

Supermodel Christie Brinkley Promotes Nuclear Abolition

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and much more.....



PARLIAMENTARIANS FOR NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION AND DISARMAMENT

Engaging legislators worldwide in steps towards nuclear abolition

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A program of the
Global Security Institute
and the Middle Powers Initiative

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Preventing Nuclear Genocide

Feature Article by Senator Roméo Dallaire

PNND Special Representative, former Commander of UN Forces in Rwanda, recipient of the United States Legion of Merit and author of award-winning book Shake Hands with the Devil - The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda.

Roméo Dallaire has witnessed the failure of humanity to prevent genocide, and does not want such a mistake repeated – whether through the use of nuclear weapons or other genocidal practices. In this feature article, Senator Dallaire examines why the international community has so far failed to eliminate the nuclear threat. He proposes new ideas to ensure success.

About PNND

Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (PNND) is a global network of over 500 parliamentarians from more than 70 countries working to prevent nuclear proliferation and achieve nuclear disarmament. Membership is open to current members of legislatures and parliaments at state, federal, and regional levels.

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Nuclear Awakenings: Welcome from PNND Co-Presidents

In the book *Awakenings*, popularized by the movie of the same name, Dr Oliver Sachs describes how patients with the sleeping sickness *encephalitis lethargica* are miraculously awoken and have to adapt to a world that has markedly changed in the years they have been in a catatonic state.

In 2007 it appeared as though many key policy makers in the Nuclear Weapon States had miraculously awoken from a sleep they had been in for nearly two decades, to find that the Cold War was actually over and that nuclear deterrence no longer made sense in a multi-polar, globalised world.

In January, for example, Republican US Secretaries of State Henry Kissinger and George Schultz - former advocates of nuclear deterrence - joined Democrats William Perry and Sam Nunn in an op ed piece in the *Wall Street Journal* calling on US leadership to establish a nuclear weapons free world. They highlighted the reality that the maintenance of nuclear weapons by anyone provides both the technical possibility and the political rationale for proliferation and the certainty of disaster.

This was followed in June by Margaret Becket, then the UK Foreign Secretary, in a keynote policy speech at the Carnegie International Non-proliferation Conference, recalling the successful campaign to abolish slavery, invoking

the vision of nuclear abolition, and committing the UK to study and develop the technical and political conditions required to achieve complete nuclear disarmament.

In November, both Nancy Reagan (widow of US Republican President Ronald Reagan) and Arnold Schwarzenegger (action movie star *The Terminator* and currently the Governor of California) invoked a vision for nuclear abolition. Schwarzenegger said that the nuclear issue deserved the same type of attention and political commitment as global warming.

This new-clear vision is to be applauded, but cannot remain just a vision. It must be joined by initial disarmament steps, and by the implementation of a more comprehensive plan for the complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons under effective verification and international control – a Nuclear Weapons Convention.

In 2007 PNND members were very active in advancing a number of nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament initiatives including the de-alerting of nuclear stockpiles, establishment of nuclear weapons free zones, controls on sensitive nuclear technology, removing tactical nuclear weapons from deployment (including US tactical weapons in Europe), and promotion of a Nuclear Weapons Convention.

More must be done in the coming year in order to grasp the opportunity of the current anti-nuclear awakening and set into motion an inexorable process for the complete abolition of nuclear weapons. To not do so would be to allow the world to fall back into a catatonic state – as happened in *Awakenings* – and let it slip towards a nuclear catastrophe.

As the five Co-Presidents of PNND, we pledge to do our best to lead, encourage and support parliamentary actions around the world that can turn government rhetoric into positive action in order to remove the threat of nuclear weapons from our world and construct a cooperative peaceful global society. We call on you to join us in these efforts.

Senator Abacca Anjain Maddison
(Marshall Islands)

Hon Marian Hobbs MP (New Zealand)

Mi-Kyung Lee MP (Republic of Korea)

Alexa McDonough MP (Canada)

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PNND Name Change

The PNND Global Council decided at its October 2007 meeting to endorse the proposal to change the name of the network from Parliamentary Network for Nuclear Disarmament to Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament. The proposal, which was circulated to all PNND Members in July and received no opposition, was made in order to eliminate a misconception from some key countries that 'disarmament' refers only to unilateral disarmament measures. The new name clarifies that PNND does indeed address the wider range of nonproliferation and multilateral disarmament measures.

Due to the multi-syllabic nature of the new name, PNND members are welcome to use the acronym PNND or the shorter version Parliamentarians for Nuclear Disarmament in informal settings if appropriate.



Preventing Nuclear Genocide

Senator Roméo Dallaire PNNP Special Representative Former Commander of UN Forces in Rwanda



Senator Roméo Dallaire

Excerpted from a speech to a PNNP Special Event, New York October 12, 2007 delivered by Kim Kroeber, Special Representative of Senator Dallaire.

Everywhere one looks or listens these days, one is confronted with the issue of global warming. It is quite an amazing phenomenon how something that was off the radar a few years ago has become so omnipresent in such a short time...

Right now, there is a much more serious and immediate threat which faces each and every one of us today. Of course I am speaking about the 26,000 nuclear weapons, thousands of which are ready to launch in under 30 minutes. Shockingly, the average person is completely ignorant of this situation and believes that the nuclear threat is an artifact of the cold war. This is an untenable situation which can only be remedied by global awareness campaign aimed at nuclear arms' abolition.

"Humanity has created other evil things which we have had the morality and good sense to abolish such as slavery and chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction."

How has this huge gap between the urgency of the nuclear arms threat and the detached stance of most people arisen? There are a number of reasons.

1) ROCKET SCIENCE:

Most people think the subject matter is beyond their comprehension and control. This is, after all, the domain of nuclear physics and rocket science. The truth is that the basic underlying moral issue is quite straight forward and understandable by all. We must strip down the technical language and make the foundational issue clear to all.

Nuclear weapons are inherently evil. They are designed to attain a single goal: to cause the most massive annihilation of innocent civilians possible. They are the ultimate tool of genocide. They have no place in a truly civilized world which values life and human rights. They must be abolished.

2) ABSTRACTION:

Unlike the example of global warming, most people have no direct experience of nuclear weapons which seem unduly abstract to the point of irrelevance to daily existence. They must be disabused of this notion. Nuclear weapons are very concrete and very real. I have seen them. The unprecedented death and destruction they created at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was very real. We must communicate the reality of this threat. We do not have the luxury of waiting for a nuclear bomb or dirty bomb to be dropped, because by then it will surely be irrevocably too late. It is our mission to ensure that we prevent the ultimate global warming—nuclear holocaust.

3) FALSE SENSE OF SECURITY:

Because there has been no nuclear weapon bombing since 1945, the general public has been lulled into the illusion that we are safe. Nothing could be further from the truth. Many experts maintain that in many ways we are more vulnerable to the nuclear weapons threat today than at the height of the cold war. I shall explore the reasons why shortly.



HMS Vanguard test fires a Trident D5 nuclear missile in October 2005.

4) THE GENIE IS OUT OF THE BOTTLE:

There are those who claim that because we have invented nukes we are stuck with them because they cannot be dis-invented. Humanity has created other evil things which we have had the morality and good sense to abolish such as slavery and chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction. If humanity is intelligent enough to have created the technology behind nuclear weapons, let us be wise enough to abolish them.

5) THE MYTH OF SAFE POSSESSION BY GOOD GUYS:

In the field of nuclear weapons, the catch word of today is non-proliferation. There is a myth out there that if you are a good state and possess nukes, that is a good thing. You can use your nukes to deter other bad guys who cannot possess them without threatening world order. This is a false and dangerous rationale on a number of levels. I will point out 5 reasons why this approach doesn't work.

a) Nuclear weapons are inherently evil by design.

The nature of the possessor cannot change the monstrous nature of the weapons. Any security or peace which is attained by virtue of the threat of genocide is grossly immoral and unacceptable by any standard. We must create a new kind of global security which reflects our inherent interdependence.

"Any security or peace which is attained by virtue of the threat of genocide is grossly immoral and unacceptable by any standard."

b) Nuclear deterrence simply does not work in today's world order.

We no longer have two warring superpowers capable of destroying each other. This is a cold war paradigm which is no longer relevant. There are many more players in the modern world dynamic and many more complicating factors such as the emergence of black markets in nuclear materials and the prospect of nuclear terrorism. We have to move forward from a now outdated security system based on nuclear deterrence and nuclear alliances, to one based on cooperation and allegiance to humankind.

c) To focus solely upon non-proliferation & ignore disarmament is wrong, illegal and unsustainable.

The most successful treaty in the world, the Non-Proliferation Treaty, is based on a deal: that states who did not possess nuclear weapons would not acquire them if states who had them would eliminate their nuclear arsenals (although the right to access peaceful civilian technology was preserved.) The nuclear weapon states are renegeing on the deal. They are using deceptive arguments that they are willing to disarm at some nebulous future date, but that, since 9/11, it is too dangerous to disarm now. This has created an impossible situation. The world has been divided into nuclear haves and have-nots. It is nuclear apartheid.

d) Consequence of the retention/modernization of nuclear weapons.

By insisting upon the retention and in some cases, the modernization of nuclear weapons, the nuclear haves have underscored that nukes are the new currency of power. This spurs certain of the nuclear have-nots into wanting to acquire them or wanting to retain them in security partnerships such as NATO.

e) Retention of nukes by anyone is just too dangerous.

I know many of you are familiar with the recent massive breach of security which happened in this country, arguably the greatest military power in the world.

For a period of over one day, the destructive force equivalent to 60 Hiroshimas was out of command and control when a nuclear armed B-52 made a cross-country flight by accident.

To err is human. People, even highly educated/skilled people entrusted with global security, can and will make mistakes. Beyond operator error, we must expect defects in the weapons themselves, the delivery systems, the supporting computer systems, et cetera. Leading scientists around the world agree that a nuclear incident is inevitable through deliberate act or accident. At the end of January this year, the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, advanced the hand of its doomsday clock to five minutes to nuclear midnight due to the increased potential for accidental or intentional nuclear exchange. We shall only be safe when nuclear weapons are abolished...

Lack of Leadership

There is an appalling international vacuum when it comes to global leadership. Governments around the world have become such slaves to the influence of lobbyists, preserving their interests and the status quo, and careful considerations of possible political and economic consequences to taking any position on issues that they routinely fail to be guided by considerations of morality to do the right thing. They have forgotten their most basic mandate: to first and foremost protect the lives and human rights

of their citizens. It is shameful and insupportable that the international situation has been permitted to deteriorate to the point that the very right to exist of each and every one of us is threatened each minute. This must be rectified immediately...

There have been some significant positive developments upon which we must focus and build. In October 2006, the UN General Assembly voted 168 to 4 to abolish nuclear weapons. A seminal article by distinguished bipartisan former cold war hawks was published in January of this year in the Wall Street Journal and is of critical significance in its castigation of nuclear deterrence and its elucidation of the goal of nuclear arms' abolition...

I am pleased to report that both houses of Canadian Government passed unanimous motions to reinvigorate the disarmament agenda and to take a leadership role. We must press all governments to take a similar action.

There was the exciting statement by Margaret Beckett in her then-position as the UK Foreign Minister that in building the new impetus for global nuclear disarmament, the UK would be a disarmament laboratory by studying the policy ramifications of abolition.

WHAT IS THE URGENCY ABOUT THE PUSH TO ABOLISH NUCLEAR WEAPONS NOW?

There are some 30 or 40 states which seem to be sitting on the proverbial fence concerning the acquisition of nuclear arms. The potential exists for many regional nuclear arms races. There was the disturbing North Korean nuclear test of October 9, 2006, and ongoing uncertainty concerning Iran's nuclear program. The next couple of years will be determinative as to whether there will be an alarming cascade of nuclear weapons proliferation, or whether the



Advanced cruise missile being loaded onto a B52 heavy bomber at Minot Air Force Base, where six nuclear armed cruise missiles were mistakenly loaded on a B52 and lost in October 2007. Photo courtesy of Federation of American Scientists

"I have seen genocide by machete. Trust me; we shall never survive genocide by nukes."

tide will turn in the other direction and disarmament obligations will be respected and acted upon in earnest...

No one can afford a new nuclear arms race. Since the end of the cold war, some 12 trillion dollars has been spent on perfecting technology to blow our planet up several times over. What an obscene and immoral diversion of global resources which continues and grows today. Just imagine the contribution that those funds could make to strengthening world peace and global security if they were used to feed, educate, cure and employ the poor?...

Please imagine sending your son or daughter to school with another student with whom they'd had disagreements in the past. Throughout their day, every day, to ensure that a fight did not break out, both children were armed with guns directed at each other's temples. This seems appalling and ridiculous, yet this is how we 'civilized' members of the 21st century chose to live our lives. Of course, our weapons are much more powerful and threaten to destroy not only our adversaries but all life as we know it.

There can be no global security while we rely upon the indiscriminate threat of mass murder of innocents as the basis for peace. The only true peace must come about through mutual respect, total transparency, trust and recognition of our interconnectedness. We must recognize the inherent interconnectedness of global threats.

In the area of nuclear weapons, there must be verified, irreversible disarmament toward a timely abolition of all nuclear weapons. We must gain control of the nuclear fuel cycle and have controlled



access to the fuel supply for civilian nuclear energy. Nuclear stockpiles must be secured.

Root causes of global insecurity must be addressed such as poverty, disease, rights abuses, inadequate international development, limited access to employment and education, gender inequality, et cetera.

SUMMATION:

I am not an alarmist. I have experienced the harsh consequences of international indifference first hand... I have seen the human propensity for evil up close. I have seen genocide by machete. Trust me; we shall never survive genocide by nukes.

There is a dangerous complacency beginning to develop—a cavalier attitude about the prospect of using nuclear weapons—which is wrought from ignorance.

Serious players are discussing not only the use of these terrifying weapons as a defence measure, but in a preemptive strike against a country who has not initiated an act of war. This is condoning evil on an unprecedented scale. This flies in the face of the 1996 unanimous decision of the International Court of Justice which stated the threat or use of nuclear weapons "would generally be contrary" to humanitarian and other international law and that states have a legal obligation to disarm.

Collectively, we must act as the alarm bell for the globe. We must awaken the rage and moral indignation that is the only rational reaction to the mere existence, let alone preemptive use of such horrific weapons. We must jar countries from the paralytic state many have been in since the tragedy of 9/11. Fear and hatred cannot be the basis of any rational global security strategy. The status quo and the same entrenched positions cannot continue. This is not the time for a 'watch and see what the other guys are doing' approach. It is the

time to assume a proactive, leadership role to rethink the way we must live together for if we fail we shall certainly perish together.

We must commit ourselves to building bridges, devising creative alternative security mechanisms and engaging in tough talk, where necessary, to advance the process. We must explore all diplomatic avenues from the most formal to the most casual and clandestine.

