
Negotiation Simulation:

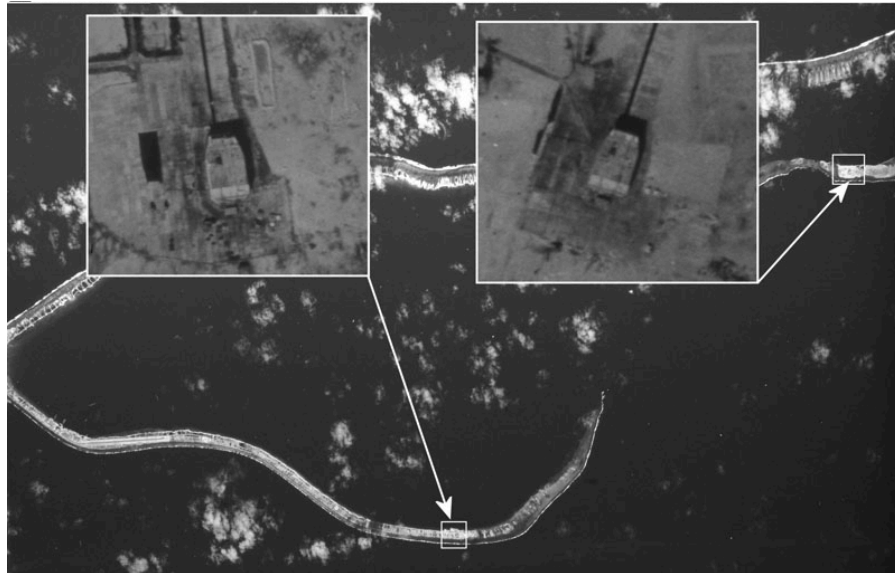
NUCLEAR TESTING IN FRENCH POLYNESIA

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ENV 152: Environmental Negotiations

Professor Curt Gervich, Ph.D.

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Satellite reconnaissance of the Mururoa Atomic Test Site (1967)¹



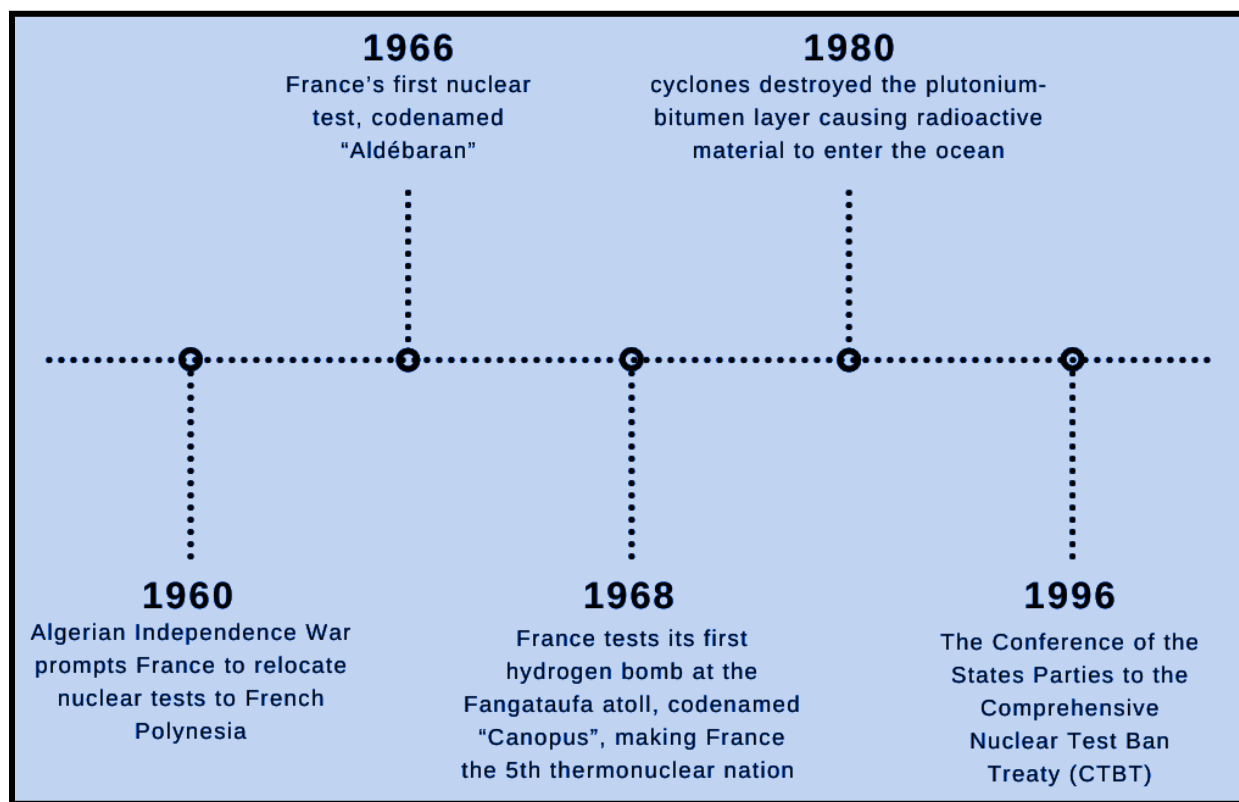
A nuclear bomb is detonated at the Mururoa atoll, French Polynesia, in 1971. Photograph: AP

¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moruroa#/media/File:Mururoa_lg.jpg

CONTEXT

French Polynesia, distinguished by its remote location, tropical climate, and reliance on the ocean for livelihood and sustenance, became nuclear test territory for France in the 1960s. The Algerian Independence War forced France to relocate its nuclear testing locations from the Sahara Desert to the Mururoa and Fangataufa atolls in the Tuamotu Archipelago.

The local population holds a deep cultural connection to the land and sea, with traditional practices centered around fishing and agriculture. Over three decades, 193 nuclear tests were conducted by the Centre d'Experimentation du Pacifique (CEP), both in the atmosphere and underground². This impacted the local and indigenous population significantly, causing forced relocations and environmental alterations.



