать прецедент, который поставит под угрозу универсальный характер подхода к применению гарантий и окажет негативное влияние на эффективность и устойчивость системы гарантий Агентства в долгосрочной перспективе.

Ниже приводится краткое резюме состоявшегося обсуждения.

Несколько участников задались вопросом о том, почему Совет управляющих не взял на себя более активную роль в проработке политических и технических аспектов статьи 14. Именно государства — члены Агентства и его руководящие органы, включая Совет управляющих МАГАТЭ, должны участвовать в обсуждении и утверждении договоренностей. В отсутствие активной роли Совета управляющих МАГАТЭ договоренности между Австралией и Агентством могут создать прецедент, который поставит под угрозу универсальный характер подхода к применению гарантий и окажет негативное влияние на эффективность и устойчивость системы гарантий Агентства в долгосрочной перспективе. Поэтому важно заблаговременно обсудить договоренности с государствами — членами МАГАТЭ с целью их утверждения на основе консенсуса. В принципе, история гарантий демонстрирует, что всесторонний консенсус — это долгосрочное решение, которое позволяет учесть все вопросы.

Необходимо четко понимать, что вопросы, касающиеся интерпретации и осуществления СВГ (INFCIRC/153 (Corr.)), по своей сути являются политическими и стратегическими вопросами, которые касаются всех государств — членов МАГАТЭ и государств — участников ДНЯО.

Передача ядерных материалов от государств, обладающих ядерным оружием, государствам, не обладающим ядерным оружием, в статье 14 не предусмотрена и не упоминается.

Из истории переговоров по СВГ (INFCIRC/153 (Corr.)) явствует, что по вопросу об использования любого ядерного материала для незапрещенных военных целей в рамках ДНЯО, независимо от того, был ли этот материал изначально под гарантиями или нет, необходимо проводить консультации с Агентством и государствами-членами и согласовывать удовлетворительные административные договоренности. Договоренности, которые Австралия, судя по всему, запрашивает в соответствии со статьей 14, сопряжены со сложными юридическими и техническими вопросами, которые необходимо тщательно и комплексно анализировать и обсуждать во всех подробностях.

Поскольку сотрудничество в области подводных лодок в рамках AUKUS не имеет прецедентов, тот подход к применению гарантий, который будет выбран в этом случае, окажет существенное влияние на все будущие программы получения атомных подводных лодок, а также на любую будущую работу по статье 14. Соответственно, в Агентстве по этой теме должны проводиться открытые обсуждения между государствами-членами с участием как экспертов, так и должностных лиц. Возможно, имеет смысл рассмотреть вопрос о создании механизма экспертов (возможны различные форматы), который объединил бы знания и опыт Секретариата Агентства, государств-членов и профильных экспертов.

Обсуждение AUKUS и статьи 14 — только начало длительного межправительственного процесса. Участники семинара-практикума подняли многие, если не все, необходимые вопросы, но на данном этапе задача поиска ответов на них не ставится.

В ходе мероприятия были заданы, в частности, следующие вопросы относительно некоторых сложных моментов, связанных с сотрудничеством AUKUS в области подводных лодок.

- Имеет ли Секретариат МАГАТЭ полномочия или мандат на толкование положений ДНЯО?
- Относится ли толкование договоренностей AUKUS о применении гарантий, которые должны быть согласованы в соответствии со статьей 14, к исключительной юрисдикции Секретариата и Совета?
- Почему Совет и государства-члены не взяли на себя ведущую роль в проработке политических и технических вопросов, связанных с осуществлением статьи 14 документа INFCIRC/153 (Corr.)?

- Какими могли бы быть надежные подходы к применению гарантий и соответствующие технические цели применительно к реакторам и топливу для ядерных силовых установок BMC, работающих на BOУ?
- Как повлияет на вынесение расширенного заключения по дополнительному протоколу тот факт, что ГНЯО осуществляет статью 14 INFCIRC/153 (Corr.) о неприменении гарантий к ядерному материалу, используемому в немирной деятельности?
- Как в соглашении о всеобъемлющих гарантиях будет решаться вопрос о передаче ГНЯО ядерных силовых установок ВМС, работающих на ВОУ?
- Можно ли считать применение гарантий в случае проекта AUKUS по подводным лодкам технической «помощью», и не противоречит ли такая «помощь» статье II Устава МАГАТЭ?
- Какие меры гарантий Австралия должна будет принять для обеспечения подотчетности и прозрачности своего проекта получения атомной подводной лодки, особенно учитывая, что он предполагает использование двух или более тонн высокообогащенного урана оружейной чистоты?
- Как оценить сложности, которые беспрецедентный проект AUKUS создает для существующей системы гарантий МАГАТЭ, особенно в том, что касается стандартной практики Агентства по проведению всесторонних, прозрачных и открытых консультаций с участием всех заинтересованных государств-членов по всем вопросам гарантий и ядерной и физической безопасности?
- Какую поддержку заинтересованные государства-члены могли бы оказать Генеральному директору и Секретариату для содействия проведению совещаний открытого состава и технических брифингов по вопросам, касающимся толкования и применения статьи 14?
- Какую роль должен играть Секретариат для содействия межправительственным обсуждениям по AUKUS?

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### 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.