We need to enlist the support of mass media in launching a sustained campaign to abolish nuclear weapons. How can something which threatens our daily, collective survival not even appear on the radar screen of national and international mainstream press? This abomination must be rectified. It is only with the cooperation of the media that the public can be made aware of the nuclear threat and become enraged into action.

If, as former United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan has stated, the world is asleep at the wheel of a fast-moving airplane, for goodness sake let us grab the controls and steer humanity into the future!

Senator Dallaire's full speech is accessible at http://www.gsinsitute.org/mpi/pnnd/docs/10_12_07_Dallaire.html

**LET ME THROUGH.
I'M AN ARMS SALESMAN**



David Austin

Preserving the NPT – the Article VI Forum

Senator Douglas Roche, Chair of the Middle Powers Initiative

If there is one word that describes the crisis of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), it is “credibility.” After 38 years of the existence of the NPT, after the start of a second nuclear age with 25,000 nuclear weapons still in existence, after repeated calls by U.N. Secretaries-General for action to negotiate nuclear disarmament alongside nuclear non-proliferation, after more than a decade of the nuclear weapon states ignoring the ruling of the International Court of Justice that negotiations for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons must be concluded – we must honestly face the question: Are the goals set out within the NPT still credible? And is the NPT a credible instrument to achieve them?

Following the failure of the 2005 NPT Review Conference, the Middle Powers Initiative created the Article VI Forum to provide an informal setting for like-minded States to explore and develop steps and mechanisms for the implementation of the NPT and the achievement of a nuclear weapons free world. In four meetings so far, involving some 30 states, MPI has identified a number of areas where there is general agreement amongst most governments, and where action could feasibly be taken prior to the 2010 NPT Review.

These include:

- verified reduction of strategic nuclear forces
- withdrawal of tactical nuclear forces from foreign countries
- standing down of all nuclear forces (de-alerting)
- negotiation of a Fissile Materials Cut-off Treaty
- bringing the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty into force
- strengthened negative security assurances
- regulation of nuclear fuel production and supply

The Article VI Forum has also looked at steps that non-nuclear weapon States can take such as the establishment of additional Nuclear Weapon-Free Zones, the development of independent verification technologies and mechanisms, adoption of national legislation prohibiting nuclear weapons and divestment of government funds from corporations involved in the nuclear weapons industry.

The Article VI Forum has now begun to examine how these disarmament



Senator Roche speaking at an Article VI Forum in Vienna along with Jayantha Dhanapala, former UN Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament and Dorothea Auer, Director of the Austrian Foreign Ministry Department for Disarmament and Non-proliferation.

and non-proliferation steps fit into the vision and plans for a nuclear weapons free world, including the possibilities for achieving a nuclear weapons convention.

Parliamentarians can play a key role in encouraging their governments to implement or otherwise promote these steps and initiatives, and to ensure that the 2010 NPT Review Conference is considered at the highest political level in their government.

For further information see: www.middlepowers.org

Nuclear Energy: The answer to Climate Change or a recipe for weapons proliferation?

Dr Herman Scheer, Member of the Bundestag and Chairman of the World Council for Renewable Energy



Dr Herman Scheer

The birth of the Atomic Age in 1945 introduced a new and frightening reality – that humans had developed the potential to not only kill each other in large numbers, but also to threaten civilization and the entire ecosystem. The nuclear threat has not disappeared, but has been joined by another human-made threat to civilization – climate change emissions.

In January 2007 the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, in an indication of the increasing global risks arising from climate change and nuclear weapons, moved the hands of their Doomsday Clock to five minutes to midnight. The Clock indicates, in the view of eminent scientists, how close we are to a

catastrophe that could destroy civilization. It now stands at five minutes to midnight.

Mathematician Stephen Hawking, at the press conference announcing the Doomsday Clock change, noted; “As scientists, we understand the dangers of nuclear weapons and their devastating effect, and we are learning how human activities and technologies are affecting climate systems in ways that may forever change life on Earth. As citizens of the world, we have a duty to alert the public to the unnecessary risks that we live with every day, and to the perils we foresee if governments and societies do not take action now to render nuclear weapons obsolete and to prevent further climate change.”



The International Atomic Energy released this new international symbol for radiation in 2007. Indicating Danger - Keep Away.

The challenge to meet increasing national and global energy needs, while at the same time reducing climate change emissions, has led a number of governments to turn to nuclear energy as a potential saviour. At a recent meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Summit, US President George W Bush, for example, insisted that "If you truly care about greenhouse gases, then you'll support nuclear power. If you believe that greenhouse gases are a priority, like a lot of us, if you take the issue seriously, like I do, then you should be supportive of nuclear power. After all, nuclear power enables you to generate electricity without any greenhouse gases."

The US is thus considering resuming construction of nuclear power plants after a 30 year hiatus. Other countries are also looking at either beginning, resuming or increasing construction of nuclear power plants.

A 2003 study from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology envisaged the possibility of 1000 new nuclear reactors being built over the next 45 years in order to meet energy needs without increasing climate change emissions.

However, a number of other studies conclude that nuclear power cannot meet energy needs, is excessively expensive, is not carbon neutral, and creates additional environmental and security risks. Most importantly, new evidence indicates that environmentally safe and sustainable energy technologies can be developed to meet growing energy needs.

"the CO₂ produced by the full nuclear life cycle is about one half to one third of an equivalent sized gas-fired power station."

NUCLEAR POWER CANNOT MEET ENERGY NEEDS

The Institute for Energy and Environmental Research notes that the possibility of 1000 new nuclear reactors being built by 2050, as explored by MIT, is optimistic given current and projected technical capacity. Even if this were possible, it would only increase the proportion of global energy produced by nuclear power by about 4%. IEER reports that this compares unfavourably with the energy returns that would be possible investing the same resources in alternative sustainable energy development.

NUCLEAR ENERGY IS EXCESSIVELY EXPENSIVE

In 1954 Lewis Strauss, Head of the US Atomic Energy Commission, promised the world that "it is not too much to expect that our children will enjoy in their homes electrical energy too cheap to meter." The reality has in fact been the reverse – nuclear energy is one of the most expensive forms of energy. The true cost has been hidden by extensive government subsidies, limits on liability for accidents, and the costs for waste storage and nuclear power plant decommissioning not being added to pricing structures. Even without these costs included, the price of nuclear energy per kilowatt hour is approximately twice that of natural gas and is unlikely to decrease. The costs of wind and solar, on the other hand, are now comparable with nuclear energy and rapidly falling as energy efficiency improves and economies of scale kick in (As more wind turbines are produced, for example, the unit cost is reduced).

NUCLEAR ENERGY IS NOT CARBON NEUTRAL

It is true that the fission of enriched uranium in a nuclear reactor to generate energy produces no carbon emissions. However, every other step required to produce nuclear energy releases carbon into the atmosphere. These include yellow-cake mining, ore transport, ore crushing, uranium extraction, uranium enrichment, uranium oxide furnacing, uranium casing (with zirconium) and nuclear power plant construction. In the paper "Nuclear Power : the energy balance" J.W. Storm and P. Smith calculate that with high quality ores, the CO₂ produced by the full nuclear life cycle is about one half to one third of an equivalent sized gas-fired power station. For low quality ores (less than 0.02% of U₃O₈ per tonne of ore), the CO₂ produced by the full nuclear life cycle is equal to that produced by the equivalent gas-fired power station.

NUCLEAR POWER CREATES ENVIRONMENTAL AND SECURITY RISKS

Nuclear reactors contain an incredibly dangerous level of radiation – up to hundreds of times more than was released by the nuclear bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In addition the nuclear reaction occurs at incredibly high pressures and temperatures – all to turn water into steam to turn turbines. Physicist Michio Kaku has compared this to using a chainsaw to slice butter.

It is true that nuclear reactors have tight safety measures. Despite this, accidents can happen and have happened. The Chernobyl accident released millions of curies of radiation into the atmosphere making whole regions uninhabitable and causing thousands of deaths. Other accidents releasing smaller amounts of radiation include Sellafield (1957) and Three Mile Island (1979). Even with improved safety procedures, the risk of another major nuclear accident is high. Henrik Paulitz, using official German risk figures, sets the probability of a severe nuclear accident in Europe as 1:6 over the next 40 years, i.e. the probability of throwing a six on a dice.

Just as important is the vulnerability of nuclear power plants to a terrorist attack. If the World Trade Center terrorists had instead flown their planes into the Indian Point nuclear reactor just north of Manhattan, the city would have been rendered uninhabitable for hundreds of years.



UK offshore windmills Photo: Anthony Upton.

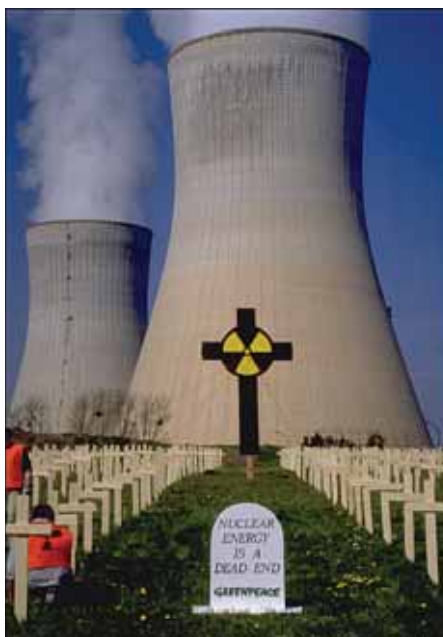


Photo: Greenpeace/Lieze Blanckaert

NUCLEAR ENERGY FUELS THE BOMB

In 1946 a report to the US Secretary of State's Committee on Atomic Energy concluded that "The development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and the development of atomic energy for bombs are much of their course interchangeable and interdependent." The committee further concluded that "...there is no prospect of security against atomic warfare" in an international system where nations are "free to develop atomic energy but only pledged not to use it for bombs."

Subsequent events have given proof to this statement. The development of nuclear weapons by France emerged from a nuclear program which many scientists believed was only for civilian purposes. India's explosion of a nuclear device in 1974 developed from a civilian nuclear program.

Frank von Hippel, former science adviser to the US President Clinton, has noted that "Civilian nuclear energy programs provide a convenient cover, as well as the training, technology and nuclear material necessary for the construction of nuclear weapons."

The recently expressed desire by energy rich Arab countries to develop nuclear energy leads to questions about the real intentions of these governments, and gives further cause for concern about nuclear weapons proliferation accompanying any proliferation of nuclear energy.

Many countries use the Non-Proliferation Treaty to justify their 'right' to develop nuclear energy and to receive assistance from other States and the International Atomic Energy Agency to do so.

This could be changed by adding a protocol to the NPT which would replace the current obligation to assist nuclear energy development by an obligation to assist instead with the development of renewable energies.

WORLD'S ENERGY NEEDS CAN BE MET BY ALTERNATIVES

Wind, solar, biomass, water, and other environmentally safe energy sources currently provide a small fraction of global energy sources. However they potentially could provide a substantial portion of global energy needs. Henrik Paulitz estimates that sun, wind, water, biomass and other renewable energies could provide a primary energy supply of 580 exajoules by the year 2050. This is 30% more than the current world energy usage. Such production would however require research and development support from governments, such as is currently invested in nuclear energy, in order to improve technologies and make them cost-competitive.

Some countries are developing renewable energy sources sufficiently to both reduce fossil fuel consumption and phase out nuclear energy. In Germany this process has been very successful, as indicated in the recent book *Energy Autonomy* by Dr Herman Scheer. Since the Renewable Energy Sources Act was adopted in 2004, the percentage of Germany's entire electricity supply derived from renewable energy has increased to 12 percent – the target figure for 2010. 8.5 per cent – or approximately 25,000 megawatts - has come from 'new' forms of renewable energy, meaning without water power from dams.



Graphic by Avenging Angels

"Sun, wind, water, biomass and other renewable energies could provide a primary energy supply of 580 exajoules by the year 2050"

Wind power has comprised the largest share. Assuming that Germany experiences the same annual growth of renewables over the next few decades, capacity would increase to 48,000 megawatts in 2015, 78,000 in 2025, 108,000 in 2035, and 178,000 in 2054 – far exceeding the capacity envisaged in the Renewable Energy Sources Act. In addition, renewable energy's still youthful technologies will continuously increase their level of efficiency thus creating a situation in Germany in which nuclear and fossil energy could be completely replaced by renewable energy within 40 to 50 years from now.

ROLE OF PARLIAMENTARIANS

Supporting the German government initiative to establish an International Renewable Energy Agency which would assist countries in developing renewable energy (see www.irena.org).

- Encouraging their governments to forgo nuclear energy and instead develop environmentally safe renewable energy
- Supporting the German government initiative to establish an International Renewable Energy Agency (See www.irena.org)
- Supporting the adoption of an additional protocol to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty on assisting member States with the development of renewable energy
- Joining the World Parliamentary Network for Renewable Energy (contact hermann.scheer@bundestag.de)

Alyn Ware, Global Coordinator of PNND, contributed to the research and preparation of this article.

The US-India nuclear deal and parliamentary reactions

*Uta Zapf PNND Co-President.
Chair of the Bundestag Sub-
Committee on Disarmament
and Arms Control*



US President Bush and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh discuss the nuclear agreement on 2 March 2006. Jim Watson/AFP - Getty Images

The decision to negotiate a nuclear cooperation deal between India and the U.S. raises crucial questions concerning the future of the nuclear arms-control regime and the future and credibility of the NPT.

In 2006 there were different parliamentary reactions to the deal. As chair of the subcommittee on disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation of the German Parliament, I wrote a letter to the members of the U.S. Congress, to consider the consequences of the deal. The letter was distributed by PNND and endorsed by over 30 parliamentarians from European and African countries, from Australia, New Zealand and from Members from the European Parliament.



Tarapur nuclear reactor Maharashtra.

The letter mentioned the concern of the parliamentarians that the deal would undermine the functioning of the NPT-Regime. One concern was that the deal would provide "nuclear assistance to India without requiring them to submit all nuclear facilities to International Atomic Energy Agency Safeguards. It will exclude from safeguards a substantial set of military and civilian facilities. The NPT, on the other hand, requires comprehensive safeguards for all States parties to the NPT except the five 'official' nuclear weapon States." So the deal would "encourage India to remain outside the Non-Proliferation Treaty" tacitly recognising it as a nuclear weapon state.

The permission for India to import fissile material for nuclear energy production would enable India to use its limited resources for the production of nuclear weapons and thus help India to increase its nuclear arsenal.

The letter stressed the responsibility of the members of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG).

In the German and the Belgian Parliaments discussions took place about the deal. The Belgian Parliament adopted a resolution which called on the Belgian government to question the deal. In the German Parliament intense discussions arose on the issue. However it was not possible to get to a common resolution.