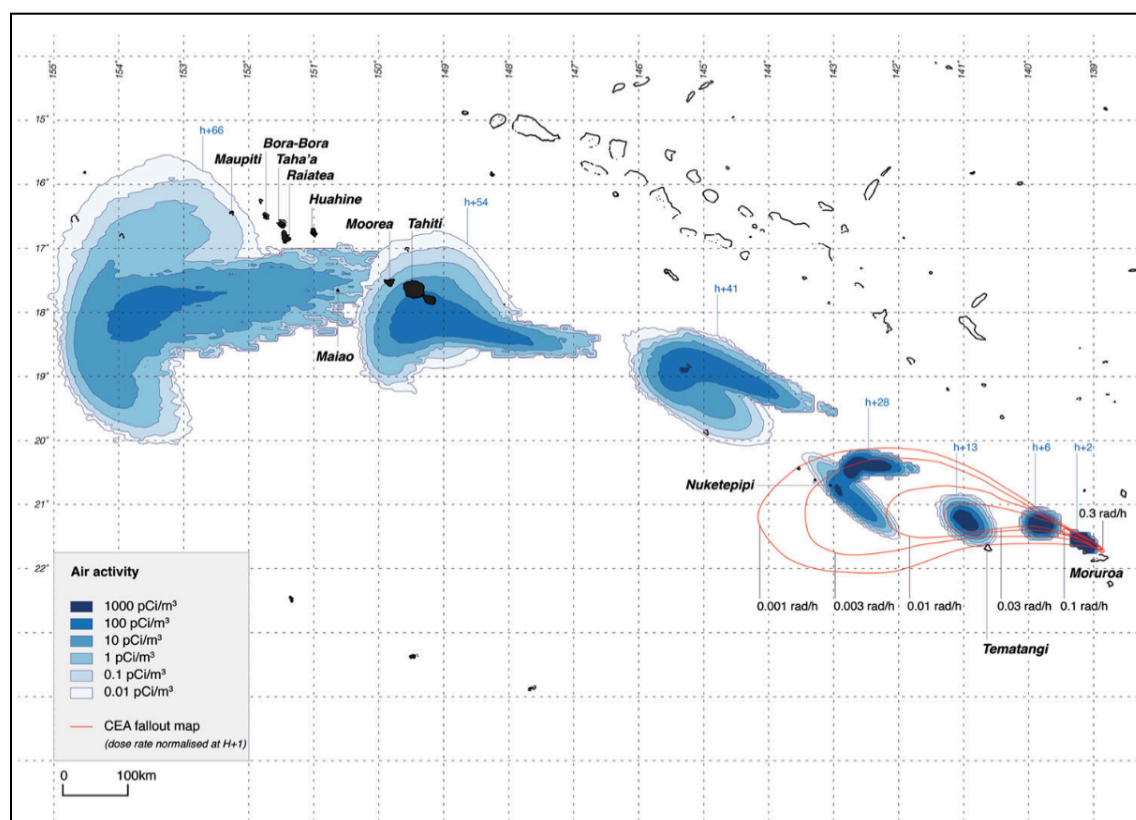
*A timeline from the beginning of the French relocating nuclear testing to French Polynesia to the 1996 Conference.*³⁴

² "Nuclear Colonialism and French Nuclear Tests, Polynesia." *EJ Atlas*, 25 Apr. 2023.

³ Henley, Jon. "France Has Underestimated Impact of Nuclear Tests in French Polynesia, Research Finds." *The Guardian*, 9 Mar. 2021

⁴ "Timeline." *Nuclear Museum*, Atomic Heritage Foundation.

The French military maintained secrecy surrounding the effects of the tests on the Polynesian population. In the 2000s, the Observatoire des Armaments published a report with declassified information showing high radiation levels in food, drinking water, and rainwater. Despite having this information the CEP continued to run their tests. Additionally, around the same time, another study indicated a strong correlation between thyroid cancer and nuclear tests, 9,500 individuals suffered.



Reconstruction of the nuclear fallout trajectory of a bomb test in 1974. Units of radioactive intensity are presented in Curies (Ci).⁵

FP and Australia have a complex relationship with France, balancing local autonomy with French oversight. Due to the lack of transparency and accountability, tensions between the local governments began to establish. In response, protests emerged as a potent force, catalyzing global awareness of the environmental and health risks associated with France's nuclear testing, and advocating for reparations and clean-ups associated with contamination.⁶

⁵Philippe, Sébastien, et al. "Radiation Exposures and Compensation of Victims of French Atmospheric Nuclear Tests in Polynesia." *Science & Global Security*, vol. 30, no. 2, 2022, pp. 62–94

⁶Lacovsky, Exequiel. "Opposing Nuclear Weapons Testing in the Global South: A Comparative Perspective." *The International Spectator*, vol. 58, no. 4, 2023, pp. 73–90

INTRODUCTION

In 1996, the UN formed a Conference of the States Parties to the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.⁷ This simulation references the form and structure of that conference to create a simplified negotiation environment. Parties involved will be France (primarily military), the United States (primarily military), Australia, French Polynesia, Nuclear Justice Activists, and journalists. Participants are expected to use their briefings to inform their interests rather than as a limitation for wise negotiating. A productive level of flexibility will be utilized for various parties to come to an agreement using the single-text approach. Participants will begin in the divergence stage and navigate the phases of conflict to come to an agreement. Will all state parties ratify their Treaty by the end of the simulation?

Goals and framework:

This simulation is informed by the following assertions:

- Militarism, colonialism, imperialism, racism, and capitalism are all connected and have lasting negative environmental and socio-political impacts.
- People have strong connections to places that often inform identity, culture, indigeneity, and spirituality; these components are essential in sustainability.
- Sustainable solutions work towards liberation and remediation of people and environments from multiple forms of oppression and their legacies and leave room for most affected populations to build their futures.
- No nuclear bombing is safe for people or the environment.

