



NPT NEWS IN REVIEW

Civil society perspectives on the 2015 Review Conference of the
nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), 27 April–22 May 2015



Reaching Critical Will

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The *NPT News in Review* is a daily publication produced by the Reaching Critical Will programme of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom during meetings of NPT states parties.

See reachingcriticalwill.org for information, statements, papers, reports, archived *NPT News in Reviews*, and more from the NPT.

EDITORIAL: WE CAN WAIT NO LONGER

Ray Acheson | *Reaching Critical Will of WILPF*

Five years after the adoption of the NPT Action Plan in 2010, compliance with commitments related to nuclear disarmament lags far behind those related to non-proliferation or the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Yet during the same five years, new evidence and international discussions have emphasised the catastrophic consequences of the use of nuclear weapons and the unacceptable risks of such use, either by design or accident. Thus the NPT's full implementation, particularly regarding nuclear disarmament, is as urgent as ever. One of the most effective measures for nuclear disarmament would be the negotiation of a legally-binding instrument prohibiting and establishing a framework for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

Not everyone sees it that way. In fact, ahead of the 2015 Review Conference, the NPT nuclear-armed states and some of their nuclear-dependent allies have argued that any such negotiations would "undermine" the NPT and that the Action Plan is a long-term roadmap that should be "rolled over" for at least another review cycle.

This is an extremely retrogressive approach to what should be an opportunity for meaningful action. Negotiating an instrument to fulfill article VI of the NPT would hardly undermine the Treaty. On the contrary, it would finally bring the nuclear-armed states into compliance with the legal obligations.

Those countries that possess or rely on nuclear weapons often highlight the importance of the NPT for preventing proliferation and enhancing security. Yet these same countries, more than any other states parties, do the most to undermine the Treaty by preventing, avoiding, or delaying concrete actions necessary for disarmament.

It is past time that the NPT nuclear-armed states and their nuclear-dependent allies fulfill their responsibilities, commitments, and obligations—or risk undermine the very treaty regime they claim to want to protect. Their failure to implement their commitments presents dim prospects for the future of the NPT. The apparent expectation that this non-compliance can continue in perpetuity, allowing not only for continued possession but also modernisation and deployment of nuclear weapon systems, is misguided.

Instead, we need new international law, coupled with implementation of existing agreements and obligations. We need a process of change that involves stigmatising, prohibiting, and eliminating nuclear weapons is necessary.

This process requires a legally-binding international instrument that clearly prohibits nuclear weapons based on their unacceptable consequences. Such a treaty would put nuclear weapons on the same footing as the other weapons of mass destruction, which are subject to prohibition through specific treaties. A treaty banning nuclear weapons would build on existing norms and reinforce existing legal instruments, including the NPT, but it would also close loopholes in the current legal regime that enable states to engage in nuclear weapon activities or to otherwise claim perceived benefit from the continued existence of nuclear weapons while purporting to promote their elimination.

NPT states parties need to ask themselves how long we can wait for disarmament. This year, the year of the 70th anniversary of the US atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, is a good place to start. •

WOMEN'S POWER TO STOP WAR

Gabriella Irsten | Reaching Critical Will of WILPF

On 28 April 1915, about 1300 women met in The Hague to oppose World War I. Right there and then, they initiated the birth of the longest surviving women's peace organisation in the world, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).

Today WILPF members, hundreds of partner organisations, governments, academics and students are gathering in The Hague to participate in our 100th anniversary celebration. WILPF is hosting an international conference over the next three days, the objective of which is to discuss how to prevent and stop wars, to promote the principles of permanent peace, and to encourage gender diversity participate in peace making. The Conference will highlight issues relevant to peacemaking that are often overlooked by the international community as reflected by the WILPF Integrated Approach, combining human rights, disarmament, and the Women, Peace and Security agenda to reach sustainable, global peace, based on human rights and the dignity of humankind.