The Indian journalist, J. Sri Raman was invited to brief members of the Bundestag on the deal. Sri Raman reported on the discussions in India, especially the concerns from academics and peace activists. The debate in India is not about pros and cons of the deal but whether it puts restrictions on India's nuclear options.

In the US both the House and the Senate approved the deal with some restrictions. On December 18, President Bush signed the concurrent resolutions from the House and the Senate. The conditions that were set by Congress were inter alia that exported materials to India should be not diverted to unintended purposes. India must not conduct nuclear tests and it should work actively with the U. S. for a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT). However from an arms control point of view, the restrictions do not suffice. In the case of an FMCT, the U. S. does not support verification measures. Congress had softened some of the restrictions that were part of the earlier decisions.

The Indian government reacted negatively to the congressional decision and the internal debate in India about a loss of sovereignty grew. The former Indian Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee demanded that the deal must be discussed in the Indian Parliament.

The Nuclear Suppliers Group is yet to decide on the deal, awaiting final results from the US-India negotiations.

Supermodel Christie Brinkley and PNND Co-Presidents:

Amplifying the Moral and Practical Missions of the United Nations

"What's a model have to do with nuclear weapons?" asked Christie Brinkley, speaking at the United Nations on October 11. Ms. Brinkley, however, is not just a supermodel and American icon. She was one of the engaged, informed, and empowered women speaking on a powerful all-women's panel organized by PNND and the Global Security Institute.

Joining Ms Brinkley on the panel were the Hon. Marian Hobbs, parliamentarian and former Minister for Disarmament of New Zealand; Ms. Cora Weiss, a longtime peace activist and leader for gender equality at the UN; and the Hon. Alexa McDonough, a senior member of the Canadian parliament. Moderated by GSI Senior Officer, Rhianna Tyson, the event brought together women who are working on all levels to prevent conflict involving nuclear weapons.

Such an all-women panel is a rare occurrence at the UN, particularly an event geared towards disarmament and security issues. It was particularly timely then, that this nuclear abolition panel was held on the eve of the seventh anniversary of the adoption of Security Council resolution 1325, which calls for greater women's participation at all levels of conflict prevention and peace building.

Cora Weiss noted that "1325, if fully implemented, would go a long way to support the elimination of nuclear weapons...because it calls for the 3 P's - the Participation of women at all levels of governance, the Prevention of violence and the Protection of women from violence. The mere possession of nuclear weapons represents violence."

The event, which was widely covered by TV and print media in the US and Europe, highlighted the connections between hard security - i.e. the protection of territory and state integrity - with human security - i.e. the protection of human rights, the environment and the promotion of peace.

Traditional political relations theory and decision making by predominantly male leaders often treat hard security and human security as in competition - and suggests that sometimes governments have to compromise on one in order to protect the other. However, there is increasing recognition - reflected in the October 11 event - that human security is a necessary precursor for hard security not in competition with it.



Supermodel Christie Brinkley at the United Nations.

Christie Brinkley and Cora Weiss both recalled how it was compassion for children and their rights to health and environment that has led to significant achievements such as the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

"Forty- six years ago, in this country, women gathered in Washington DC to figure out how to stop atmospheric nuclear testing," said Cora. "Radiation from atomic bombs rained down from the skies onto pastures where cows were grazing. We gave their milk to our children and Strontium 90 showed up

"I'm pretty sure that even with my "SUPERMODEL" powers, that I would be pulverized and disintegrate right along with the rest of you in a nuclear disaster."

Supermodel Christie Brinkley speaking at the PNND event at the UN, 11 October.

in baby teeth. Women Strike for Peace was born and after 2 years of teaching newspaper editors how to spell Strontium 90, Pres. Kennedy signed what I call the half ban treaty, outlawing atmospheric nuclear testing."

Christie Brinkley noted that the elimination of nuclear weapons was a requisite for both hard and human security - "Nuclear weapons simply are not a way to make us secure! They are weapons of terror. We must make absolutely sure that no one - whether it be countries or terrorists - ever uses one again!"



"The Blix Commission has proposed a World Summit, a gathering of leaders and experts, to focus and coordinate nuclear disarmament efforts, identify blockages and give support to progressive action. The Summit would also be a way to generate public interest and engagement. The issues surrounding nuclear weapons are complex and the general public must be informed both of the threats these weapons pose and of the attempts being made by civil society to rid the world of them."

PNND Co-President Marian Hobbs speaking at the United Nations.



"Canada should reject the security framework asserted by the US and other nuclear weapon states and redirect military resources towards the strengthening of human security. The practical steps that can be taken now to achieve a nuclear weapon-free world have been articulated, and what is needed is real leadership on the part of my government, and the governments of other non-nuclear weapon states, to turn those ideas into reality."

PNND Co-President Alexa McDonough speaking at the United Nations.

Nuclear Divestment

Hallgeir Langeland, Member of the Norwegian Parliament
Keith Locke, Member of the New Zealand Parliament

Between 2004-2006 the Norwegian Government Pension Fund divested millions of dollars from a range of corporations that were involved in unethical enterprises including the production of landmines, cluster munitions and nuclear weapons. This has stimulated other government funds, such as the New Zealand Superannuation Fund, to undertake or consider similar divestment programs. Hallgeir Langeland, Keith Locke and Alyn Ware discuss why such actions are important and how they can help end the nuclear arms race.



Hallgeir Langeland MP



Keith Locke MP

Why do countries keep manufacturing and deploying nuclear weapons despite making solemn declarations and accepting legal obligations for the achievement of nuclear disarmament? One key reason is that there is a lot of money to be made from the nuclear arms race, and those making the money are lobbying to keep the programs flowing.

The United States, for example, is spending \$30 billion annually on nuclear weapons and their delivery systems. Companies like Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman, General Dynamics, Boeing, Alliant Techsystems and Bechtel reap huge profits from nuclear weapons contracts, and lobby hard to keep this money flowing their way. Lockheed Martin, for example, spends between US\$5-10 million annually lobbying the US congress for defence contracts. With such financial and lobbying clout, the US Congress is very hesitant to refuse US administration requests for funding for nuclear weapons programs. The same is true, but to a lesser degree, with French and UK nuclear-weapons-related corporations.

In order to reduce and halt nuclear weapons development, the pro-nuclear lobbying of these corporations will have to be reduced, enabling the parliaments/ congresses and governments to curtail funding for nuclear weapons programs.

As most of the nuclear weapons related work in the US, UK and France is undertaken by public companies, it is possible to take action in the public sector. One way to do this is through consumer boycott. In the 1980s, INFAC led a very successful boycott against General Electric, then one of the biggest nuclear weapons contractors, forcing General Electric to sell off its nuclear weapons related enterprises.

"Parliamentarians have a key role in encouraging their government and their government funds to take similar actions to those of Norway, whether it be through petition, letter, press release, parliamentary questions or other means."

However, consumer boycotts can only be effective if the corporations are heavily involved in the production of consumer items. This is not the case with many of the biggest nuclear weapons contractors. Lockheed Martin, for example, is primarily a defense contractor with over 80% of its income from government defense contracts. As it is not selling much to the public, a public boycott would have little impact.

"There is some truth to the adage that when money talks, corporations listen."

These corporations are susceptible however to action in the public investment arena. In general, nuclear weapons corporations enjoy high share ratings. With defense spending soaring and government contracts assured, particularly in the US, investing in the defence sector is very profitable. This high-share-value boosts the power of these corporations. If however, there was a run on the shares of these corporations, with investors re-investing in ethical corporations, it could encourage such corporations to reduce their reliance on nuclear contracts and expand in other areas. There is some truth to the adage that when money talks, corporations listen.

Positive developments in this regard have been the adoption of the United Nations Principles for Responsible Investment (UNPRI) which highlight social and environmental principles for investments, and the UN Global Compact which highlights human rights, labour and environmental principles.

In 2003, the Norway Pension Fund, following pressure from parliamentarians, media and non-governmental organisations, undertook a process to implement the UNPRI, UN Global Compact and the OECD Guidelines for Corporate Governance and for Multinational Enterprises, with respect to its investment portfolio. The fund, the largest pension fund in Europe, established ethical guidelines for their investments in 2004 and appointed an Advisory Council on Ethics to make recommendations on implementation of these guidelines.

In 2005 the Advisory Council discussed and came out with a recommendation regarding nuclear weapons production.

Nuclear divestment cont...

Following this, the Pension Fund excluded the following companies from its investment portfolio and divested of shares in them due to their production of nuclear weapons related components:

- BAE Systems Plc, Boeing Co.
- EADS Co.
- EADS Finance B.V.
- Finmeccanica Sp.A.
- Honeywell International Corp.
- Northrop Grumman Corp.
- Safran S.A.
- United Technologies Corp.

Other nuclear weapons related corporations such as Lockheed Martin, General Dynamics and Alliant Techsystems had already been excluded due to their involvement in the production of landmines or cluster munitions.

The Norwegian example has stimulated other government funds to review their investment portfolios in order to determine whether they are consistent with the UNPRI and the UN Global Compact.

In New Zealand, a coalition of members of parliament and non-governmental organisations approached the Government Superannuation Fund with a request that it follow the Norwegian example and divest from corporations involved in unethical enterprises. The Fund responded initially by divesting from corporations involved in the production of anti-personnel landmines and whale meat – two practices prohibited in New Zealand. So far, however, the Fund has resisted the call to divest from other unethical corporations including those involved in human rights violations in Burma and in the manufacture of nuclear weapons related products.

UN Global Compact

Human Rights

- Principle 1: Businesses should support and *respect the protection of internationally proclaimed human rights; and*
- Principle 2: make sure that they are not *complicit in human rights abuses.*

Labour Standards

- Principle 3: Businesses should uphold the *freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining;*
- Principle 4: the elimination of all forms of *forced and compulsory labour;*
- Principle 5: the effective abolition of child *labour; and*
- Principle 6: the elimination of discrimination in *respect of employment and occupation.*

Environment

- Principle 7: Businesses should support a *precautionary approach to environmental challenges;*
- Principle 8: undertake initiatives to promote *greater environmental responsibility; and*
- Principle 9: encourage the development *and diffusion of environmentally friendly technologies.*

Anti-Corruption

- Principle 10: Businesses should work against *all forms of corruption, including extortion and bribery.*

www.unglobalcompact.org

Divesting from unethical corporations – the Norwegian Experience

“During the Council’s first year in operation (2005), many of its efforts centred on an initial screening aimed at identifying companies involved in the production of weapon types that are inconsistent with the Guidelines. Besides weapons banned by international law, these include nuclear weapons and cluster munitions. In 2006 we have focused to a greater extent on human rights, including labour rights, and environmental issues.

The first recommendations on a subject establish a precedent for how similar cases will be treated in the future. We have taken great care to ensure that the recommendations are thorough, well documented, and of good quality, as we consider this to have a bearing on the long-term impact of the Ethical Guidelines of the Norwegian Government Pension Fund– Global. Some of the Council’s recommendations have attracted a great deal of attention.

We believe that the extensive documentation and the in-depth discussions in our recommendations have contributed to improving the foundation for decisions made by other funds with similar ethical criteria.”

Norway Advisory Council on Ethics, Annual Report, 2006.

The lack of action by the Superannuation Fund to divest from nuclear weapons corporations is somewhat surprising given New Zealand legislation which prohibits any person – natural or legal – from aiding, abetting or procuring any other person to manufacture, acquire, possess or have any control over nuclear weapons within New Zealand, and which prohibits any government agent from aiding, abetting or procuring any other person to manufacture, acquire, possess or have any control over nuclear weapons anywhere in the world. Aotearoa Lawyers for Peace argues that investments by the Superannuation Fund in nuclear weapons corporations are thus against New Zealand law. On the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the anti-nuclear law the Green Party presented a petition to parliament calling for an end to any government fund investing in nuclear weapons corporations.

Back in Norway, the government is now taking the extra step of encouraging its NATO colleagues to step up action on the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. In its Soria Moria Declaration the government called on NATO to review its nuclear doctrine with the objective of the elimination of nuclear weapons, shelve plans for forward missile defence in Europe, and take increased action on preventing the spread of light weapons. The declaration emphasises the need for countries to rely more on cooperative security and the United Nations and less on outmoded and threatening nuclear coalitions.

Parliamentarians have a key role in encouraging their governments and their government funds to take similar actions to those of Norway, whether it be through petition, letter, press release, parliamentary questions or other means.

FOR MORE INFORMATION SEE:

Norwegian Advisory Council on Ethics
www.etikkradet.no

Betting the Bank on the Bomb.
www.greens.org.nz/searchdocs/other10538.html

Corporate Connection: Corporations involved in nuclear weapons manufacture

www.reachingcriticalwill.org/corporate/corporateindex.html

Parliamentarians and a Nuclear Weapons Convention

Hon Marian Hobbs MP, PNND Co-President, former New Zealand Minister for Disarmament

Alexa McDonough MP, PNND Co-President, former Leader of the Canadian New Democratic Party

Alyn Ware, Principal Co-Drafter, Model Nuclear Weapons Convention

CONVENTION

1. a way in which something is usually done. Socially acceptable behaviour
2. an agreement between States.

Concise Oxford Dictionary,
10th edition

The international community has adopted international agreements prohibiting chemical and biological weapons, and prohibiting non-State actors from acquiring, possessing or using nuclear weapons. These are the Biological Weapons Convention, the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Convention on the Suppression of Nuclear Terrorism. The use of the word 'convention' implies that these are more than just agreements – they are the codification of an international norm – an indication of what is and what is not acceptable international behaviour, and the development of mechanisms to implement that norm with respect to weapons of mass destruction.

But what about the possession, threat or use of nuclear weapons by a State?

Terrorism has been defined as the threat or use of force against civilians for political purposes. Is the ongoing threat and



Alexa McDonough MP and Nancy Covington at Canadian Parliament joint launch of Securing our Survival and the International Campaign for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons

possible use of nuclear weapons by a State any less of a terrorist act than the same act committed by a non-State actor?

In 1996 the International Court of Justice (ICJ) affirmed that the threat or use of nuclear weapons by anyone – State or non-State actor – is generally illegal and that nuclear weapons should be eliminated. The United Nations General Assembly, which had lodged the nuclear weapons case at the ICJ, called for its implementation through the commencement of negotiations leading to the early conclusion of a Nuclear Weapons Convention. Yet 12 years later, the major Nuclear Weapon States maintain robust policies to threaten and use nuclear weapons, and refuse to commence such negotiations.

But our concern is not just with the Nuclear Weapon States. The importance of a norm – a convention – is that it applies universally. When it is strong, it is strong for all. When it is weak, it is weak for all. The erosion of the norm against nuclear weapons by the Nuclear Weapons States has stimulated proliferation. India's rationale for joining the nuclear club was to counter the continuing possession of nuclear weapons by the NWS. Pakistan followed India. North Korea's rationale was to protect it self from attack by the nuclear-armed US. Iran could follow suit.