With these ideas in mind, the class will explore the following questions:

- How does nuclear testing in Polynesia provide an opportunity to investigate negotiation challenges that have severe implications on public health, political power, environmental sustainability, and colonialism?
- What other motivations complicate the above assumptions, and how do they conflict in negotiation settings?
- What are the challenges with including demilitarization in environmental negotiations, or including environmentalism in military negotiations?

⁷"Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT)." *United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs*

Role overviews:

1. France: Centre d'Experimentation du Pacifique (The Pacific Experimentation Center) conducted France's nuclear tests and would likely be present or represented at this type of negotiation. This actor is often secretive and competitive, not revealing the impacts of their actions easily. Will France take accountability and negotiate successfully with other parties?
2. United States: While simultaneously in competition for global power with France in terms of territory and military might, the United States allies with powerful nations while wanting to appear benevolent in international affairs. Is supporting nuclear testing beneficial for the United States in the long run?
3. French Polynesia: Over one hundred islands in the Pacific are facing extreme threats to their culture, ecology, health, and autonomy due to France's nuclear testing projects. Polynesian's interests should be centered in treaty language and decisions, but they have less political power than other actors. What will they demand?
4. Australia: As a geographical neighbor of Polynesian islands, Australia opposes France's nuclear testing initiatives and amplifies Polynesian voices. Australia can use its resources to conduct studies that France refuses to do. How can Australia use its leverage for climate justice?
5. Secretary General: Someone has to ensure order during negotiations of the treaty. The Secretary General is a controversial position in the UN due to the difficulty of selecting an unbiased candidate; in our simulation, the Secretary General is an unbiased problem-solver who aids the focus of discussion on interests rather than positions to help parties come to an agreement.
6. Nuclear Justice activists: Global organizations have rallied together, enraged by the French Military's actions — how can greater powers be pressured into ending nuclear testing and helping the communities that have been harmed?
7. Journalists: Press attendees of the conference increase transparency and make negotiation concerns accessible to the public. Journalists have tact in what is beneficial to share. They can put pressure on certain actors or keep certain concerns private.

YOU ARE ALLOWED TO USE THE INTERNET DURING THIS SIMULATION IF YOU NEED TO,, BUT USE NOTHING CURRENT (IT'S 1995).



CONFIDENTIAL INSTRUCTIONS: Secretary General (UN)

Role description:

You have been selected as the third party to assist negotiations during this conference. As a mediator, it is your job to separate the people from the problem. Use your creativity and problem-solving skills to direct discussion towards interests and options rather than positions. As parties share their various wants and needs, you will help consolidate these into one text. You have the ability to control how long each party can speak as well as generate rules that help negotiating go smoothly. The Secretary General cannot be expected to separate themselves from their humanity and inherent biases. However, the Secretary General should do their best to remain fair and judicious.

Some strategies that the Secretary General can encourage are as follows:⁸⁹

1. **Listening to understand.** Encourage parties to slow down and actively listen to what the other parties are trying to say before adding their own opinions. You can pause the discussion at any time to clarify a point.
2. **Choosing words with care.** Use less politically loaded words to reduce defensive positions.
3. **Keeping sensitive negotiations private.** You can ask the journalists not to include certain content in their press releases or ask parties not to make releases to the press until agreements are reached.
4. **Insisting on objective criteria.** Ask what theories are behind positions. Connect theories to existing criteria. Introduce new standards for defining good versus bad language in the treaty.
5. **Building transparency and trust.** You have leverage to encourage parties to offer information. Transparency for its own sake won't be appealing to participants, so keep an eye on what parties have to gain by laying their interests out in the open. That being said, you do not need to enforce full disclosure at all times.
6. **Diffusing stress.** Check-in with participants about their level of stress and why they feel that way, almost like a counselor. Diffusing this tension may aid the negotiation process. Parties may speak confidentially with you.

⁸ "Negotiation in International Relations: Finding Common Ground." *Program of Negotiation*, Harvard Law School, 16 Apr. 2024.

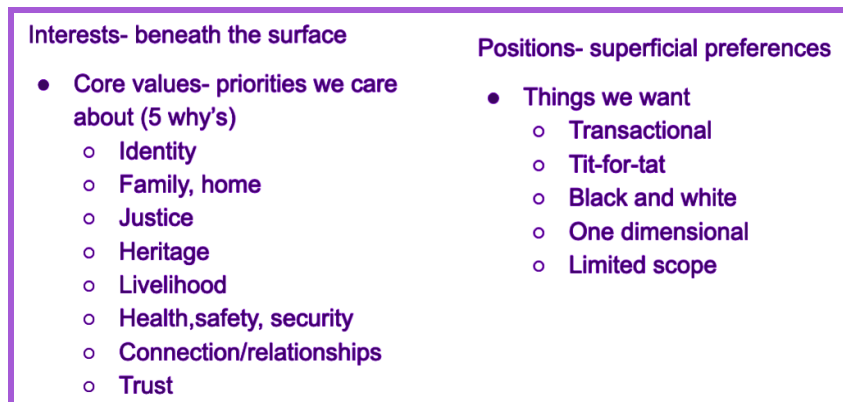
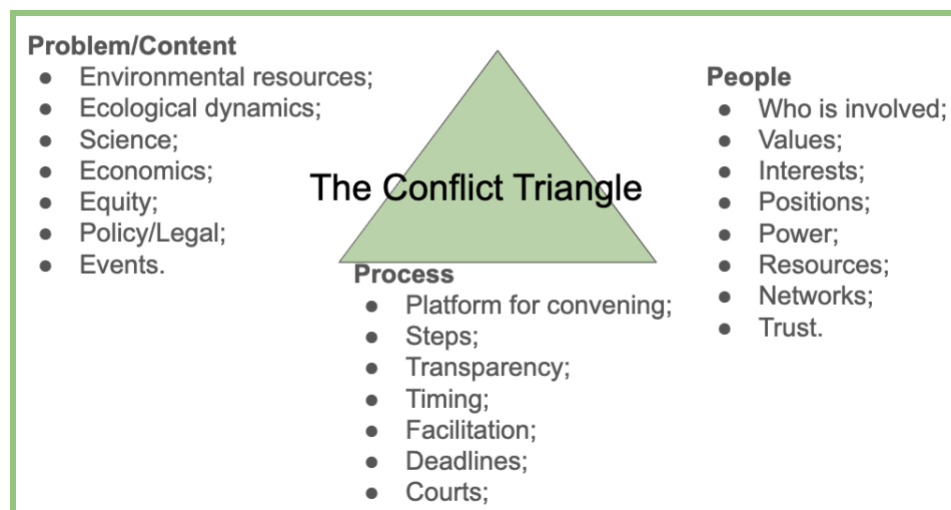
⁹ Fisher, Roger, et al. "Chapter 7: What If They Won't Play?" *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In*, Updated and Revised ed., Harvard Negotiation Project, 2011.