WILPF has for 100 years worked tirelessly to stop war and achieve sustainable peace and disarmament to enhance human security for all. We know now what we knew then, that only when we analyse conflict from a gender perspective, integrating disarmament, human rights, the environment, and economic and social justice holistically will we be able to eradicate the root causes of conflict.

Gender shapes the impact of weapons and violence on societies and is therefore relevant in all disarmament discussions, including nuclear disarmament. Nuclear

weapons are not just weapons of mass destruction but they are also political tools that are linked to power.

Power structures are gendered where men tend to hold the most political, economic, religious, and cultural power. Therefore we need to think about how nuclear weapon policies and discussions are influenced by militarism and masculinity and how gendered language—such as hard vs. soft security or strong/weak, active/passive, state security/human security, etc.—play a role in disarmament and non-proliferation debates. Gender politics shape policy makers assumptions and aspirations, which effect whose security is taken into consideration and who is participating in the discussions.

WILPF, as the first organisation to uniquely provide a gender perspective on issues of peace and security, has, is, and will be a powerful and necessary voice in global peacemaking. We encourage you to follow our centennial conference and celebration at www.womenstopwar.org and on Twitter at @WILPF, @RCW_, and @Peace-Women. •

This will be the only edition of the NPT News in Review published this week, because the Reaching Critical Will team is in The Hague celebrating WILPF's 100th anniversary and developing a new international agenda for peace. Daily reporting and analysis will resume on Monday, 4 May 2015, with a summary of deliberations from the first week.

"Women's organizations have long been at the forefront (of disarmament.) I congratulate the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom on its 100th anniversary and pay tribute to its members for their unwavering contribution to the cause of humanity."

Ban Ki-moon
UN Secretary General
March 2015

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The views expressed in this publication are not necessarily those of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom or the Reaching Critical Will programme.



WE NEED MORE DISARMAMENT—YESTERDAY

Mia Gandenberger | *Reaching Critical Will of WILPF*

Some states, both nuclear-armed and nuclear-dependent, have characterized the 2010 NPT Action Plan as a “long-term road map” and are now advocating for an updated rollover of the Plan during the 2015 Review Conference.

What would such a plan look like?

In 2000, NPT states parties already agreed on 13 practical steps for the systematic and progressive disarmament of the world’s nuclear weapons. These built upon the principles and objectives agreed at the 1995 Review Conference, which in turn were based on an agenda of steps for nuclear arms control first envisioned in the 1950s.

Are we seriously considering extending an agenda from the 1950s until 2020? Is this really the best that the world can hope for after all this time?

It is true there have been reductions of nuclear arsenals since the Cold War. But most of these reductions occurred before the 2010 Review Conference. And they have been matched with modernisation programmes, through which the nuclear-armed states have invested billions of dollars to extend the lives and “upgrade” their remaining arsenals.

Furthermore, reductions are not disarmament. Reductions do not take away the risk of use, intentional

or accidental. Reductions do not fulfill article VI’s obligations for multilateral negotiations for nuclear disarmament and cessation of the nuclear arms race. And reductions are ineffective if nuclear-armed states continue to modernise and improve their nuclear weapons and delivery systems.

For this Review Conference, 45 years after the Treaty entered into force and, more importantly, 70 years since the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, states parties need to examine the bigger picture. Will another agreement on steps or building blocks lead to nuclear disarmament as called for in article VI?

Those states parties that have already resolutely agreed that nuclear weapons are not necessary for their security should make their voices heard in 2015. They are many and they matter!

Those states parties that possess or rely on nuclear weapons should consider how much longer “the grand bargain” of the NPT can hold if they continue to refuse to implement their commitments and obligations.