A Nuclear Weapons Convention, on the other hand, would consolidate a non-nuclear norm and implement mechanisms that would prevent proliferation as well as achieve nuclear disarmament.

For these reasons, there is an escalating interest in, and cross-party support for, the abolition of nuclear weapons through a Nuclear Weapons Convention. The prestigious Commission on Weapons of Mass Destruction recommended that States "Accept the principle that nuclear weapons should be outlawed, as are biological and chemical weapons, and explore the political, legal, technical and procedural options for achieving this within a reasonable time."

"A nuclear disarmament treaty is achievable and can be reached through careful, sensible and practical measures. Benchmarks should be set; definitions agreed; timetables drawn up and agreed upon; and transparency requirements agreed."

Weapons of Mass Destruction
Commission, Final Report 2006

Draft resolutions, calling for nuclear abolition and/or the achievement of a Nuclear Weapons Convention, have been introduced by PNND members and adopted in the Australian Senate, New Zealand parliament and European Parliament, along with Early Day Motions in the UK House of Commons and resolutions introduced into the US Congress.

Nobel Laureates and nuclear abolition

"The failure to address the nuclear threat and to strengthen existing treaty obligations to work for nuclear weapons abolition shreds the fabric of cooperative security. A world with nuclear haves and have-nots is fragmented and unstable, a fact underscored by the current threats of proliferation. In such an environment cooperation fails. Thus, nations are unable to address effectively the real threats of poverty, environmental degradation and nuclear catastrophe."

Rome Declaration of Nobel Laureates, 19 November 2006



Parliamentarians and a Nuclear Weapons Convention

"Amid calls from throughout the world for new progress in global nuclear disarmament, this timely study [Securing our Survival: The Case for a Nuclear Weapons Convention] offers an updated model convention for achieving this historic goal. Parliamentarians have essential roles to play in promoting this goal, through collaborative non-partisan efforts, mobilizing support for disarmament among their constituents, and ultimately in the process of ratifying the convention. The ultimate beneficiaries of nuclear disarmament are the people, and as their representatives, parliamentarians have a unique stake in ensuring its success."

Ambassador Sergio Duarte, United Nations High Representative on Disarmament

In January 2007, US Republicans George Schultz (Secretary of State under Ronald Reagan) and Henry Kissinger (Secretary of State under Richard Nixon) joined Democrats William Perry (Secretary of Defense under Bill Clinton) and Sam Nunn (Former Chair of the Senate Armed Services Committee) in an op ed published in the Wall Street Journal calling for an end to nuclear deterrence and leadership to establish a nuclear weapons free world.

And more recently Democratic candidate Barack Obama promised to lead an initiative to eliminate nuclear weapons if he became president. Senator John McCain followed with a similar pledge.

One of the questions however, is whether a Nuclear Weapons Convention is practically achievable or merely a utopian dream. To answer that question, the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy in 1997 brought together a group of lawyers, scientists, diplomats and disarmament experts to draft a Model Nuclear Weapons Convention taking into consideration the legal, technical and political elements required to achieve a nuclear weapons free world. Nine months later, their product was circulated by the United Nations as UN Doc A/C.1/52/7. An updated Model NWC was submitted to the

2007 Conference of States Parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and 62nd United Nations General Assembly (UN Doc A/62/650), and published in the book Securing our Survival: The Case for a Nuclear Weapons Convention.

The book Securing our Survival describes a nuclear weapons convention – what it is, how it would be achieved, why it is necessary, who it would involve and when we could expect it to happen.

PNND has co-sponsored launches of the book in a number of parliaments including Australia, Canada and New Zealand, attracting support from leaders across the political spectrum including conservative former Prime Ministers Malcolm Fraser (Australia) and Jim Bolger (New Zealand), Nobel Peace Laureates such as Mairead Macguire; United Nations High Representative on Disarmament Sergio Duarte; military leaders including Romeo Dallaire former Commander of UN Forces in Rwanda; parliamentarians and civil society leaders such as Mayor Akiba of Hiroshima.

Further opportunities will arise to promote the Nuclear Weapons Convention at the 2009 Conference of States Parties to the NPT in May based on the NWC working

paper and Model NWC submitted in 2007, and at the 63rd session of the United Nations General Assembly in October 2009 when there will again be a vote to commence negotiations on a nuclear weapons convention. Parliamentarians around the world could encourage their governments to support these two initiatives.

For further information see PNND Updates 18 and 19 at www.pnnd.org



Hon Marian Hobbs at NZ parliament launch of SOS.

Parliamentarians celebrate 20 years nuclear-weapons free.

Hon Nick Smith, Chair of PNND New Zealand. Kaspar Beech, PNND Assistant Coordinator

On June 12th 2007 PNND New Zealand celebrated the 20th anniversary of New Zealand's Nuclear Free Zone, Disarmament, and Arms Control Act 1987. The New Zealand Section organised a multi-party photo opportunity on Parliament's steps followed by a house debate hosted by Minister for Disarmament and Arms Control Phil Goff and the unanimous adoption of a parliamentary resolution introduced by the government.

The MPs had previously purchased nuclear-weapons-free t-shirts and badges (buttons) from PNND member Tim Barnett and wore these throughout the day. In his pre-debate speech on the steps of parliament Minister Goff emphasised the imperative to move beyond non-proliferation to work for complete nuclear disarmament.

The parliamentary resolution calls for "the unequivocal undertaking made by nuclear weapon states [...] towards the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals".

It also calls for "the expansion and strengthening of nuclear weapon free zones and a Nuclear Weapon Free Southern Hemisphere, and the enactment of a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty," and for "the universal implementation of nuclear non-proliferation instruments such as the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism and United Nations Security Council Resolution 1540."

In his opening speech for the government Minister Goff recalled New Zealand's initial opposition to nuclear weapons in 1949 when then Prime Minister Walter Nash stood apart from New Zealand's chief alliance partners at the United Nations to support an international treaty banning nuclear testing.

Minister Goff recalled Prime Minister David Lange's comments at the introduction of the 1987 legislation that it represented "a fundamental reassessment of what constitutes our security", opining that nuclear weapons did not guarantee New Zealand's security but were detrimental to it.

The Minister called for New Zealand to continue to provide a strong voice for nuclear disarmament and against proliferation noting that 27,000 nuclear weapons remain, each of which is between "eight and forty times the power of the bombs that devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945".

The main opposition party endorsed the motion and reaffirmed its commitment to New Zealand's independent international stance as well as the nuclear free zone legislation. Shadow Foreign Affairs Minister Murray McCully commended the achievements toward nuclear disarmament thus far and warned of the "changed face" of the nuclear danger from cold war confrontation to horizontal proliferation among unstable states. McCully also alleged the price New Zealand has paid for the legislation in that it led to the collapse of the Australia New Zealand United States (ANZUS) military alliance, that New Zealand thus misses out on key defence intelligence sharing and military exercises, and that New Zealand also missed out on a free trade deal with the US.

PNND Secretary Keith Locke noted that New Zealand, having passed this legislation and rejecting nuclear armed ships to our ports, became a world power in the sense of moral strength. Mr Locke noted the positive work New Zealand has been doing with its New Agenda Coalition partners, but said that New Zealand should do more to promote negotiations for a Nuclear Weapons Convention. He said that we should again be the 'mouse that roared' like we were in 1987.

Other speakers such as PNND member Jeannette Fitzsimons (Co-Leader, Green Party) took the opportunity to thank and congratulate all those ordinary New Zealanders who had made the legislation a reality and reminded the house that the bill also made New Zealand a zone free of nuclear energy and propulsion.

PNND member Hone Harawira (Maori Party) highlighted prominent role Maori had played in the campaign, the work of international organisations such as Greenpeace and members of parliament who went against their parties' wishes in the 1980s to vote with their conscience against nuclear weapons.



Prime Minister Helen Clark celebrates the 20th anniversary of New Zealand's anti-nuclear legislation with PNND members Trevor Mallard (Minister for the Environment), Margaret Wilson (House Speaker) and Michael Cullen (Deputy Prime Minister).

Peter Dunne (Leader, United Future) called for a more active policy noting that "yes, it is great to wallow in a bit of nostalgia{...} but today the important thing to remember is really to talk about what we do about those States that are still part of the nuclear club". Minister Dunne called on New Zealand to abandon its hesitancy to 'export' its nuclear-free policy. "We should be active in bringing other countries to account for their acquisition, maintenance, and upgrading of their nuclear arsenals."

PNND member Jim Anderton (Leader, Progressive Party) said that New Zealand must continue to inspire nations around the world as it did in 1987 describing it as "the most profound contribution to New Zealand can make to a more peaceful world".

Keith Locke wrapped up the debate by tabling (introducing into the parliament) the Model Nuclear Weapons Convention and the Wall Street Journal article "A world Free of Nuclear Weapons" by George Shultz, William Perry, Henry Kissinger and Sam Nunn.



New Zealand parliamentarians from across the political spectrum commemorate the 20th anniversary of New Zealand's anti-nuclear legislation.

Final Steps to make Africa a Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone

Dr Raphael Chegeni MP, PNND Global Council Member, Deputy Secretary General, Amani Forum.

Kaspar Beech, PNND Assistant Global Coordinator



Dr Raphael Chegeni MP

PNND Council members Dr Raphael Chegeni (Tanzania) and Hon. David Coltart (Zimbabwe) together with the PNND New Zealand Section (chaired by Hon. Nick Smith) recently wrote to all African governments who had not yet ratified the African Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone (Pelindaba) Treaty and urged them to do so.

The Pelindaba Treaty opened for signature in 1996 and has been signed by 51 of the 53 African States. However, to-date only 23 of these States have ratified. 28 ratifications are required for the treaty to enter into force, at which time the treaty will become fully operative and will enable the joining together with other zones (Pacific, South-East Asia, Antarctica and Latin America and the Caribbean) to form a Southern Hemisphere and Adjacent Areas Nuclear Weapons Free Zone.

The concern in Africa regarding nuclear weapons arose from Cold War tensions, the atmospheric nuclear testing by Nuclear Weapon States, including the French testing in Algeria, and the South African nuclear weapons programme under the apartheid regime. It was not, however, until after the Cold War and the end of the apartheid government that the political openings emerged for a treaty. The catalyst for progress came when the post apartheid government in South Africa closed its Pelindaba nuclear weapons plant (from which the treaty gets its name), destroyed all its nuclear weapons facilities and joined the initiative for a NWFZ in Africa.

Responding to the joint PNND letter were some states saying they had just ratified the treaty or were in the process of doing so while some individual parliamentarians expressed interest and joined the PNND.

For many states though, the immediacy of developing-state issues and the successful prohibition on nuclear testing and the curtailment of nuclear weapons programmes in South Africa and Libya has removed the issue of nuclear weapons from the agenda of most policy makers. However, other nuclear threats are emerging in Africa. Power shortages have fuelled interest in the development of nuclear energy and a massive increase in exploration and extraction of uranium is now viable due to increased uranium prices. This brings with it proliferation risks and possible terrorist targeting of nuclear facilities.

Until entry into force the treaty is neither binding nor legally enforceable. This includes the protocols whereby the Nuclear Weapons States (NWS) commit not to deploy, threaten or use nuclear weapons in the region. Thus Africa remains vulnerable to proliferation and the possible threat of nuclear fuelled tensions spilling into the region. Entry into force would also enable the treaty-based African Commission on Nuclear Energy to be established, providing a forum for advancing regional collaboration on measures to safeguard fissile materials and prevent proliferation. Treaty ratification thus remains an imperative.

Basing himself in Zimbabwe and with the support of PNND Global Council members Hon. David Coltart (Zimbabwe) and Dr Raphael Chegeni (Tanzania), PNND Assistant Global Coordinator, Kaspar Beech, travelled to five Southern African Capitals where he met with key

parliamentarians, government ministers, officials and civil society representatives to raise the issue. Following Mr Beech's trip to Mozambique, PNND member and Shadow Foreign Minister Eduardo Namburete worked with the Foreign Ministry, the Executive and parliamentary colleagues across the isle in order to bring about parliamentary ratification of the Treaty on 26th of March 2008. Mr Beech also received indications that Angola, Burundi, Malawi, Namibia and Zambia would move to ratify the Treaty this year.

To build on this momentum we encourage all PNND members to raise the issue with their African counterparts. This is not an issue which requires fiscal commitment or diplomatic capital, it must merely be brought to the minds of African legislators and put on the agenda of African States.

Africa will be safer under a ratified treaty, strengthened against proliferation threats and will add to the increasingly powerful imperative for Nuclear Weapon Free Zones, particularly in neighbouring regions such as the Middle East and Europe. An African Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone can also act as an important stepping stone toward a world free of nuclear weapons.

*Update March 26, 2008:
PNND member Eduardo
Namburete successfully moves
the Mozambique parliament to
ratify the Pelindaba Treaty.*



Hon. Eduardo Namburete (MP): Opposition Foreign Minister with Kaspar Beech, Assistant Global Coordinator PNND in Maputo, Mozambique.

A Middle East Nuclear Weapon Free Zone – From Rhetoric to First Steps



Dov Khenin, Member of the Israeli Knesset and PNND Council Member.

(assisted by Alyn Ware, PNND Global Coordinator)

The Middle East is a turbulent and polarized region with violence and threats of violence, historical injustices and current injustices, conflicts and fear all adding to feelings of insecurity. This environment has provided fertile ground for the development of weapons of mass destruction – nuclear, chemical and biological – as supposed deterrents to war, but in actuality increasing the insecurity felt by those threatened by such weapons.

In such an environment, is the idea of a nuclear-weapons-free-zone (NWFZ) a pipe dream or is there a real possibility of its achievement?

The goal of a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone in the Middle East, and more generally a zone free of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) has been repeatedly affirmed by all states involved as well as the international community at the highest political levels.

Since 1974, for example, the United Nations General Assembly has adopted resolutions supporting the

establishment of a NWFZ in the Middle East. The resolution is supported by all States in the region including countries which formerly had nuclear weapons programs (Libya and Iraq), countries which may potentially aspire to develop nuclear weapons programs and Israel, which is believed to have already developed nuclear weapons.

In 1990, Egyptian President Mubarak proposed that the Middle East be established as a Zone Free of Weapons of Mass Destruction. In 1991 the UN Security Council adopted a resolution endorsing the idea of a NWFZ and a Zone Free of WMD. And in 1995 the States Parties to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty adopted a resolution endorsing the idea of a Middle East Zone Free of WMD.

Despite this rhetoric, the Middle East remains the region with the greatest concentration of states that are not party to one or more of the WMD treaties: the Biological Weapons Convention, Chemical Weapons Convention, and the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. In fact, most of countries in the region have some form of WMD-related research, development or weaponization programs.