CONFIDENTIAL INSTRUCTIONS: Journalists

Role description:

Your responsibility is to communicate the outcomes of the conference to the public. Your goal is to ask insightful questions to clarify the negotiation process taking place. Make connections between agreements and their implications for society at large. You will report headlines and short descriptions of topics of concern without jeopardizing the confidentiality of negotiations. Report to the Secretary General or with parties themselves with any questions. Headlines will also help visualize milestones for negotiation participants and motivate them to continue through the groan zone.

Your responsibility is also to ground the conference where it fluidly occupies stages of negotiation. Refer to the conflict triangle for observations and insights. Reference interests versus positions to take note of the quality of negotiations occurring.



CONFIDENTIAL INSTRUCTIONS: France (CEP)

Why did France turn to nuclear weapons in the first place?

Before 1954, France was more or less against nuclear proliferation, mostly to deter other European countries like Germany from building nuclear repositories.¹⁰ In 1954, NATO adopted the New Look policy, which entailed atomic responses via nuclear installations in European states to any Soviet incursion to the west.¹¹ Previous to that policy, France held strong decision-making power due to its large army of foot soldiers.¹² Building a nuclear weapons program was a way to address the fear of losing leverage in NATO's decision-making processes.¹³¹⁴

Your strategy:

France's foundation in international nuclear armament negotiations was extreme stubbornness, especially in 1954.¹⁵ France's leaders would not accept restrictions on its own programs or allow NATO to make modifications easily.¹⁶ This strategy met public resistance early on by intellectuals, socialists, and biologists, so the military worked on nuclear weaponry covertly.¹⁷ But dedication to pursuing nuclear bombs was not unilateral among even elites.¹⁸ It is imperative for French military advancements to maintain control over the regions and continue to undergo nuclear testing. The French government officials sought to maintain absolute secrecy over the nuclear testing that had taken place. Hence, it is key to refute any accusations of nuclear testing and of the negative health developments on local populations of French Polynesia. Seek to address and put an end to the worldwide boycotting of French products which has led to a loss of between 5.8 and 7.8 billion francs. Available leverage is to perhaps agree to certain financial concessions in the form of financing the relocation of affected local populations as well as fully financed medical aid and costs of locally affected populations in order to put an end to this vital embargo problem.¹⁹

- **Primary Objectives:** Support continued nuclear testing in the region of Mururoa and Fangataufa atolls. Safeguard advancements of French military nuclear power. Maintain confidentiality on the testing specifics and the utility of the territories for the French Government.
- **Secondary Objectives:** Avoid taking responsibility for the health effects on the local populations in the regions, and attempt to limit any financial concessions. Seek to put an end to the worldwide boycotting of French products.
- **BATNA:** Use the pacific territory for other, non-nuclear military purposes.

¹⁰ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "The Struggle over the Bomb in the French Fourth Republic." 85–94.

¹¹ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "The Struggle over the Bomb in the French Fourth Republic." p. 95

¹² Hymans, Jacques E. C. "The Struggle over the Bomb in the French Fourth Republic." p. 95

¹³ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "The Struggle over the Bomb in the French Fourth Republic." p. 95

¹⁴ "France's Pacific Nuclear Testing 'Must Stop Now', Marshall Islands Tells First Committee." 18 Oct. 1995.

¹⁵ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "The Struggle over the Bomb in the French Fourth Republic." p. 95-104.

¹⁶ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "The Struggle over the Bomb in the French Fourth Republic." p. 95-104.

¹⁷ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "The Struggle over the Bomb in the French Fourth Republic." p. 104.

¹⁸ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "The Struggle over the Bomb in the French Fourth Republic." p. 106.

¹⁹ Berley, Max. "The Bleeding of France's Economy." *International Herald Tribune*, 19 Dec. 1995.

CONFIDENTIAL INSTRUCTIONS: United States

Why is the U.S. a part of this negotiation?

In the mid-1950s, the U.S. did not want to assist France in becoming a large nuclear power.²⁰ But over a decade later, President Nixon and his national security advisor, Henry Kissinger, shifted attitudes and thought French nuclear power could be good for Western security.²¹ Nixon's executive branch found a loophole in the Atomic Energy Act which meant they could give France advice and guidance.²² Through transfers of information and funds towards France's nuclear projects, the U.S. wanted to covertly support France without being seen in the public eye.²³

Your strategy:

It is important that you continue to keep tabs on global progress on nuclear weapons, either as a symbol of power, dissuasion of fear or to inform national pride.²⁴ Involvement in France's nuclear testing operations was kept secret until the late 1980s. Now, in 1996, a U.S. alliance with France would want to be made quietly, if at all. You may even want to ally with Australia or French Polynesia to distance yourself from international backlash.