This Review Conference needs to address the concerns of all states parties, not only those of the nuclear weapon-addicted minority. Otherwise, the NPT can no longer be considered a “cornerstone” for nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, which many claim it is, because the burden for it to carry will be too heavy. •

NUCLEAR FAMINE AND THE BAN TREATY: HOW PROHIBITING AND ELIMINATING NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAN PREVENT A CLIMATE DISASTER

Tuesday, April 28 — 1:15 pm — Conference Room C

Speakers

Alan Robock Distinguished Professor, Department of Environmental Sciences,
Rutgers University
Ira Helfand Co-President, IPPNW

The use of a small fraction of existing nuclear arsenals in a limited, regional nuclear war could disrupt the global climate and agricultural production so severely that two billion people or more would be at risk of starvation. The scientific and medical evidence makes a compelling case that full implementation of Article VI of the NPT can no longer be postponed. This potential climate disaster and nuclear famine requires immediate action to ban and eliminate nuclear weapons.

Sponsor—International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War



WOULD LOCKHEED MARTIN EVER STOP MAKING NUCLEAR BOMB PARTS?

Susi Snyder | PAX

Overall, the majority of the world agrees that nuclear weapons are just unacceptable. How then, can their elimination be facilitated by the actions of those who don't have them? What pressures can be realistically brought to bear? Looking at examples of other indiscriminate weapons some lessons can be taken and applied to nuclear bombs.

Increasing the stigma around nuclear weapons, and demonstrating whole of society opposition to possession of nuclear weapons, helps negotiation efforts to make them illegal, which in turn, facilitates their elimination. No weapon (to my knowledge) has ever been eliminated before it was outlawed. No weapon is outlawed without first becoming stigmatised.

The Don't Bank on the Bomb project shows how financial institutions are wary of the stigma associated with nuclear weapons and have policies to ban investments. Public exclusions by financial institutions have a stigmatizing effect on companies associated with illegitimate activities. While it is unlikely that divestment by a single financial institution would create sufficient pressure on a company for it to end its involvement in nuclear weapons work, divestment by even a few institutions based on the same ethical objection can impact a company's strategic direction.

For example, in the Stop Explosive Investments campaign, the focus is disinvestment from cluster munitions producers. Cluster munitions, unlike nuclear weapons, have been clearly outlawed through a specific international treaty. Nevertheless, not every country has stopped making or buying cluster bombs. Yet the disinvestment campaign has had a clear and significant effect.

One of the best examples is Lockheed Martin. They said in a letter to PAX: "I hope our cessation of the activities in the area of cluster munitions would enable our removal from prohibited investment firms and allow investors to consider Lockheed Martin for inclusion in their portfolios."

This suggests that pressure from the financial world had had an impact. It stopped a producer from producing an illegitimate weapon, even though those weapons were still being sold. As work continues to stigmatise, prohibit, and eliminate nuclear weapons, cutting off the money from companies associated with nuclear weapons will help force their elimination from arsenals, as the components necessary to keep them operational may no longer be built. •

THE HUMANITARIAN PUSH TO PROHIBIT NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Tim Wright | International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons

Not all states parties to the NPT have failed to make meaningful progress towards nuclear disarmament since the 2010 Review Conference. Certainly, the nuclear-armed states have fallen abysmally short of fulfilling their agreed actions. But a large number of the non-nuclear-armed states have, in fact, made very significant contributions towards implementing article VI of the Treaty—most notably through the "humanitarian initiative".

This initiative stems from the deep concern expressed in the Final Document of the 2010 Review Conference "at the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons". Since March 2013, three major intergovernmental conferences have been convened to examine these consequences, with the aim of reinvigorating international efforts to achieve nuclear disarmament. Their success has vastly exceeded expectations.

The most recent such conference, held in Vienna in December 2014, attracted the participation of 158 states and concluded with a landmark Pledge "to fill the legal gap for the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons ... in light of their unacceptable humanitarian consequences and associated risks". Many states have since endorsed the Pledge by formal diplomatic means, signalling their intent to work with relevant stakeholders "to stigmatize, prohibit and eliminate nuclear weapons".