Up until very recently, the high level of political tension and highly polarized views have prevented any progress. Israel, for example, supports the idea of a NWFZ but has asserted that progress can only be made once peace and normalization of relations has been achieved. Many Arab States, on the other hand, feel threatened by Israel's nuclear weapons and hold that peace and normalization can only be achieved if this nuclear threat is eliminated.

An initial attempt by the Arab League in the early 1990s to promote a draft treaty through the Madrid Process – a series of consultations between all Middle East countries on security and peace issues – lost momentum when the Madrid Process broke down.

Recent events however indicate a renewed interest and determination to make some progress on the issue. This is partly a result of Israel and Arab States sharing a concern about the nuclear fuel cycle developments in Iran, and looking for ways to ensure that these do not give Iran a nuclear weapons capacity. It is also a result of increasing concerns about the nuclear black market and the surprise that Libya had advanced as far as they had with a nuclear weapons program, before voluntarily abandoning it.



Dimona nuclear facility.

ISRAEL READY TO CONSIDER A MIDDLE EAST NWFZ?

"This is the first time that readiness has been expressed on their side, at the level of the Israeli Prime Minister, to consider the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East."

Mohamed El Baradei,
IAEA Secretary-General,
27 July 2004

GULF NWFZ AS STEPPING STONE TO MIDDLE EAST ZONE

"An accord of this kind may be conducive to a comprehensive accord involving all Arab and non-Arab countries in the Middle East."

Abdul Rahman Al Attiya,
Secretary-General of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC),
explaining the proposal to establish a zone free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction in the Gulf, Dec 2005.



Greenpeace visits Israel to promote a nuclear free Middle East. Photo: Greenpeace/Chen Leopold.

SOME INDICATIONS OF THIS RENEWED INTEREST ARE:

- During the visit of IAEA Secretary General Mohamad El Baradei to Israel in 2004, the Israeli government proposed the establishment of a forum for studying the experience of other regions in the establishment of NWFZs.
- In December 2005, Abdul Rahman Al Attiya, Secretary-General of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), proposed that the GCC establish a zone free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction as a stepping stone towards a Middle East Zone, and in May 2006 the Gulf Research Center track two meeting with Gulf state officials and technical experts on a draft treaty for such a zone.
- In 2006, I introduced a draft resolution into the Knesset (Israeli Parliament) calling on the closure of the Dimona nuclear reactor, as a confidence building measure and stepping stone towards a Middle East NWFZ.
- In 2007, Hans Blix, former Head of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) received considerable publicity in media in the Middle East (including Israel) with his recommendation that security in the Middle East could be enhanced if Israel and Iran both end their nuclear fuel-cycles.
- Greenpeace also gained considerable media attention for its proposal for a Nuclear Free Middle East during visits of its flagship the Rainbow Warrior to Egypt, Israel and Iran in early 2007.

Parliamentarians in the region can play an important role in advancing the proposals for a Middle East NWFZ and a Zone Free of WMD by:

- Raising the proposals in their parliaments for discussion.
- Supporting regional controls on the development of nuclear-fuel cycle facilities.
- Encouraging the resumption of the Madrid process and discussions on WMD controls within this forum.

- Encouraging ratification of the relevant treaties – Biological Weapons Convention, Chemical Weapons Convention, and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

The Middle East may be a volatile and violence-prone region. But it is also a region of historical contact, communication, cohabitation, cooperation, and collaboration between differing religions and civilizations. We can draw on these historical experiences to bridge animosities and disagreements in order to reach the common goal of a Middle East more secure without WMD.



The Greenpeace flagship Rainbow Warrior visits Egypt to promote a nuclear free Middle East.

Freeing the Poles of Nuclear Conflicts?

Time for an Arctic Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone!

Alexa McDonough MP, Chair PNND Canada. Alyn Ware, PNND Global Coordinator



The arctic at sunset. Photo by Ken Tape.

The Antarctic (South Pole) was made a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (NWFZ) in 1959 as part of the Antarctic Treaty. Since then NWFZs have spread to encompass most of the Southern Hemisphere. The trend is also picking up in the Northern Hemisphere with NWFZs established in Central Asia and Mongolia, and other ones proposed for North East Asia, Central Europe, and the Middle East. With climate change opening up the Arctic region - bringing with it the possibility of increased resource competition, territorial disputes and militarization - perhaps now is the time to establish an Arctic NWFZ similar to the one covering Antarctica. This would free both the north and south poles from nuclear weapons and help to build a more cooperative security environment in the North.

THE ARCTIC – A CHANGING ENVIRONMENT

In October 2007 the National Snow and Ice Data Center reported that Arctic sea ice has plummeted to the lowest levels since satellite measurements began in 1979. This could soon allow commercial ship navigation through Arctic waters, and much easier access to seabed resources.

This is leading to a flurry of legal claims and counterclaims regarding transit rights and ownership of valuable seabed resources. There is a growing possibility of serious disputes over these, leading to increased militarization and possibly even triggering armed conflict.

On 2 August 2007, for example, a Russian submarine planted their national flag on the seabed under the North Pole claiming it as part of the north Russian continental shelf. This provoked a stern rebuke from Canadian foreign minister,

Peter MacKay: "This isn't the 15th century. You can't go around the world and just plant flags and say: 'We're claiming this territory'." Canadian Prime Minister Harper followed a few days later by announcing plans to construct two new military facilities in the High Arctic region adjacent to the Northwest Passage sea route.

There are also a range of environmental issues that could create tensions and conflict in the region. These include the threats of environmental contamination from decommissioned Russian nuclear submarines scuttled in the area (with their nuclear reactors onboard), threats to the homes and hunting grounds of indigenous arctic peoples from climate change, and the possibility of oil slicks from shipping accidents if the Northwest Passage opens up.



NUCLEAR TENSIONS AND DEPLOYMENTS

The US and Russia currently deploy nuclear weapons on strategic submarines that transit the Arctic waters. In addition, Russia maintains strategic naval bases in the region. These create some tension between these two nuclear powers. Since the end of the Cold War such tensions have waned, especially with the removal of tactical nuclear weapons by both powers from surface ships and attack submarines. However, tensions could increase again if ice-cap depletion leads to increased submarine deployment, or if the US proceeds with the development of Ballistic Missile Defences including the possible deployment of missiles or support facilities in the territories of Arctic allies such as Canada or Denmark.

NWFZ NEGOTIATIONS AS PART OF BUILDING COOPERATIVE SECURITY

Some of these emerging conflicts could be dealt with in existing forums such as the Law of the Sea Tribunal, the International Court of Justice and the Arctic Forum. However, none of these are designed to address security issues in a cooperative manner. The LOS Tribunal and the ICJ are forums for determining legal rights not for negotiations, while the Arctic Forum deals primarily with environmental and habitat issues. As happened with the Antarctic Treaty, the commencement of negotiations for an Arctic NWFZ could create a forum where wider security issues could also be addressed. At the very least, the establishment of an Arctic NWFZ would be a confidence-building measure that could assist in the promotion of peace and security in the region.

WHAT TYPE OF NWFZ?

NWFZs come in many varieties designed and negotiated to suit the specific geo-political conditions of the region involved. The Latin American, South Pacific, South-East Asian, African, and Central Asian NWFZs prohibit the possession of nuclear weapons by States Parties (all non-nuclear weapon States) and the deployment of nuclear weapons on any territories within the zones. They also include protocols for signature by the Nuclear Weapon States (NWS) who agree to respect the zones by not deploying nuclear weapons on the territories of States parties, and to not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the zones.

The Antarctic Treaty does not prohibit the possession of nuclear weapons by States Parties, some of which are the NWS. However, it prohibits the deployment of nuclear weapons in the Antarctic, and also any measures of a military nature, such as the establishment of military bases and fortifications, the carrying out of military maneuvers, as well as the testing of any type of weapons in the Antarctic.

An Arctic NWFZ could theoretically follow the Antarctic Treaty model. In this case, all the States in the region would be parties to the treaty – including Russia, USA, Canada, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Sweden and Finland – and nuclear weapons would be prohibited from all territories within the Arctic Circle.

However, it is most unlikely that Russia or the USA would agree to such a treaty as that would require Russia closing its naval nuclear bases in the region, open the US to intrusive inspection of planned Ballistic Missile deployments in Alaska, and require both USA and Russia to forgo the option of deployment of nuclear weapons on part of their own territory. Even if neither country has any intention of deploying land-based nuclear weapons in the Arctic Circle, they would not welcome this precedent seeing it as an intrusion on their sovereignty.

A more feasible approach is one based on the other five regional NWFZs. This would entail a treaty negotiated by the non-NWSs in the region – Denmark, Canada, Finland, Norway and Iceland – prohibiting nuclear weapons on their territories. The treaty would include protocols whereby the NWS agree not to deploy nuclear weapons on those territories – something they are not doing anyway – and not to threaten or use nuclear weapons against States Parties to the treaty.

The advantage of this model is that it could be established even without the agreement of Russia, the US or the other NWS. This has happened with many of the other regional NWFZs. It has often taken some time after the zones have been established to persuade the NWS to sign the protocols.



The treaty could also include a protocol requiring NWS not to deploy, threaten or use nuclear weapons in the entire Arctic Zone. While the NWS would be even less likely to sign such a protocol in the short term, it would provide a political and legal aspiration for a comprehensive NWFZ in the Arctic which would generate pressure for nuclear disarmament.

A third possible model, proposed by Pugwash Canada, is a limited NWFZ prohibiting passage of nuclear weapons through the North West Passage.

According to Pugwash navigation of the North West Passage by strategic submarines will continue to be unfeasible - even with further melting of the ice cap - and this might make it possible for the NWS to agree to such a prohibition. On the other hand, it is unlikely that the NWS would bind themselves to such a precedent as it could be used by other regional NWFZs to prohibit passage of nuclear vessels through their territorial waters or EEZs. The US, France and UK, for example, refuse to sign the protocols of the South East Asian NWFZ for this reason.

PARLIAMENTARY ACTION

Unlike proposals for NWFZs in the Middle East, North East Asia and Central Europe, the proposal for an Arctic NWFZ is very new and has not been explored in much detail by governments, academics or NGOs. Thus, a first step for parliamentarians would be to encourage or initiate studies or inquiries into the proposal. Given the challenging and changing geo-political conditions of the Arctic, it would be useful to include a wide range of expertise in such studies and inquiries. This could include drawing from the experience gained in the establishment of NWFZs in other regions, all of which had to overcome political hurdles to come to fruition.

Parliamentarians and a Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone in Central Europe *(Authors listed at end of article)*

The establishment of nuclear weapon-free zones provides a significant measure to prevent nuclear proliferation, decrease the likelihood of nuclear weapons being used and build confidence to achieve a nuclear weapon-free world. Establishing a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone in Central Europe (NWFZ-CE) would not only increase European security, it would also provide Europe with a solid basis to help encourage and facilitate the establishment of a Middle East NWFZ, increase the societal norm against nuclear weapons and restrict their freedom of movement and deployment.

During the Cold War a number of proposals for a European NWFZ were made by a range of governments and non-governmental organizations. These were unable to be implemented due to Cold War tensions.

However, there now exists a unique chance to institutionalize a NWFZ in the

heart of Europe, due to the changed political environment and a large area of de facto nuclear weapon free nations. These include the Scandinavian states - Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark; the Baltic States - Belarus, Ukraine, Slovakia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, Romania and Bulgaria; and other Central and Southern European countries including Switzerland, Austria, Luxembourg, Liechtenstein, San Marino, Andorra, Portugal, Spain and Greece.

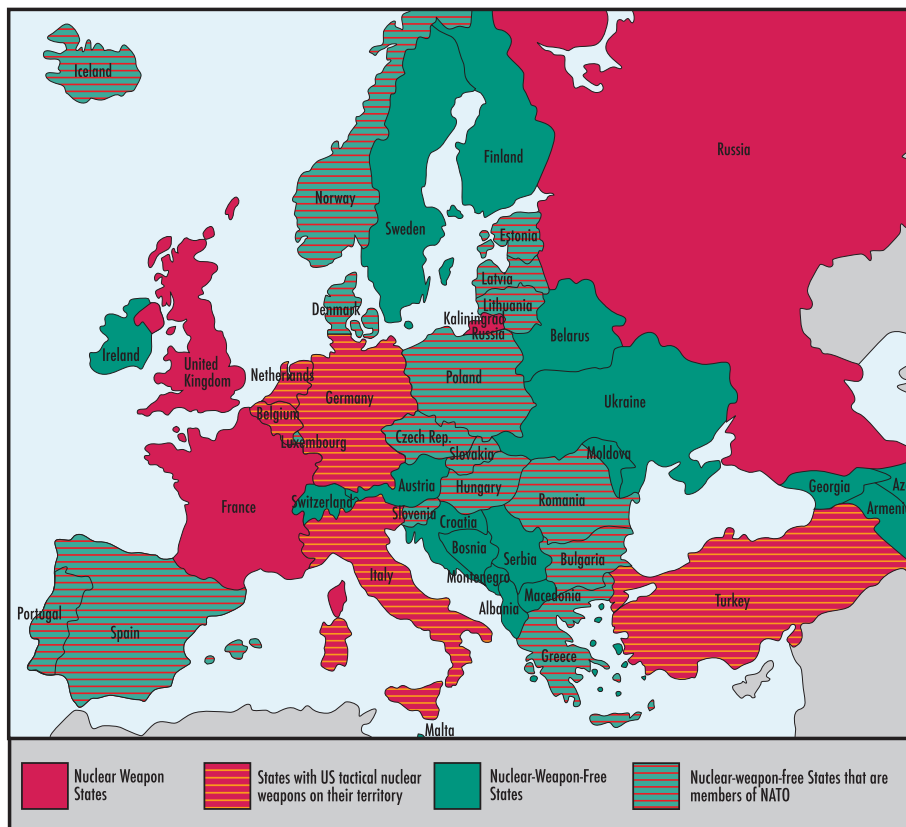
The majority of the people in these nations have no desire to see nuclear weapons spread to their countries or to their neighbours. Rather, they wish nothing more than to stabilize and codify the nuclear weapon free situation so that it will not be reversed, and in order to gain guarantees from the Nuclear Weapon States that nuclear weapons will not be used against them. A NWFZ-CE, according to the general

requirements for NWFZs would fulfill these aspirations adequately.

In addition, it would enhance efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation and terrorism, especially if it addressed transit of nuclear weapons and proliferation-sensitive aspects of the nuclear fuel cycle.