- **Primary Objectives:** Maintain national security and high global status by making sure plans are transparent and accessibly modified by U.S. diplomats and leaders. Contribute dialogue or funds necessary to placate those negatively impacted without radical changes in nuclear policy.
- **Secondary Objectives:** Stay out of the public eye unless the press is positive. Stay discreet about similar conflicts in the Marshall Islands.²⁵
- **BATNA:** You can bring criminal charges against Greenpeace, reduce imports/exports from Australia, bribe journalists to misinform the public, and delay the negotiation process. You can also covertly provide military support to French Polynesia, Greenpeace, and Australia in protest of France.

Public Opinion

Civil disobedience protests against nuclear weapons usage and testing have been mounting since the Vietnam War. Grassroots activist groups continue to pressure government officials. A zero-yield (complete) test ban is extremely popular among citizens and scientists.²⁶ In 1995, international outrage sparked a boycott of French goods; the same could happen for U.S. goods if you are not careful.

²⁰ Burr, William. "Nuclear Proliferation International History Project."

²¹ Burr, William. "Nuclear Proliferation International History Project."

²² Burr, William. "Nuclear Proliferation International History Project."

²³ Burr, William. "Nuclear Proliferation International History Project."

²⁴ Hymans, Jacques E. C. *The Psychology of Nuclear Proliferation*. p. 35

²⁵ <https://ejatlas.org/conflict/french-nuclear-tests-in-polynesia>

²⁶ "Nuclear Testing and Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) Timeline." Arms Control Association.

CONFIDENTIAL INSTRUCTIONS: Australia

How does Australia's history inform this negotiation?

In the 1950s, the Australian Prime Minister allowed Britain to hold multiple nuclear tests in Australia, motivated by anti-communist ideas of defense.²⁷ In the 1960s, the Australian government had gone back and forth on its nuclear policy.²⁸ Australia continued fostering strong alliances with the U.S. and U.K. during the Vietnam War.²⁹ However, the Australian Labor Party came to power subsequent to the leadership of John Gorton, whose plans for an Australian nuclear weapons drive never came to fruition.³⁰ Labor Party leadership prioritized better relationships with Asian neighbors and defiance of French nuclear testing in the South Pacific.³¹

Your strategy:

Australia, located southwest of French Polynesia, is in high demand for diplomacy pressure, advocacy, and support for affected communities from the French nuclear bomb tests. The Australian government is deeply concerned about the environmental, humanitarian, and geopolitical implications of French nuclear testing on its Pacific neighbors. They have also been supporting independent investigations and studies to gather accurate data and evidence on the health and the impacts of such bombings. An important factor for Australia, as one of the bigger communities, is to amplify the collective voices of French Polynesia. Despite resistance from the French government, Australia remains persistent in recognizing the potential long-term consequences of nuclear testing on the environment and human health.

- **Primary Objectives:** Exert diplomatic pressure on the French government and military to immediately halt all nuclear testing operations in French Polynesia.
- **Secondary Objections:** Ensure comprehensive environmental and health assessments are conducted in affected areas to further support affected populations.
- **BATNA:** Drive a wedge between France and the US as a way to get the US on your side. Focus on different political priorities between the two countries in 1995. Sanction France and/or get the U.S. to impose limited sanctions on France. Encourage Australian citizens to boycott France products. Threaten to sue France and/or the US in the ICJ.



²⁷ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "Australia's Search for Security: Nuclear Umbrella, Armament, or Abolition?" p. 118.

²⁸ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "Australia's Search for Security: Nuclear Umbrella, Armament, or Abolition?" p. 114–123.

²⁹ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "Australia's Search for Security: Nuclear Umbrella, Armament, or Abolition?" p. 126.

³⁰ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "Australia's Search for Security: Nuclear Umbrella, Armament, or Abolition?" p. 133.

³¹ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "Australia's Search for Security: Nuclear Umbrella, Armament, or Abolition?" p. 137

CONFIDENTIAL INSTRUCTIONS: French Polynesia

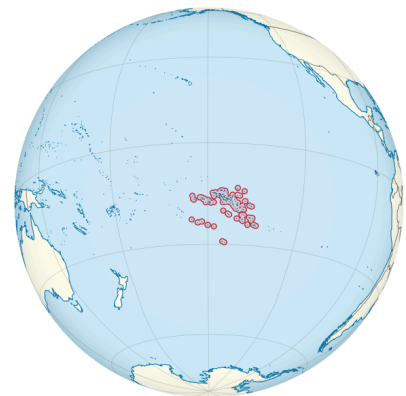
What is at stake for French Polynesia?

French Polynesia, comprised of around 118 islands, is heavily affected by the devastating impacts of the French nuclear bombings, specifically on Mururoa and Fangataufa atolls in the Tuamotu Archipelago. The Polynesian governments are deeply concerned about the environmental, humanitarian, and geopolitical implications of French nuclear testing on its Pacific neighbors and are actively seeking justice and accountability from the French government³².

Your strategy:

An important factor for French Polynesia is the collective effort with bigger communities and the amplification of local community protests to demand significant compensation from France. Despite resistance from the French government, French Polynesia remains persistent in recognizing the potential long-term consequences of nuclear testing on the environment and human health³³. In the case that France is incompilant, FP will heavily rely on forming partnerships and allies to take legal action.

- **Primary Objectives:** Identify environmental contamination (high radiation levels in food, drinking water, and rainwater), health risks, and government secrecy surrounding the nuclear testing program.
- **Secondary Objections:** Cooperate with Mururoa and Fangataufa atoll communities and surroundings to come to a consensus on appropriate compensation for the suffering endured by generations of Polynesian residents due to French military tensions.
- **BATNA:** Disrupt French nuclear activity with warships to postpone activity. Warships will linger in international waters as they try to stop further testing. Act on the assumption that the CEP bombers will hesitate on humanitarian grounds and detonate their bombs³⁴.