Unlike other weapons of mass destruction, nuclear weapons have not yet been explicitly banned under international law. By correcting this legal anomaly, states hope to establish a powerful new norm against nuclear weapons that would facilitate more rapid progress towards nuclear disarmament. The envisaged ban treaty would complement and reinforce the NPT, and constitute an "effective measure" as required by Article VI.

Some states that oppose the idea of banning nuclear weapons due to their reliance on US "extended nuclear deterrence" have acknowledged that there is great support for this proposal. Australia, for example, said late last year: "The ban treaty idea is gaining the support of an increasing number of states ... We expect momentum for a near-term nuclear weapons ban treaty will grow in the lead-up to the 2015 NPT Review Conference."

The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) believes that negotiations on a ban treaty should begin in 2015, even if the nuclear-armed states refuse to participate. The 70th anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—to be marked in August 2015—is an appropriate milestone by which to initiate such a diplomatic process. •





*Diplomats, Parliamentarians and NGOs are invited
to join experts and analysts to explore and discuss*

Irreconcilable Differences

The "Modernization" of Nuclear Weapons and the Disarmament We Seek

Tuesday, April 28, 2015

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ROOM C

3:00 - 6:00PM

Panel I • 3:00PM: Global "Modernization" of Nuclear Weapons & Bomb Plants
with Hans Kristensen, Federation of American Scientists; Natalia Mironova, former legislator,
Movement for Nuclear Safety, Russia; Jean-Marie Collin, French Coordinator, Parliamentarians
for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament; Dave Webb, CND, UK; Wilbert van der Zeijden,
PAX, Netherlands; moderated by Marylia Kelley, Tri-Valley CAREs, USA.

Panel II • 4:30PM: U.S. "Modernization" of Nuclear Weapons & Bomb Plants
with Matthew McKinzie, Natural Resources Defense Council; Ralph Hutchison, Oak Ridge En-
vironmental Peace Alliance; Marylia Kelley, Tri-Valley CAREs, Livermore; Jay Coghlan, Nuclear
Watch New Mexico; moderated by Rick Wayman, Nuclear Age Peace Foundation.

THE ALLIANCE FOR NUCLEAR ACCOUNTABILITY

TRI-VALLEY CAREs :: NUCLEAR WATCH NEW MEXICO

OAK RIDGE ENVIRONMENTAL PEACE ALLIANCE :: NUCLEAR AGE PEACE FOUNDATION

with funding support from the Jane Addams Peace Association Disarmament Fund

THE MARSHALL ISLANDS' NUCLEAR ZERO LAWSUITS

On April 24, 2014, the Republic of the Marshall Islands filed unprecedented lawsuits against the world's nine nuclear-armed nations for breaches of Article VI of the NPT and customary international law.

One year later, find out where the lawsuits stand from some of the primary figures involved in the legal actions:

Tony de Brum, Foreign Minister, Republic of the Marshall Islands
Laurie Ashton, Lead Counsel for the RMI in the lawsuit in U.S. Federal Court
David Krieger, President, Nuclear Age Peace Foundation
Moderated by **John Burroughs**, Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy

Monday, April 27 -- 1:15 - 2:45 p.m. -- Conference Room C



WWW.NUCLEARZERO.ORG

NUCLEAR AGE PEACE FOUNDATION
*Committed to a world free of nuclear weapons
wagingpeace.org*



IN PURSUIT OF ACCOUNTABILITY

Rick Wayman | Nuclear Age Peace Foundation

At last year's NPT PrepCom, the Hon. Tony de Brum, Foreign Minister of the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI), spoke at the opening session. Referring to the Nuclear Zero Lawsuits that had just been filed by his country against the nine nuclear-armed states, he said, "The NPT itself is not a light switch to be turned on and off at convenience—States must be held to full accountability for violations of the Treaty or in abusing withdrawal provisions—a matter of concern for every nation, and the wider global community that defines us all."