The fact that some of these countries are members of NATO, a nuclear alliance, has led some people to believe that such a NWFZ would not be possible. However, experience from other NWFZs indicates that such military alliances are no longer barriers to the establishment of NWFZs, as long as the countries concerned pledge not to station nuclear weapons on their territories. The South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone, for example, includes Australia, a military ally of the United States. The Central Asian NWFZ includes three countries that have military relationships with Russia under the Tashkent Treaty.

European States that could join a NWFZ



Nuclear weapon free nations in Europe (green) could join together in a NWFZ without changing existing policies. Countries which are nuclear weapon-free but members of NATO (green and red stripes) could join a NWFZ but would need to clarify whether or not they would allow nuclear weapons deployment or defense by nuclear weapons in time of war. Countries in which nuclear weapons are deployed (red and orange stripes) would need to discontinue such deployment to join the NWFZ.

Map by Sarah Schloemer

In fact, the establishment of a Central European NWFZ could generate political momentum to remove the remaining US nuclear weapons deployed in Europe and ensure that such weapons are not deployed in new NATO states such as Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary.

As such, there will be opposition by the United States to a NWFZ-CE. However, as Europe develops a foreign policy more independent of the US, the possibility for such a zone increases. The proposal for a NWFZ-CE has been endorsed, for example, by the Belgium Senate and House of Deputies and by the Belarus government. Parliamentarians in Switzerland, Sweden and Austria are also actively promoting the proposal.

A NWFZ-CE would also help Europe in furthering its positive relations with other regions. Whereas current policies of the Nuclear Weapon States, and in particular the United States, have created a loss of goodwill and an inability to influence potential proliferators such as Iran, the more balanced and multi-lateralist policies of the European States have increased Europe's influence. A NWFZ-CE, propagated by a self-confident

Europe, would further enhance this influence and assist in the establishment of current and potential NWFZs and the prevention of proliferation globally.

The ultimate aim of NWFZs is to pave the way to a nuclear-weapons-free world. They demonstrate that nuclear weapons are not required for security and thus stimulate the NWS to reduce and ultimately abandon their adherence to nuclear deterrence. Knowledge about NWFZs will stimulate the populations of NWS to question the need for nuclear arms. As most of the world's populations obviously reject nuclear weapons, why do the Governments of NWS still stick to them, with all the associated expense and security risks?

European Parliamentarians supporting the concept of a NWFZ-CE find considerable political support from their electorates, and satisfaction in working on a positive campaign to build a more secure and peaceful Europe. However, more action is required to make the vision of a NWFZ-CE a reality. Parliamentarians must take a lead in this in order to help transform public support into political and diplomatic momentum.

This should include placing the proposal for a NWFZ-CE firmly on the agenda of the UN and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Parliamentarians from small and middle European powers working collectively on this issue would give the concept of NWFZ-CE more weight.

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Korean Peninsula in Transition: From denuclearization to a nuclear-free zone and a Peace Regime in Korea

MP Kwon Young-Ghil PNND Global Council member Co-Chair of PNND Republic of Korea section



Kwon Young-Ghil

As debate over a Korean peace regime has accelerated, a 'Great Spring' of the Korean Peninsula- the last frontier of the Cold War-, appears to have now become an irreversible current. The Nuclear issues of North Korea cannot be completely solved without such a process of developing a Korean peace regime. The Six Party talks are a fundamental tool in navigating a path to a nuclear weapon-free zone in Korea. But to achieve ultimate peace and make the status of a peace regime secure and permanent on the Korean Peninsula, Six Party talks have to conform with the entire Korean peace process, including normalization of North Korea-US relations.



Taepoong Missile. Photo: Spacedaily.

The Korean Peninsula is undergoing unparalleled changes towards replacing the 1953 armistice. Last October, President Bush mentioned the possibility of a formal end of the Korean War within his term. A meeting between North Korea and the US in Berlin, to discuss issues around frozen North Korean funds at the Banco Delta Asia, opened a process of direct talks which have continued since then. The North-South Korean summit meeting in October 2007 also contributed to the goal of a nuclear-free zone of the Korean Peninsula and the final goal: peaceful unification.

The nuclear issues of North Korea have been seen in different contexts by each player. For North Korea, the nuclear program is a matter of self-defense against the threat posed by hostile US-North Korea relations stemming back to the Korean war. For the US, it has been a part of a global war on terrorism. For South Korea, however, it is rather an issue of denuclearizing and transforming Korea into a permanent peace zone; as opposed to maintaining a permanent yet hostile truce.

The purpose of a peace regime on the Korean peninsula is to create a condition of positive peace by ending the division of Korea and dissolving hostile military relations between the US and China as well as dealing with the nuclear crisis. Concretely, the peace process would include the normalization of diplomatic relations between North Korea and the US, declaration of the end of Korean War and the conclusion of a Korean Peace Agreement. Although the development of South-North Korea relations is required for success of the Six Party talks, steps can be taken independently in one arena without having to wait for progress in the matched paces in the other.

A key step in constructing a Korean peace regime is to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula through nuclear disarmament in North Korea. South and North Korea have already made a strong drive and clearly described their commitments through the 'South- North Basic Agreement' in 1991 and the 'Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula' in 1992.

Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula includes not having or stationing nuclear arms and prohibiting nuclear weapons related materials within the territories. It will contribute to strengthening supportive conditions for multilateral security cooperation in the Northeast Asian region and prevent Korea from becoming either a regional threat or be subject to threats.



Satellite photo of North Korea's Yongbyon nuclear facility.

ACTIONS OF PARLIAMENTARIANS

Parliamentarians in South Korea are playing an active part for the peaceful settlement of North Korean nuclear crisis. After North Korea's declaration of nuclear weapons capability in 2005, I promoted a 'Resolution for Realizing Peace and Development of the Korean Peninsula following the June 15 Joint Statement' with the members of each political party resulting in its adoption by the National Assembly. We also proposed a 'Bill for Interchange and Cooperation between South and North Korea' which prescribes South-North exchange as intra-national trade, thus opening up possibilities for its increase. This was also adopted by the Assembly.



July 2007, first rail link between North and South Korea.

Directly after North Korea's nuclear test, I held an urgent press conference in the assembly calling for a consistent and comprehensive diplomatic approach on policies toward North Korea. Members of the Democratic Labor Party visited North Korea to convey the concern of Korean people regarding the test and to emphasize the goal of nuclear-free Korean Peninsula. The Democratic Labor Party has been active in easing the strained relations between South and North including through the first party exchange in North Korea with the North Korean Democratic Labor Party. In order to further advance the peace and reunification of Korea, such efforts need to be undertaken by parliamentarians from all political parties in the region and supported by parliamentarians from around the world.

A Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone Contributes to Global Nuclear Disarmament

Hiromichi Umebayashi (President, Peace Depot, Japan). Enkhsaikhan Jargalsaikhan (Director, Blue Banner, Mongolia). Wooksik Cheong (Representative, Civil Network for Peaceful Korea).

The recent progress in the Six Party Talks on denuclearizing the Korean Peninsula is encouraging news not only for peace and stability on the Peninsula but also for that of Northeast Asia as a whole. Especially, it is important to note that the parties to the talks are now committed to "joint efforts for lasting peace and stability in Northeast Asia" (Joint Statement, September 19, 2005), and that they have set up a working group for a "Northeast Asia Peace and Security Mechanism" (February 13, 2007 agreement) to implement the Joint Statement.

We believe that the next logical step for promoting regional peace and stability would be to negotiate a Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone (NEA-NWFZ). Such a zone would prohibit the deployment of nuclear weapons on the territories of Japan, and the Korea, and would include legally binding assurances from the nuclear weapon states not to use nuclear weapons in the region.

Not only is it in Japan and the Korea's security interests to establish such a zone, but NPT members are obliged under their NPT commitments to move towards this. As ruled by the 1996 International Court of Justice (ICJ) advisory opinion, the "obligation to pursue and to conclude negotiations [for nuclear disarmament] formally concerns the 182 states parties," meaning not only nuclear-weapon states but also non-nuclear-weapon states as well. In this respect, non-nuclear states, whose declared security policy depends on extended deterrence, such as Japan, the Republic of Korea, Australia and NATO states, have special obligations similar to those of the nuclear-weapon states.

Nuclear-weapon states have committed to "an unequivocal undertaking to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals" in the final document of 2000 NPT Review Conference. The next logical steps have been recommended by the Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) Commission -chaired by Hans Blix- and by Kofi Annan, former UN Secretary-General. The WMD Commission recommended that "all states possessing nuclear weapons should commence planning for security without nuclear weapons. They should start preparing for the outlawing of



North-East Asia - proposed region for a Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone.

nuclear weapons through joint practical and incremental measures..."

Kofi Annan called "on all the states with nuclear weapons to develop concrete plans – with specific time tables – for implementing their disarmament commitments," and urged them to "make a joint declaration of intent to achieve the progressive elimination of all nuclear weapons, under strict and effective international control." Because of reliance on nuclear weapons for their security, these recommendations are ipso facto applicable to the nuclear dependent non-nuclear states. They should commence planning for security without dependence on nuclear weapons and develop concrete plans – with specific time tables – for implementing their disarmament commitments.

In relation to the Republic of Korea and Japan, a NEA-NWFZ is a practical approach to respond to these calls, recommendations and NPT obligations.

A NEA-NWFZ would add to the development of other NWFZs in Asia including the already established Central Asian NWFZ, South-East Asian NWFZ and Mongolia's single-State NWFZ.

Mongolia's policy to institutionalize its single-State NWFZ status by concluding

an international treaty with its nuclear neighbors is an example of how an individual state wedged between competing nuclear weapon states can develop a non-nuclear security arrangement and acquire security assurances. Mongolia's case reminds us that ultimately no state should be left uncovered by nuclear-weapon-free commitments.

Mongolia's current policy to establish a single-State NWFZ should be supported internationally since that would enable almost a dozen states that for geographical or geopolitical reasons cannot form part of group zones, to join the ranks of NWFZ states as single-State zones with all the required commitments and security assurances.

Together, regional and single-State NWFZs can provide a framework for regional security mechanisms which not only reject nuclear weapons, but also provide confidence-building, conflict resolution and cooperative security, reducing the reliance on military security.

All these efforts will contribute practically to strengthening the NPT norms, tapping the full potential of NWFZs and promoting global nuclear disarmament.

Time to remove tactical nuclear weapons from Europe?

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Patrik Vankrunklesven MP
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Sergei Kolesnikov, Member
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B61 nuclear bomb, the type deployed in NATO countries, being loaded onto a C-17 cargo aircraft. Photo courtesy of Federation of American Scientists

The Commission on Weapons of Mass Destruction (Blix Commission) notes that there are over 400 United States tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Europe and possibly a larger number of Russian tactical weapons deployed in western Russia. The Commission notes that these tactical weapons "would be easier (than strategic weapons) for outsiders to use, such as a terrorist group", and that "There is a risk of theft or diversion during transport or storage in the field."

The Commission thus recommends that the US and Russia "should agree to withdraw all non-strategic nuclear weapons to central storage on national territory, pending their eventual elimination."

Recent developments in Europe give cause for optimism that the deployment of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe and west Russia could soon be abandoned.

In 2001 Greece decided not to retain nuclear strike capability in its air-force thus curtailing its capacity to participate in the US nuclear deployment programme in Greece. It is understood that the US thus quietly removed its tactical nuclear weapons from Greece. This brings down the number of States hosting US nuclear weapons from seven to six.

From 2005-2007 a number of parliamentary initiatives reinforced a growing public antipathy towards deployed nuclear weapons in Europe. These include:

- resolutions adopted in the Belgian and German parliaments calling on NATO governments to work for the removal of US nuclear weapons from Europe,
- a joint statement from parliamentarians from Belgium, Germany, Italy, Netherlands and the United Kingdom calling for the end of nuclear sharing arrangements between US and NATO
- a written declaration from Members of the European Parliament on the withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from Europe
- writs delivered by parliamentarians to commanders of nuclear weapon deployment sites asserting that the deployment of these weapons violates the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the law against nuclear weapons affirmed by the International Court of Justice in 1996.

These initiatives were supported in December 2007 by a joint statement of the mayors of all NATO local authorities in which the US has nuclear weapons deployed under NATO nuclear-weapons sharing programmes. The mayors of Peer (Kleine Brogel - Belgium), Aviano and Ghedi (Italy), Uden (Volkel - The Netherlands), Incirlik (Turkey), and

Buechel (Germany) noted that following the end of the Cold War "The Soviet Union withdrew its nuclear weapons from the Ukraine and Belarus... Unfortunately NATO didn't follow Russia's actions, and U.S. tactical nuclear weapons remained in Belgium, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Turkey and the UK." However, they said that "membership in NATO does not require any state to accept nuclear deployments. For example Greece stopped hosting U.S. nuclear weapons in 2001. Let us take control of this fast-moving aircraft and, as an important step, remove the last foreign deployed nuclear weapons from the territory of another state. That would also be a step towards a new NATO defence policy not reliant on nuclear weapons."



Mayor Stefano Del Cont (Aviano) and Mayor Anna Giulia Guarneri (Ghedi) call for a nuclear weapons free Italy.



James K. Galbraith

According to the Natural Resources Defence Council, the US Air Force discontinued the deployment of nuclear weapons at the Ramstein airbase in Germany in 2007. Hopes that this was the first step in a removal of all nuclear weapons from Germany were dampened when the German government announced in August 2007 that they intend to continue hosting nuclear weapons at Buechel.

A group of retired senior NATO military officials have reacted to the growing momentum for removing tactical nuclear weapons from Europe by releasing a report on 23 January 2008 in which they argued that NATO must retain its nuclear capability and be prepared to carry out pre-emptive nuclear strikes to halt the spread of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

The report *Towards a Grand Strategy for an Uncertain World* argues that a "first strike" nuclear option remains an "indispensable instrument" as there is "simply no realistic prospect of a nuclear-free world...The risk of further [nuclear] proliferation is imminent and, with it, the danger that nuclear war fighting, albeit limited in scope, might become possible. ..The first use of nuclear weapons must remain in the quiver of escalation as the ultimate instrument to prevent the use of weapons of mass destruction."

The report was countered by James K. Galbraith in an article *A Criminal Idea* published in *The Guardian* on 25 January 2008. Galbraith argues that the use of nuclear weapons in a 'preventive' strike against a State that is suspected of developing weapons of mass destruction - as proposed by the *Grand Strategy* - would be a crime of aggression, and that the effects of the use of nuclear weapons would also make such use a

violation of international humanitarian law. He also notes that "the planning and preparation for such a war is no less a crime than the war itself."

Galbraith also argues that the doctrine will not act as a deterrence to nuclear war, but will rather act as a recipe for one: "Suppose we stated the generals' doctrine as a principle: that any nuclear state which suspects another state of being about to acquire nuclear weapons has the right to attack that state – and with nuclear weapons if it has them. Now suppose North Korea suspects South Korea of that intention. Does North Korea acquire a right to strike the South? Under any principle of law, the generals' answer must be, that it does. Thus their doctrine does not protect against nuclear war. It leads, rather, directly to nuclear war."