³²Danielsson, Bengt. "Under a Cloud of Secrecy: The French Nuclear Tests in the Southeastern Pacific." *Ambio*, vol. 13, no. 5/6, 1984, pp. 336–41. *JSTOR*

³³"France's Pacific Nuclear Testing 'Must Stop Now,' Marshall Islands Tells First Committee." *United Nations*, 18 October 1995

³⁴ Danielsson, Bengt. "Danielsson, Bengt. "Under a Cloud of Secrecy: The French Nuclear Tests in the Southeastern Pacific." *Ambio*, vol. 13, no. 5/6, 1984, pp. 336–41. *JSTOR*

CONFIDENTIAL INSTRUCTIONS: Greenpeace

What are the goals of Greenpeace in this negotiation?

Greenpeace is a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) made up of environmental activists and social justice advocates. The main priorities of Greenpeace include:

- 1.) Protesting to end *all* testing and production of nuclear weapons
 - a.) Boycotting products from and travel to countries conducting nuclear tests
 - b.) Marching and demonstrating
 - c.) Documenting and creating art depicting injustices
 - d.) Garnering support from celebrities
- 2.) Fighting for financial reparations to communities³⁵ that have been impacted by nuclear testing or production:
 - a.) Workers extracting and refining uranium and plutonium from mines
 - b.) Transportation workers who shipped and handled radioactive materials
 - c.) Residents exposed to fallout from nuclear testing or production, especially those whose land was exploited for nuclear use
 - d.) Victims of nuclear weapons
- 3.) Drawing attention to the consequences of nuclear weapons:
 - a.) Mass deaths
 - b.) Radiation poisoning (causes cancer, eye cataracts, and other adverse health effects)³⁶
 - c.) Contamination of the environment (especially from poor containment of nuclear waste)

What sets the stage for Greenpeace?

A Greenpeace ship was in the Pacific Ocean near Mururoa Atoll in French Polynesia, where the French military was conducting nuclear testing, and was protesting by sailing into the exclusion zone surrounding the atoll. French intelligence officers posed as Greenpeace activists, infiltrated the ship, attached explosives to it, and detonated them, causing the ship to sink.



³⁵Buglewicz, Joe. "Arizona's 'Downwinders,' Exposed to Cold War Nuclear Testing, Fight for Compensation." *NBC News*, 13 September 2020,

³⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Acute_radiation_syndrome

Your strategy:

Nuclear justice activists have historically escalated their demands with direct action when political engagement failed to yield results...

- **Primary objectives:** Pressure the French Military to end all nuclear testing.
- **Secondary objectives:** Pressure greater global powers to grant reparations to all those harmed by nuclear testing and production. Pressure global powers to clean up nuclear test sites.
- **BATNA:** Find a way to drive a wedge between France and the US as a way to break up the two pro-nuclear allies. Find a moving piece of media — an image, or artwork — to send to the journalists to be published and sway leaders. Find a celebrity or an influential person from the 1990s who has endorsed your objectives, and tell the journalists.



Protesters camp on the train tracks leading into the Rocky Flats nuclear trigger factory in Colorado, USA. © Greenpeace / Rex Weyler

BATNA examples:

- Celebrity Brigitte Bardot poses with seal in Greenpeace 1977 campaign³⁷
- Greenpeace blocks train in opposition to Rocky Flats nuclear trigger factory³⁸

³⁷ “Brigitte Bardot in Canada.” *Media*, Greenpeace, media.greenpeace.org/archive/Brigitte-Bardot-in-Canada-27MZIF2L02DT.html. Accessed 28 Apr. 2024.

³⁸ Weyler, Rex. “Civil Disobedience: Why Direct Action Is Necessary.” *Greenpeace International*, www.greenpeace.org/international/story/47715/civil-disobedience-why-direct-action-is-necessary/. Accessed 28 Apr. 2024.

AGENDA & FACILITATION PLAN

OBSERVERS: Becca, Costa, Courtney, Sarah, Dr. Gervich, Jenna

ROLE(S)	PEOPLE	
UN SECRETARY GENERAL(S)	ERIN	SAM
JOURNALISTS	NED	ALEXA
UNITED STATES	EMMA	KEN
FRANCE	ELEANOR	AMELIA
FRENCH POLYNESIA	ELIANA	ALEX
AUSTRALIA	AUSTIN	BRADY
NUCLEAR JUSTICE ACTIVIST	KAAN	SAMARA

1. INSTRUCTIONS | 10 mins

- MAIN ROOM: Observers read instructions aloud. (5 mins)
- BREAKOUT ROOMS: in seven breakout rooms, participants read role descriptions. Observers join rooms to answer questions. (5 mins)

2. DEFINE NATIONAL SECURITY | 10 mins

- BRAINSTORM: In the main room, one representative from each state will propose important security considerations to the room. Think outside of the box! (5 mins) Priorities to consider:
 - Cultural integrity (including protection of indigenous communities)
 - Human health
 - Environmental health
 - Technological advancement
 - Scientific achievement
 - Economic stability
- DISCUSS: What are similarities and differences between what's been shared?
 - Secretary Generals will call on one participant to name differences and one to name similarities.
 - Journalists and Greenpeace post statements to public.
- CONSENSUS: Secretary generals turn list of priorities into bullet-pointed sentences.

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- States vote yes/no on the draft. If more than 1 party votes no, table the issue.
 - Journalists and Greenpeace post statements to public.

3. WITHDRAWAL TIMELINES | 25 mins

- a. DISCUSS: Each party gets 30 seconds to share what “banning” nuclear testing should mean, starting with French Polynesia. Observers introduce two withdrawal outlines that will be discussed next:
 - 1: By x date, France will have x% of nuclear weaponry out of French Polynesia.
 - 2: By x date, France will have x amount of bases out of commission in French Polynesia.
- b. BREAKOUT ROOMS: Participants break out in privacy for 5 minutes to draft a rough sketch of what they would agree to for each rule.
- c. DRAFT: In the main room, states send their drafts of numbers 1 and 2 in the chat. Secretary Generals take 10 minutes in their breakout room to synthesize these into two rules. In the main room, Journalists and other participants interact.
- d. VOTE: In the main room, the rules made by secretary generals are put to a vote. If more than 1 party votes no, table the issue. Journalists issue headlines to the public.