Tariq Rauf: 01/06/2023

2

#### Notate bene

- 1) 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 ...

iq Rauf: 01/06/2023

3

#### Notate bene

For your information, I and my then-colleague Marie-France 3. 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.













































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BRIEFING FOR MEMBER STATES











35	Questions: Role of the Board	Atom for Peace
	Statute Article VII.B	
	<ul> <li>The Director General shall be responsible for the appointment, organization, and functioning of the staff and shall be under the authority of and subject to the control of the Board of Governors. He shall perform his duties in accordance with regulations adopted by the Board</li> <li>Why has the Board not requested the Secretariat for technical briefings on safeguards approaches and technical objectives for naval nuclear propulsion?</li> </ul>	
	Tariq Rauf	01/06/2023







**Questions:** Technical Questions: Technical One difference between NPNRs and SMRs is that power generated by NPNRs drive ships and submarines > the classified components State concerned? then are the platforms not the power source? The rough isotopic composition of NPNRs is referred to in unclassified literature is LEU below LEU 19% U235 and HEU up to 97.3% U235 > specific information in this regard needs to be provided to the IAEA in accordance with para.14 > how can the Agency ensure this? Tariq Rauf 01/06/2023 Taria Rauf 39 40









**Board**? 01/06/2023

Taria Rauf

43



44











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

#### 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, e.g. 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 reacted to use use the safe audit and the IAEA with respect to the period and circumstances during which safeguards will not be reacted to use the propulation of the period and circumstances during which safeguards will not be reacted to use the period and circumstances during which safeguards will not be reacted to use the period and circumstances during which asteguards will not be reacted to use the period and circumstances during which asteguards will not be reacted to use the period and circumstances during which asteguards will not be reacted to use the period and circumstances during which asteguards will not be reacted to use the period and circumstances during which asteguards will not be reacted to the period and circumstances during which asteguards will not be reacted to the period and circumstances during which asteguards will not be reacted to the period and circumstances during which asteguards will not be reacted to the period and circumstances during the period asteguards will not be reacted to the period astegua

applied. Any such arrangement would be submitted to the IAEA Board of Governors for prior approval

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(1) Hisilarly, the "arrangement" referred to in paragraph 18(b) would be referred to the Sourd of Overnore and small require its approval; and	"Summing up, therefore, it is the Superstatist's view that any exercise by a Sinte of the Superstation referred to (a paragraph b) which comes to the knowledge of the Superstatist, and any writingtime reacted by the Superstatist under that superscale as well as now servement and	
(4) In the event of a Diske not following the presentied procedures, this would constitute a breach of the safeguards agreement with the Agency and any such breach email be reported to the Board of Governments.	pervent to that paragraph or any breach of the provabures referred to in that perceptly, much be reported to the Board of Governory, and it wild be for the Board of Governore in each ones to take the appropriate action.	
"On babail of the Americalian authorities. I would be grateful for your empiricalizes of the above and any additional connects the Decretarian say wish to adde on the operation of paragraph 14."	"In view of the importance of this quartine, it is my intention to sirvulate your letter and my reply to the Board of Governore for information."	
01/06/2023		

G	OV/INF/347 (3 July 1978): Questions
	In its letter Australia clearly stated that "the 'arrangement' referred to in para.14(b) would be referred to the Board and would require its approval" > was this conclusion by Australia the basis for the formulation used in the 2001 Safeguards Glossary in section 2.14. Non-application of IAEA safeguards?
	As the Director General acknowledged that Australia's assertion that "the 'arrangement' referred to in para.14(b) would be referred to the Board and would require its approval" the logical conclusion would be that para.14 arrangement(s)/procedure(s) require approval by the Board?
Tariq Rauf	01/06/2023















62



### Australia, UK and US Trilateral Agreement (AUKUS)

- 22 November 2021: The Exchange of Naval Nuclear Propulsion Information Agreement > to provide Australia with a fleet of at least eight nuclear-powered submarines
- The agreement is subject to approval by the US Congress under Section 123 of the 1954 Atomic Energy Act, which regulates US nuclear trade, and to a UK parliamentary review > Section 123 establishes conditions and outlines the process for major nuclear cooperation between the United States and other countries
- 1 December 2021: White House to Congress > "The agreement would permit the three parties to communicate and exchange naval nuclear propulsion information and would provide authorization to share certain restricted data as may be needed during trilateral discussions, thereby enabling full and effective consultations"







AUKUS Nuclear-Powered Submarines: NPT and IAEA Safeguards



#### **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"

#### Russia, UK and US > Brazil has partnered with France to develop its own nuclearpowered attack submarine > Álvaro 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
- 2022 June: Brazil starts discussions with IAEA on its nuclear-powered submarine acquisition programme - exemption from safeguards

#### **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"

01/06/2023

70

#### **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"

72

71

#### **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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73

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"

#### 01/06/2023

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"

01/06/2023

75

77



≻ 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"

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76

► 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"





#### 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]

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79

 Nuclear-Powered Submarines: IAEA Director General

 Vienna, 14 March 2023: "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 sofeguards 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..."

 01/06/2023



<u>Vienna, 14 March 2023</u>: "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









#### 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...??

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Conclusions

86



Conclusions	Atom for Peac
<ul> <li>It needs to be clearly understood that matters concernin implementation of INFCIRC/153 Corr. para.14 are inhor political matters concerning all IAEA Member States an with CSAs in force &gt; this is not a matter of legal opinio just that "opinions" and can be challenged and refuted</li> </ul>	erently policy and d NPT States parties ns, as legal opinions are
<ul> <li>The Board of Governors, thus far, has failed to exercise obligation as regards the interpretation and implement Corr. para.14 &gt; the Board must take a pro-active role Director General to show leadership on this matter (alo demonstrated exemplary leadership on the safety and</li> </ul>	ation of INFCIRC/153 and empower the ng the lines the DG has
iariq Rauf	01/06/2023













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> material is not diverted to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.
   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.