The retired NATO military officials will be unlikely to quell the growing public support for complete removal of US weapons. A *Spiegel* poll in 2005 indicated that 76% of Germans were in favour of withdrawal while 18% were not. This sentiment was matched in parliament: across the four major parties (SPD, CDU, Gruene, FDP) 77.75% of members supported withdrawal and 18.25% did not.

Similar numbers were reflected in a 2006 Greenpeace poll which found that 69% of citizens in nuclear deployment States supported a nuclear weapons free Europe. This included 88% in Turkey, 71% in Italy, 71% in Germany, 65% in Belgium and 63% in Netherlands, and 56% in Britain.

However, it will be difficult to move towards a complete withdrawal of all US nuclear weapons in Europe if there is not concurrent progress on transparency and control of tactical weapons in western Russia. It is

believed that Russia has about 2,330 operational nonstrategic nuclear weapons for delivery by antiballistic missiles, air defense missiles, tactical bombers, and naval cruise missiles and torpedoes – about half of what it had deployed in the early 1990s. However, exact numbers and locations are difficult to determine due to a lack of transparency from Russia.

Russia has indicated some willingness to consider further reducing their tactical weapons stockpile, for example by abstaining on a 2002 resolution at the United Nations General Assembly on the issue (France, the U.K. and U.S. voted against). However, this position has hardened since 2003. The 2006 Russian White Paper on Defence makes no mention of Russian tactical weapons, but instead criticizes US deployment of tactical nuclear weapons on foreign soil (in NATO countries). It is likely that the US plans for forward deployment of Ballistic Missile Defences in former Eastern Bloc countries – the Czech Republic and Poland – have also contributed to this hardening attitude.

Thus progress on Russian tactical weapons would be more likely if there are further reductions in US tactical weapons in NATO countries, a change in NATO nuclear policy, or a change in plans for deployment of BMD defences in the Czech Republic and Poland.

Parliamentarians in Russia, US, NATO countries and other European countries can play a role by encouraging progress on all these fronts. This can be done through parliamentary resolutions, questions in parliament, joint parliamentary appeals and through contact with parliamentary colleagues in these countries.



Russian SS-26 (Iskander) tactical nuclear weapon. Photo courtesy of Federation of American Scientists.

Members of the European Parliament call for European initiatives towards nuclear disarmament

Pol D'Huyvetter, Mayors for Peace, Europe

On April 19, 2007, Gareth Evans (former Foreign Minister for Australia), Lena Hjelm-Wallén (former Foreign Minister for Sweden) and Senator Emeritus Douglas Roche (Canada) joined members of the European Parliament from across the political spectrum in a conference calling for a comprehensive approach in addressing nuclear dangers including action on both non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament.



Gareth Evans, former foreign minister for Australia, on the panel with Pol D'Huyvetter, Ana Gomes MEP and Gunnar Lassinantti.

The high-level conference was organised by Abolition 2000 Europe, ISIS Europe, Mayors for Peace, Olaf Palme International Center and the Parliamentary Network for Nuclear Disarmament in co-operation with a cross-party group of Members of the European Parliament (MEPs).

Senator Roche recalled the successful campaign 200 years ago to end the slave trade, and noted that those advocating an end to slavery did not accept partial measures such as making conditions for slaves better, but called for complete abolition of this inhumane practice.

Senator Roche argued that, similarly, "we must not accept partial measures making nuclear weapons slightly more palatable. These immoral, inhumane, illegal and suicidal weapons of mass destruction must be completely abolished."

He also noted that "Like the slavery abolitionists, nuclear weapons abolitionists have history on their side. Despite the seemingly impregnable hold of the powerful, new counter-forces are developing and need but the concerted action of enlightened parliamentarians aided by an energized civil society to prevail".

"Despite the seemingly impregnable hold of the powerful, new counter-forces are developing and need but the concerted action of enlightened parliamentarians aided by an energized civil society to prevail".

Senator Emeritus Douglas Roche, O.C.

The conference explored the possibilities and opportunities for the European Union (EU) to become increasingly involved in promoting non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament. This conference was very timely in the run-up to the Non-Proliferation Treaty PrepCom (April 30 to May 11 2007). For many years nuclear disarmament has been a non-issue for the European Parliament. The involvement of MEPs in the organisation of the conference, their participation and the successful outcome illustrate a growing interest in the issue.

A number of actions for parliamentarians to take were proposed including resolutions, declarations, op ed pieces and other initiatives to support nuclear abolition through a nuclear weapons convention (international treaty) and steps towards this including removal of tactical nuclear weapons from Europe and establishment of a European and/or Nordic/Arctic nuclear weapons free zone.

Following the disturbing news of Trident replacement by the UK and French tests of its new M-51 missile it was concluded that the EU should urge Britain and France to comply with the NPT Art VI disarmament obligations. The EU should also work on the withdrawal of US nuclear weapons deployed in Belgium, Britain, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Turkey.

The European Parliament should also liaise more with European governments to promote nuclear disarmament and to encourage the establishment of Nuclear Weapon Free Zones (NWFZ) in Europe as a stepping stone towards global nuclear abolition. These could include a Central European NWFZ and a Northern Europe/Arctic NWFZ.

NGOs and parliamentarians pledged support for the achievement of a nuclear weapons convention (a global treaty for the abolition of nuclear weapons) and for initiatives such as the 2020 Vision Campaign of the Mayors for Peace which aims to rid the world of nuclear weapons by 2020. Special attention is given to the current membership drive of the Mayors for Peace which aims to count 2020 members for its 25th anniversary year.

Due to a lack of knowledge on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation issues by the public it was also agreed that the EU should provide funding for peace education.

It was also agreed that parliamentarians should take a leading role to break the silence and follow in the footsteps of Henry Kissinger, George Shultz, William Perry and Sam Nunn calling for a world free of nuclear weapons in the Wall Street Journal on 4 January 2007.

The conference culminated in the establishment of a cross-party section of PNND in the European Parliament chaired by Angelika Beer (Greens, Germany) with vice-chairs Ana Gomes (PSE, Portugal), Annemie Neyts (ALDE, Belgium), Andre Brie (GUE, Germany) and Girts Kristovskis (UEN, Latvia).



Senator Patrick Vankrunkelsven, Senator Emeritus Douglas Roche and Xanthe Hall.

Parliamentarians and NATO Policy

Senator Francesco Martone PNND Council Member - Italy



Senator Francesco Martone

There is this year an unprecedented array of opportunities to revamp the political debate on nuclear disarmament.

This is so despite an appearance that the political landscape does not bode well for the cause. The non-proliferation regime looks seriously crippled; the disarmament architecture is damaged by unilateral initiatives of the US administration; nuclear deterrence and nuclear doctrines seem to have regained ground in many capitals of nuclear powers, actual and to-be; and the heated debate on the missile shield hides a strategy that still retains first strike capability as the cornerstone of planning.

In addition is the risk of fissile material falling into the hands of terrorist groups. However, there is a much stronger global impetus towards abandoning the possible use of nuclear weapons, and building new security paradigms.

The year ahead offers two important opportunities. One being the review of the NATO Strategic Concept, that is about to begin, the other is the 2009 NPT Preparatory Conference. In both cases the role of Parliamentarians can go much beyond that of mere spectators or agents of accountability. Parliamentarians can play a significant role of political guidance, and strengthen their cooperation with peace movements at the national and global level. This is inscribed in the DNA of PNND and also represents a key criterion for work in Italy.

Most of this work is currently focused on the nuclear sharing agreements and to highlight the inconsistency between the presence of 90 US bombs in the country and the NPT including the reaffirmed commitments of the Italian government to support nuclear disarmament.

The actions that Italian PNND members have taken include a resolution on nuclear sharing and the NPT which was tabled in both the Senate and Chamber of Deputies; various questions on the role of Italian representatives in the NATO Nuclear Planning Committee; and questions asking the government to disclose documents on nuclear strategy while urging a coherent review of military doctrines with a view to exclude the possible use of nuclear weapons.

Work of parliamentarians could extend this by seeking disclosure of the chain of command and political guidance, the details of national governments' participation in the NATO nuclear planning committee, and pave the way for a strong political commitment to review and dismiss the NATO nuclear doctrine. This could lead to the rejection of nuclear sharing and thus strengthen the disarmament component of the NPT.

"By coupling traditional advocacy and accountability tools with cross-fertilization of other political actors, parliamentarians can become important instruments of political change."

Therefore, the opportunity of the upcoming NATO strategic concept review should not be missed. For the first time it appears that a much bigger role might be given to parliaments and notably to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. The latter, however, should not substitute action at the national parliament level and interaction with NGOs and peace movements. Thus, a nation-wide campaign to establish Italy as

"The presence of United States conventional and nuclear forces in Europe remains vital to the security of Europe... Nuclear weapons make a unique contribution in rendering the risks of aggression against the Alliance incalculable and unacceptable. Thus, they remain essential to preserve peace."

NATO Strategic Concept, Paragraphs 42 and 46.

nuclear free, and to forbid deployment of nuclear weapons in the country is about to be launched. A specific draft bill will be tabled in Parliament and a major public outreach campaign will be waged to accompany the political debate.

This strategy is based on the belief that by coupling traditional advocacy and accountability tools with cross-fertilization with other political actors, parliamentarians can become important instruments of political change. This can be supported through networking with parliamentarians in other countries. PNND can play a valuable role in facilitating such networking and information sharing.

"A much bigger role might be given to Parliaments and notably to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly."

Note: For information on PNND's panel at the NATO Parliamentary Assembly in Berlin, 25 May 2008, see www.pnnd.org



A meeting of NATO.

Small Arms – A Hiroshima every six months

Every year approximately 300,000 people are killed and many more maimed from the use of small arms. This is the equivalent of one Hiroshima type nuclear bomb dropped on a city every six months.

It is estimated that at least 639 million small arms and light weapons (SALW) are circulating worldwide today. Each year more than 8 million small arms and light weapons are produced, together with more than 16 billion rounds of ammunition. Aside from the staggeringly high levels of death and injury due to SALW availability, armed violence implies enormous costs to all levels of society, human as well as economic. The security, justice and health sectors are particularly exposed to budget deficits, and armed violence hinders productivity rates thereby negatively affecting economic development and performance.

There are a range of national and international initiatives for controlling small arms and light weapons – including prohibitions of certain ‘inhumane’ or indiscriminate weapons (such as cluster bombs), an Arms Trade Treaty to regulate transnational weapons transfers, arms registration, licensing requirements for weapons purchasers and owners, and ammunition controls.

However, there needs to be concerted political action by legislators in order to counter the very powerful arms manufacturing lobby groups and to ensure implementation of these initiatives.

At the international level, legislators can collaborate with parliamentary colleagues from other countries and with the United Nations. In addition, legislators working to control small arms and light weapons can learn from those working in the area of nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament, and vice versa.

For these reasons, in October 2007 PNND, Mayors for Peace and the Parliamentary Forum on Small Arms and Light Weapons brought together legislators with United Nations officials and representative of key countries to discuss ways legislators can support the UN disarmament agenda focusing on small arms and nuclear weapons. The involvement of Mayors for Peace linked actions to control small arms at the city level with actions at national and international levels.

Speakers and participants included Daisy Torné MP (President of the Parliamentary Forum on Small Arms and Light Weapons), António E. Évora (UN Office for Disarmament Affairs), Knut Langeland (Foreign Ministry of Norway),

“The parliaments of the world are the bridges between government and civil society. They provide the funds to pay for national initiatives. They help to shape policy, and they build public accountability. They help to give disarmament not only vision, but also some backbone, muscle, and teeth.”

United Nations Rep Randy Rydell citing UN Under-Secretary General Jayantha Dhanapala at the Small Arms Forum

Carlos Vargas Pizarro (International law expert from Costa Rica), Bill Siksay MP (Canada), Christer Winbäck MP (Sweden), Randy Rydell (UN Office for Disarmament Affairs), H.E. Don Mackay (Ambassador of New Zealand to the United Nations), Jackie Cabasso (Mayors for Peace), Manuel de Araujo MP (Chair of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee of Mozambique) and Hans Raidel MdB (Germany).

For more information see www.parliamentaryforum.org



Randy Rydell (UN Secretariat), Alyn Ware (PNND Global Coordinator) and Ambassador Don McKay (New Zealand) speaking at the panel on Parliamentarians and the United Nations Disarmament Agenda.

Towards a Cluster Munitions Treaty



Israel made M85 found in Lebanon. Photo: Simon Conway / Landmine Action

In August 2006, in the final 72 hours of the war against Hezbollah in Lebanon, Israel deployed cluster munitions on an unprecedented scale leaving more than one million unexploded cluster munition bomblets behind. These continue to kill and maim civilians and pose a barrier to farming and other economic activities.

Cluster munitions are weapons that include cargo containers (cluster bombs) and sub-munitions (bomblets). The bombs are dropped from aircraft or launched by land-based artillery, and are designed to open in mid-air scattering the dozens or hundreds of sub-munitions over a wide area. It is claimed that they are used to target enemy troops, but the reality is that 98% of the victims are civilians.

Prior to 2006 attempts were being made in the UN Geneva-based Convention on Conventional Weapons (CCW) to address the issue as a result of the negative experiences of cluster munitions use in Iraq, Afghanistan and Kosovo. However, cluster munition producers can block anything meaningful in this consensus-driven process. It was the Israeli use in Lebanon that prompted Norway, New Zealand and Ireland to launch an independent effort similar to the Ottawa process that achieved the Landmines Convention.

In February 2007 Norway hosted an initial inter-governmental conference in Oslo in which 46 countries agreed to conclude, by the end of 2008, a legally binding instrument to:

1. prohibit the use, production, transfer and stockpiling of cluster munitions that cause unacceptable harm to civilians; and
2. establish a framework for cooperation and assistance to survivors of cluster munitions and their communities, as well as clearance of contaminated areas.

In January 2008, PNND members Margaret Wilson (Speaker of the New Zealand House of representatives) and Keith Locke (Secretary of PNND New Zealand) introduced a resolution on the proposed cluster munition treaty which was adopted by the 16th Annual Meeting of the Asia-Pacific Parliamentary Forum (APPF) in Auckland.

In February 2008, New Zealand hosted an inter-governmental conference of States to discuss the proposed treaty. The conference included States that do not possess or produce cluster munitions as well as some cluster-munition producing and possessing States. Some of the cluster-munition possessing and producing countries argued for a treaty which would allow up to ten years for countries to comply (transition period) and which would also include exemptions for certain types of cluster munitions.