4. REPARATIONS | 25 mins

- a. DISCUSS: French Polynesia, Australia, and Greenpeace have the floor to introduce potential reparation plans in the main room. They will introduce these outlines (5 mins):
 - X states will transfer x% of GDP per year to French Polynesia.
 - X states will adopt an immigration policy to accept Polynesian refugees as new citizens.
 - X states will dedicate \$x to environmental remediation in French Polynesia for x amount of years.
 - X states will offer x kinds of healthcare services to French Polynesia.

France and the United States will each choose two of these reparation policies that they would be willing to adopt. They meet in separate breakout rooms for 5 minutes then come back to the main room. They submit their draft policies to the chat.

- b. DISCUSS: All participants react to these policies for 5 minutes. What needs to be added? What collaborations could take place?
- c. DRAFT: Secretary generals meet in their own breakout room to make any changes to the drafts based on feedback. Journalists ask questions to participants in the main room.

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- d. VOTE: In the main room, the reparation policies are put to a vote. If more than 1 party votes no, table the issue. Journalists issue headlines to the public.

5. DEBRIEF | 10 mins

- a. Questions we could include if we had time:
- How will this treaty be enforced?
 - Will there be some form of international monitoring system for nuclear testing?
 - Will there be future meetings to discuss progress in implementing the treaty? If so, when and at what frequency?
- b. Read conclusion
- c. Discuss as a class
- Were we able to form a treaty? Why or why not?
 - Did you need to use your BATNAs?
 - How else would you have gone about a one-text procedure in this context?
 - Do you feel that this negotiation was collaborative?

Collaborative Negotiation Process

1. Assess the situation- People, process, problem;
2. Plan collaborative process;
3. Develop shared understanding;
4. Understand scientific, social, political, economic dynamics;
5. Generate alternatives;
6. Evaluate and decide;
7. Implement, monitor, adapt.

ADDITIONAL CONTEXTUAL ARTIFACTS

Videos

Link	Length	Source	Date
In French Polynesia, the devastating impact of decades of nuclear testing	2 min	France 24 English	July 26, 2021
French A-Blast (1966)	1 min	British Pathé	April 13, 2014
The bombing of the Rainbow Warrior in 1985	2 min	Greenpeace Australia	July 9, 2015
Tahiti: Papeete: Mass demonstration against French nuclear testing (1995)	4 min	AP Archive	July 21, 2015

Articles

Link	Source	Date
From the Archives 1995: World outrage as French prepare for bomb No 2	Sydney Morning Herald	September 6, 2019
Indigenous peoples in Mā'ohi Nui (French Polynesia)	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs	March 20, 2023
French nuclear tests contaminated 110,000 in Pacific, says study	BBC	March 9, 2021
French lawmakers to investigate effects of nuclear tests in South Pacific	Radio France Internationale	March 26, 2024
‘Maohi Lives Matter’: Tahiti protesters condemn French nuclear testing legacy	Global Voices	July 23, 2021

Podcast

Link	Length	Source	Date
20 Years After Sailing to Mururoa Atoll to Protest the Nuclear Bomb Testing	57 min	Greenplanet FM	October 7, 2015