The RMI continues its pursuit of accountability for nuclear-armed states' breaches of article VI of the NPT and customary international law. Lawsuits are proceeding at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) against the United Kingdom, India, and Pakistan, and in US Federal Court against the United States.

While lawsuits were filed at the ICJ against all nine nuclear-armed states individually, only the UK, India, and Pakistan accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court. The other six nations have either explicitly declined to participate in the case (China) or have maintained a deafening silence about the case against them (United States, Russia, France, Israel, and DPRK).

Outside of the ICJ process, the United States successfully sought dismissal of the lawsuit that RMI filed in US Federal District Court. In a troublesome argument that calls into question the meaning of many international treaties, including the Geneva Conventions, the US government claimed that the Executive Branch has exclusive ability to decide when to comply with a treaty. In such a scenario, the Judicial Branch has no ability to order compliance with a ratified treaty.

In April 2015, RMI filed a Notice of Appeal to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, one step below the US Supreme Court. The timeline for the appeal depends in part on procedural motions filed by the United States, but the appeal will likely be decided in 2015.

As this year's NPT Review Conference gets underway, two main points highlighted in the Nuclear Zero Lawsuits continue to be of extreme importance:

"Cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date." The NPT entered into force over 45 years ago. Each of the nuclear-armed states present at this Review Conference is engaged in modernisation of its nuclear forces. While many nuclear-armed states have achieved a quantitative reduction in their deployed nuclear arsenals over the past couple of decades, they are actively

engaged in a qualitative nuclear arms race that will create nuclear weapons and delivery systems that are usable through the end of the 21st century.

"Pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to ... nuclear disarmament." Far from pursuing meaningful nuclear disarmament negotiations, the nuclear-armed states continue to cling to their arsenals and repeatedly insist that their nuclear weapons are indispensable to their national security. The UK has perhaps been the most outspoken in this regard, stating, "We consider that nuclear weapons have helped to guarantee our security, and that of our allies, for decades."

Civil society support has been strong for the Marshall Islands' principled stand. A petition in support of the Marshall Islands has received well over 5 million signatures, led by a strong effort from the Youth Division of Soka Gakkai in Japan. Over 80 civil society organisations from around the world are actively supporting the campaign.

The Marshall Islands' bold lawsuits demonstrate to the world the way forward to achieve nuclear disarmament. Non-nuclear-armed states can no longer accept the status quo of toothless action plans and empty promises. The time for courageous action is now.

More information on the Nuclear Zero Lawsuits and the NGO campaign is available at www.nuclearzero.org. •

As this is the only NIR for this week, please consult the calendar of events on our website.

You can find it here:

<http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/disarmament-fora/npt/2015/calendar>



GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

Kevin Miletic | SCRAP

Why is Angela Kane, UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, calling for a revival of general and complete disarmament (GCD) in the context of the NPT?

“People forget that GCD—which integrates WMD disarmament with conventional arms control—is a goal also found in a dozen multilateral treaties.... Some useful questions to ask would include—how are they still relevant, can they be adapted to present conditions, do they offer a means to reconcile WMD disarmament with conventional arms control, and can they help in strengthening the Charter’s system for maintaining international peace and security? ... This might also offer the best scenario for the future of the NPT, the future of the non-proliferation regime, and the future of international peace and security.”

At a time when nuclear-armed states fall short of fulfilling their disarmament commitments, it might be useful, as Ms. Kane points out, to pause for a minute, draw lessons from the past, and reflect on their relevance and applicability.

Without going back to the Hague Conferences of the late 19th century, one can observe that in the late 1950s and early 1960s the question of GCD occupied a central place on the agenda. “Realists” still view those discussions on GCD as serving mere propagandistic purposes. However, one must remember that many current disarmament processes have been conceptualised under the umbrella of GCD discussions between Western, Eastern, and Non-Aligned countries.