On 20 February 2008, PNND hosted a reception in the New Zealand parliament for governments, parliamentarians, cluster munition experts and cluster bomb survivors to build parliamentary support and political will for a strong cluster munitions treaty. The reception included special guest speakers Hon Phil Goff (New Zealand Minister for Defence), Jodi Williams (Nobel Peace Laureate for the Landmines Convention campaign), Hon Ibrahim Sorie MP



Hon Phil Goff, New Zealand Minister for Defence and Minister for Disarmament, speaking at the cluster munitions parliamentary reception.

(Peace and Democracy Programme Convener for Parliamentarians for Global Action), and Major John Flanagan (Deputy Chief of UN Mine Action Service). Cluster munition survivors presented to Mr Goff an international petition calling for a comprehensive ban on cluster munitions with no exemptions or transition period.

By 22 February, the final day of the Wellington Cluster Munition Conference, more than 80 countries had endorsed the Wellington Declaration committing themselves to a strong cluster munition treaty. Endorsing countries met in Dublin in May to conclude the treaty. It will enter-into-force six months after the first 30 countries have ratified.

For more information see www.clusterbombs.org



Hon Nick Smith (Chair of PNND New Zealand), Hon Ibrahim Sorie (Parliamentarians for Global Action), Ross Robertson (Parliamentarians for Global Action) and cluster munition survivors at the parliamentary reception.

US Congress Update

Several positive steps have been taken on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation by the US Congress during 2007-2008. This includes the Congress using its control of the federal purse strings to prevent specific nuclear weapons development projects from progressing and to support other disarmament and non-proliferation projects in fiscal year 2008.

Congress, for example, rejected the US Administration's request to fund the production of between 150 and 200 plutonium pits per year. A plutonium pit is the central physics package for a fission bomb or for a fission device which serves as the trigger for a larger thermo-nuclear bomb.



Hanford nuclear facility – site for the production of plutonium for plutonium pits.

Congress also refused to provide funds for the Reliable Replacement Warhead (RRW). This controversial program was proposed by the US administration as a way to replace currently deployed nuclear warheads as they aged, and thus to ensure that the US nuclear arsenal could be maintained indefinitely. However, the administration did not convince the Democratic-controlled congress that such a new nuclear weapon was required. Instead the Congress called for a study on the proposal including an examination of the possibility of recycling plutonium pits from dismantled warheads and an evaluation of the existing Stockpile Life Extension Program (see National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008 H.R. 1585, Sections 3111 and 3121 at <http://thomas.loc.gov>).

Other key provisions in the defense authorization act included:

- \$623 million allocated to the Cooperative Treat Reduction (CTR) despite a US Administration proposal to cut funding.
- \$24 million to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO) - 33% more than the Bush Administration requested.

- \$48 million for Nuclear Weapons Storage Security – twice the amount requested by the Administration
- The Global Threat Reduction Initiative received a \$75 million boost, to \$195 million, to further its efforts to eliminate or secure radiological and nuclear materials.
- The Department of Energy's request for funding for non-proliferation and Verification Research and Development was boosted by \$125 million to \$390 million.
- \$53 million in energy assistance to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in order to support negotiations for denuclearization of the Korean peninsula.
- \$158 million for the Biological Threat Reduction program, up from the requested \$148 million.

In addition, Congress rejected the Pentagon's request to put conventional warheads on the US's fleet of Trident nuclear submarines. There was concern that the rest of the world would have a difficult time differentiating between a conventional and a nuclear launch from the subs.

Congress also took some steps to slow down the proposed missile defense installations in Poland and the Czech Republic. Funding was barred for "procurement, site activation, construction, preparation of equipment for, or deployment of a long-range missile defense system in Europe."

Looking ahead to January 2009 when a new President and Commander in Chief takes the reigns, Congress called for two separate nuclear posture reviews. These will be done in 2008 the first by a 12 member congressional commission, the other by the Secretary of Defense Robert Gates (see National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008 Section 1070). The criteria for the reviews include the relationship between US nuclear policy and arms control objectives. However, there is no reference to the US obligation to achieve nuclear disarmament under Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

A more ambitious call for specific nuclear disarmament steps was made in the Nuclear Weapons Threat Reduction Act of 2007 (S.1977) introduced in the Senate on 2 August 2007 by Senators

Barack Obama (D-IL) and Chuck Hagel (R-NE). This bi-partisan initiative calls for deeper reduction in nuclear forces, taking existing nuclear forces off alert status, taking steps to end civilian use of highly enriched uranium, maintaining a moratorium on nuclear testing, conclusion of a verified fissile material treaty, and creation of an international nuclear fuels bank to prevent the development of proliferation-sensitive technologies around the world.



Senator Barack Obama.

There were also a number of more ambitious nuclear disarmament initiatives from individual congress members. Representative Lynn Woolsey (D-CA), for example, introduced HRES 68 IH calling for the elimination of nuclear weapons globally. Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) introduced S. 1914 which specifically calls on the nuclear posture review to consider nuclear disarmament obligations under Article VI of the NPT. Representative Ellen Tauscher (D-CA), Chair of the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Strategic Forces, introduced H. RES. 882 calling on the Senate and House to ratify the CTBT.

Mr Howard Berman (D-CA) Acting Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, introduced H. RES. 711 calling for specific non-proliferation requirements for the US-India nuclear technology deal and on the Nuclear Suppliers Group to not relax its guidelines for nuclear technology transfers until such non-proliferation requirements are met. Senator Harry Reid (D-NV), Democratic Leader in the U.S. Senate, introduced S.650 calling for an extension of medical provisions for veterans from the Nevada nuclear tests. Senator Jeff Bingaman (R-NC), Senior Member of the Senate Finance Committee, introduced S.1756 calling for supplemental compensation to the Republic of the Marshall Islands for impacts of the US nuclear testing program

US Congress Update cont...

conducted there in the 1950s-1960s. Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC) introduced the H.R.1826. IH which calls for nuclear disarmament and conversion of the nuclear weapons industry into constructive, ecologically beneficial peacetime activities.

A number of US Congress members have also taken actions outside of congress on these issues. Congressman Ed Markey (D-MA), Co-Chair of the Bipartisan Task Force on Non-Proliferation, has held events and released a number of reports, statements and letters on the US-India nuclear technology deal, safety of US nuclear weapons, START treaty renewal, strengthening the NPT, North Korea negotiations, non-use of force



Ellen Tauscher, Chair of the Armed Services Subcommittee on Strategic Forces.

in dealing with nuclear proliferation, and implementation of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission (headed by Dr Hans Blix).

Senator Barack Obama has spoken on the issue during the US Presidential campaign, and has indicated that if he becomes US President he will undertake an ambitious initiative to pave the way for a nuclear weapons free world. "Here's what I'll say as President: America seeks a world in which there are no nuclear weapons" (2 October 2007, Chicago).

PNND is active in Washington primarily through its parent and partner organisations, Global Security Institute (GSI) and Bipartisan Security Group (BSG), which maintain close advisory relations with a number of congressional offices.

On May 3 and 4, 2007, a delegation comprising Ambassador Thomas Graham, Jr., Chairman of the Bipartisan Security Group, Jonathan Granoff, President of the Global Security Institute, and Dr. Hans Blix, Chairman of the Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) Commission, advocated timely policies on international security in the US Congress and to the International Law Section of the American Bar Association. Specifically, the delegation discussed issues including: the nuclear

Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference in 2010; Iran, North Korea, and Iraq; the new United States space policy and the need to prevent the weaponisation of outer space and; the need for US leadership in a global, cooperative security regime. The event was covered by Fox News and was posted prominently on the homepage of Congressman Markey's website.

On November 15, the Bipartisan Security Group (BSG) hosted a briefing on Capitol Hill entitled "International Policies to Reduce Biothreats." Former Chief US Weapons Inspector in Iraq David Kay moderated a panel comprised of BSG expert Dr. Barry Kellman and Partnership for Global Security Executive Director Dr. Kenneth Luongo, as they discussed various policies, challenges and recommendations for strengthening the prohibition regime on biological weapons.



Rep Edward Markey welcomes Hans Blix

Five Women Leaders elected as Co Presidents of PNND



Hon Marian Hobbs, Alexa McDonough, Mikyung Lee, Uta Zapf and Abacca Anjain Madisson.

On 12 October 2007, five leading women parliamentarians from the global north and south were elected to be the inaugural Co-Presidents of the Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament. Alexa McDonough (Canada), Marian Hobbs (Aotearoa-New Zealand) Mikyung Lee (South Korea), Uta Zapf (Germany) and Senator Abacca Anjain Madisson (Marshall Islands) will lead this emerging force of 500 legislators from over 70 countries in global parliamentary initiatives to prevent nuclear proliferation and advance nuclear disarmament.

Each of the women has demonstrated considerable leadership in her own country and internationally.

Hon. Marian Hobbs has held the positions of Minister for Disarmament and Arms Control, Minister for the Environment, Minister Responsible for Overseas Development Aid, Minister for Broadcasting and Associate Minister for Education. She has been active internationally in the Commission on Sustainable Development, United Nations General Assembly (Disarmament and

International Security Committee), Conference on Disarmament and other bodies. She has also been active in the adoption and implementation of New Zealand's pioneering anti-nuclear legislation.

Senator Abacca Anjain Madisson is from Rongelap – an atoll in the Pacific which had to be abandoned due to radioactive fallout from nuclear testing. She has led the efforts of the Marshall Islands to receive compensation from the United States for the loss of land, environmental destruction and health problems in the islands resulting from the tests.

Alexa McDonough was the first woman leader of the Canadian New Democratic Party and is currently the New Democratic Party Critic for International Development, International Cooperation and Peace Advocacy. She has also been a leader in numerous national and international social action groups and human rights organizations.

Uta Zapf is the Chair of the Bundestag (German Parliament) Sub-Committee on Disarmament Arms Control and

Non-proliferation, and is the Deputy Spokeswoman for Foreign Policy of the Social Democrats in the Bundestag. She has been a leader internationally on non-proliferation issues, including on a new parliamentarians' initiative to ensure that nuclear technology assistance to countries is conditional on their integration into non-proliferation and disarmament measures and mechanisms. This initiative applies in the first instance to the US-India nuclear deal.

Mikyung Lee is a leading figure in the South Korean National Assembly and in North East Asia advancing cross-party and regional initiatives to advance denuclearization in the region including the Six Party process and proposals for a North-East Asian Nuclear Weapon Free Zone.

The Co-Presidents replace Senator Emeritus Douglas Roche, who founded PNND and served as its interim Chair until now. PNND thanks Senator Roche for his leadership and in bringing PNND to this new stage of its growth and development.

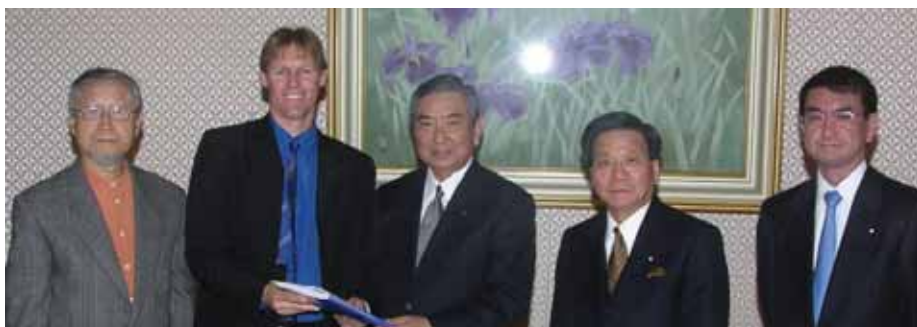
PNND Japan considers US-India deal and Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone

Hiromichi Umebayashi, PNND North-East Asia Coordinator

The Japan section of PNND held its general assembly on 20th November, 2007 with Alyn Ware, PNND Global Coordinator as a guest speaker. At the Assembly, PNND revised its articles in accordance with the name change of the global PNND and elected new directors. Among others, they expressed their concerns about the U.S.-India nuclear deal and agreed to have a seminar on the issue to explore a possible joint statement.

Prior to the Assembly PNND Japan sent a letter to all the MPs to inform them about the network and invite them to join. Since there was a Senate election in July 2007 there were a number of new parliamentarians that had not known about PNND. Accordingly eight new names were added to the PNND Japan member list, with 52 members in all.

The Peace Depot, a respected NGO for peace in Japan, will host a Parliamentary forum on "Possibility of a Northeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone," with support of the Peace Studies Association of Japan, in Tokyo in 2008. Parliamentarians from each of the five major political parties will join as panelists. A positive backdrop for this event is that Nuclear Disarmament Group of Democratic Party Japan, which now holds a majority in the Upper House, has been drafting a treaty for such Zone.



*Alyn Ware, PNND Global Coordinator, presents a copy of *Securing our Survival* to Yohei Kono, Speaker of the Japan House of Representatives. They are joined by Hiromichi Umebayashi, Tsuneo Suzuki (President of PNND Japan) and Taro Kono (Secretary-General of PNND Japan).*

G8 SPEAKERS SUMMIT ON PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

Yohei Kono, Speaker of the Japan House of Representatives, announced on 1 November 2007 that Japan would host a G8 Speakers Summit on Peace and Disarmament to be held in Hiroshima in September 2008. Japan is hosting the G8 Heads of State Summit in July, and there is a general practice for the host country to also hold a Summit of the Speakers of the G8 parliamentary assemblies.

Yohei Kono noted that peace and the environment are the most imperative issues for the international community to address. As the Summit of G8 Heads of State will deal with environmental issues, it was appropriate for the Speakers Summit to deal with peace. "Hiroshima is a good place to send messages to encourage action for peace including nuclear abolition" said Kono.

As Kono has received positive responses from the Speakers of the other G8 countries, including from Nancy Pelosi the Speaker for the US House of Representatives, plans are now underway to make this an historic event in the first city to be bombed by a nuclear weapon.

On 20 November Tsuneo Suzuki (President of PNND Japan), Taro Kono (General Secretary of PNND Japan), Alyn Ware (PNND Global Coordinator) and Hiromichi Umebayashi (PNND North East Asia Coordinator) met with Yohei Kono to discuss parliamentary support for the Speakers Summit and to present Mr Kono with the Model Nuclear Weapons Convention (draft treaty on nuclear abolition) and a copy of the book *Securing our Survival: The Case for a Nuclear Weapons Convention*.

PNND International Conference and Council Meeting – 10-12 July 2008

*Pugwash, Parliamentarians and Political Will:
Advancing the Agenda for Abolition*

Legislators from around the world join with disarmament experts at the historic Thinkers Lodge in Pugwash, venue for the formation of the Nobel Laureate organization of Pugwash scientists in 1957.

Leadership changes in the Nuclear Weapon States are providing new opportunities for progress towards nuclear disarmament.

Legislators can help generate sufficient political will and action to achieve nuclear abolition.

Contact alyn@pnnd.org for more information.



*Thinkers Lodge, Pugwash
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