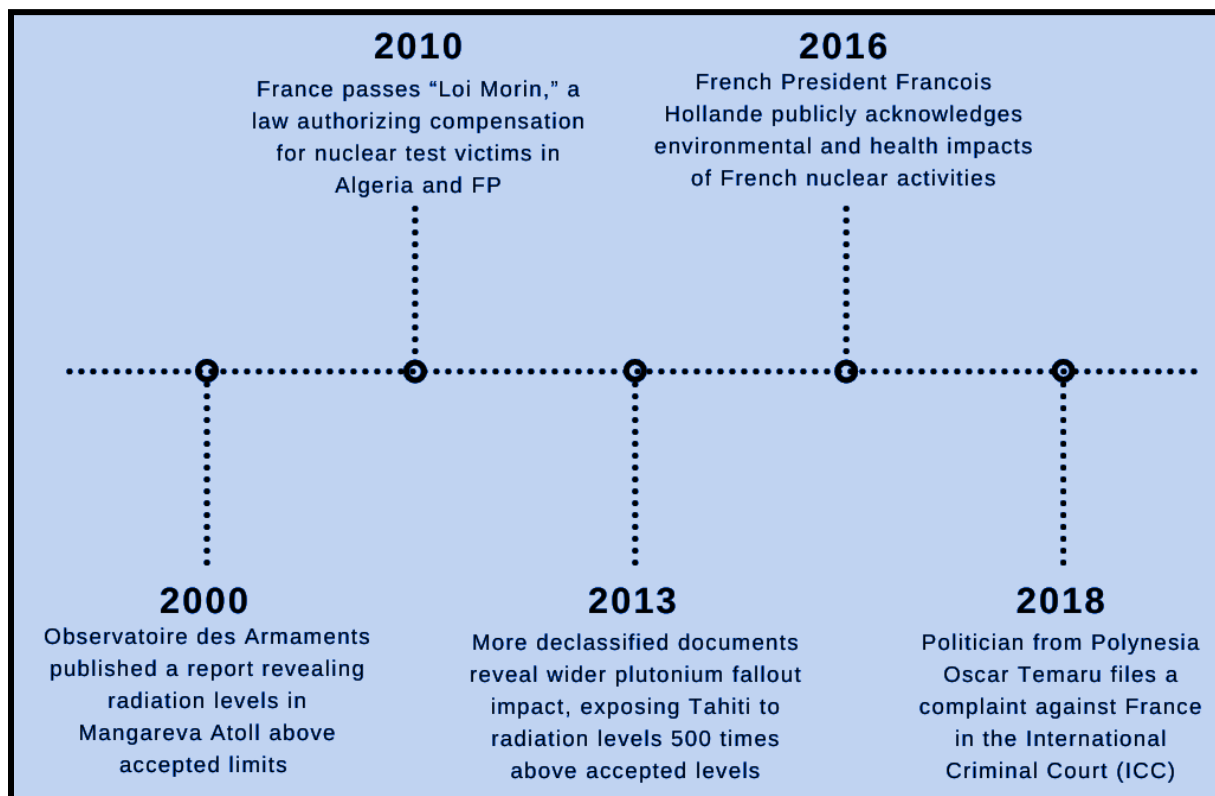
TEACHING MATERIALS

This section describes how the simulation may be used in a teaching scenario. Firstly, prior to the simulation, we would assign particular readings consisting of a couple of articles that delve into the history of nuclear testing and the arms race in the 20th Century as well as the specific French nuclear testing in French Polynesia. Additionally, we would also assign the class to watch the classic film *The Battle of Algiers* by Gillo Pontocorvo from 1967. The movie is a classic that depicts the French occupation of Algiers, and the successful revolution. It would provide key insight into the nature of brutal French occupation and militaristic ambitions with limited consideration for local foreign populations. After the simulation, we would assign each student to write a 750-word reflection on the experiment, emphasizing what they learned and how this experience benefitted them intellectually.

The simulation provides key intellectual benefits to the students who partake in it, as it represents a key real-life example of environmental negotiations between nations on a global stage. The simulation will facilitate the students' learning as they will get to experience what real-life environmental negotiations feel like, and therefore they will experience the complexities and the strategic components of it. Crucially, the students will learn key negotiating skills, while being taught to employ strategic methods such as leverage in the form of concessions and threats in order to get what they want in the negotiation. Moreover, by putting the students in a series of opposing groups with various different motifs and characteristics they will have to compile strategic approaches to get what they want. The key beneficial takeaway of this exercise is to teach students the key aspect of environmental negotiations, you must be strategic, calculated, and brutal in your approach to get what you want. In other words, unless you can benefit an opposing party through a concession or not acting on a threat, then they won't be willing to give you what you want.

DO NOT OPEN: CONCLUSION

What happened after 1996?



A timeline of what follows the 1996 Conference of the States Parties to the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.^{39,40}

What's the current status of negotiations?

Currently, French lawmakers are expected to launch a probe into the impacts of the country's nuclear weapons tests in French Polynesia.⁴¹ The nuclear tests, occurring primarily between the 1960s and the 1990s, have been associated with widespread environmental damage and significant health risks for the local population, which includes reports of elevated thyroid cancer. In 2013, hundreds of documents emerged, suggesting the tests exposed 90% of the 125,000 people living in FP to radioactive fallout⁴². And to this day, there continues to be the ongoing threat of collapse or leakage of radioactive contamination.

³⁹ <https://scienceandglobalsecurity.org/archive/sgs30philippe.pdf>

⁴⁰ <https://www.equaltimes.org/beyond-radioactivity-how-french>

⁴¹ https://www.lemonde.fr/en/france/article/2024/03/19/french-lawmakers-move-to-probe-polynesia-nuclear-tests_6635352_7.html

⁴²

<https://www.science.org/content/article/france-grossly-underestimated-radioactive-fallout-atom-bomb-tests-study-finds>

What is behind positional negotiations in this scenario?

Leaders are not likely to make decisions in negotiations like these based on logic alone.⁴³ They are likely to be driven by their national identity conceptions: what they believe their country represents and how they perceive its status compared to other countries worldwide.⁴⁴ These beliefs are internalized and informed by collective memory, education, propaganda, family, and more. France, the United States, Australia, and French Polynesia may be negotiating their status in the global order, not just an environmental and military agreement. Leaders also make decisions based on their conception of what the nation naturally stands for. This is where negotiators can look for common interests to deepen the success of their agreement.

What misconceptions could we learn to address in this negotiation?

1. Myth: The nuclear bomb is a deterrent to conflict.

Military defense strategy alone cannot sufficiently predict a leader's likelihood of proliferating nuclear bombs.⁴⁵ Emotional processes and national identity conceptions play a large role in nuclear policy decision-making. For example, Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies faced similar threats as nuclear powerhouses but did not seek his own nuclear project.⁴⁶ Moreover, conducting nuclear tests without political support can increase domestic conflict.

2. Myth: A one-size-fits-all, complete test ban treaty is the best way to avoid nuclear proliferation.

After decades, nations still refuse to ratify complete test bans. They would have to go against their interests to agree to such a treaty. It serves leaders better to put forward pro-ban messaging than make an actual commitment. Sometimes, bans can encourage secretive behavior and loophole-finding rather than genuine cooperation. For example, Argentina built a secret enrichment plant after the 1978 US Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act.⁴⁷ Furthermore, countries who are already against nuclear testing may not need an international non-proliferation regime to make their decision clear when they can set up their own non-proliferation institutions.⁴⁸ Leaders who are pro-bomb are unlikely to be dissuaded by the existence of a ban treaty.⁴⁹

⁴³ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "Leaders' National Identity Conceptions and Nuclear Choices." p 17.

⁴⁴ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "Leaders' National Identity Conceptions and Nuclear Choices." p 18.

⁴⁵ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "Conclusion: Lessons for Policy." p. 209.

⁴⁶ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "Conclusion: Lessons for Policy." p. 210.

⁴⁷ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "Conclusion: Lessons for Policy." p. 211-212.

⁴⁸ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "Conclusion: Lessons for Policy." p. 214.

⁴⁹ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "Conclusion: Lessons for Policy." p. 215.

3. Myth: Exposing the negative consequences of nuclear testing on public health and the environment can decrease its appeal to international leaders.

The negative consequences of nuclear weapons were known by 1954. Pierre Mendez France, who was pro-bomb, was aware of Jean Rostand's biological research about irreversible damage to human gene pools.⁵⁰ Nuclear Justice activists are not the first to expose the horrors of nuclear weapons; at the start of the nuclear age, the disastrous effects of nuclear weapons were present in people's memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and less-so today.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "Conclusion: Lessons for Policy." p. 215.

⁵¹ Hymans, Jacques E. C. "Conclusion: Lessons for Policy." p. 215.

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