Indeed, the NPT is clearly a by-product of the Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament (1962–1969),

whose mandate (A/RES/16/1722) was to pursue negotiations on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. This GCD agenda was designed in a way that disarmament efforts should be undertaken without prejudicing progress on agreement on the comprehensive programme and in such a way that these efforts would facilitate and form part of that programme. In other words, the aim of this comprehensive approach was to establish delinked synergies between different disarmament efforts, thereby minimising the factual linkages and creating the conditions for progress. Nowadays, the infamous concept of GCD mentioned in article VI of the NPT is often used as an excuse to establish linkages between different types of weapons. However, this erroneous interpretation of article VI is in total contradiction with the spirit and the letter of the NPT.

Perhaps the time has come for NPT states parties to revisit the comprehensive approach put forward by the GCD agenda, even if only to explore once again the principle of delinked and mutually reinforcing disarmament efforts.

States parties have much to gain by re-discovering the rationale behind the NPT and previous disarmament processes that gave birth to this Treaty. This could provide them with badly needed practical tools to break the current stalemate.

1 HR’s remarks at the 2014 Moscow Nonproliferation Conference – “Outlook for the 2015 NPT Review Conference and Beyond: The Roles of the Russian Federation and the United States”

2 Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 19, document A/4879. •

70 YEARS AFTER HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI – TIME TO BAN NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Akira Kawasaki and Celine Nahory | Peace Boat

For decades, Hibakusha—survivors of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—have courageously and tirelessly spoken about their tragic experience of nuclear weapons to warn the world about their inhumane, immoral, and cruel effects, and to call for their total elimination.

Over the last few years, the renewed international focus on the humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons has given hope to Hibakusha, whose dream

to see a nuclear weapon free world has long been thwarted by the lack of progress in nuclear disarmament. This revived hope is that these weapons will be banned and the path for their elimination established during their lifetime.

Today, the average age of Hibakusha is about 80. Time is running out. Yet, realizing their dream of a world free of nuclear weapons is feasible. In fact, it is urgent and necessary.

continued on page 9





Join us at our
20th Anniversary Annual General Meeting
 Saturday, May 2, 2015
 9 am—6 pm
 Pace University
 One Pace Plaza, New York City

Please register in advance: www.abolition2000.org

"We call upon all states particularly the nuclear weapons states, declared and de facto, to ... initiate immediately and conclude negotiations on a nuclear weapons abolition convention that requires the phased elimination of all nuclear weapons within a timebound framework, with provisions for effective verification and enforcement."

Abolition 2000 Founding Statement, adopted during the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference



"We call... for a new security framework that will serve all humanity, based on respect for international law and Treaties, conflict prevention and co-operation through a reformed United Nations. We call for immediate negotiations to abolish nuclear weapons, ban all missiles, and keep space for peace. We envisage a world that is free of nuclear weapons, free of the resultant environmental contamination, and free of social and economic injustice. We affirm our belief that this new framework is more than practical and ethical. It is imperative for our planet's future."

Abolition 2000 Saffron Walden Declaration, May 2001



70 Years After Hiroshima and Nagasaki, continued

In Nayarit, Mexico, the Chair of the Second Conference on the Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons held in February 2014 stated in his summary that the “time has come to initiate a diplomatic process” for a new legal instrument. He proposed the 70th anniversary of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki attacks as “the appropriate milestone.”

At the Vienna Conference in December 2014, a number of survivors of nuclear tests and explosions from around the world spoke of the global nature of their suffering. Experts warned against the safety myth and demonstrated how real the risks are, even today. Hiroshima survivor Setsuko Thurlow enjoined governments to “move forward, courageously, by concretizing our vision” that “humanity and nuclear weapons cannot coexist.”

In what seemed an answer to their call, the Austrian government pledged “to cooperate with all relevant stakeholders” to “fill the legal gap for the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons.” Today, over 60 governments have endorsed the Pledge. The number and support for the launch of a process towards a ban is growing.

In the months to come, a number of commemorative peace ceremonies will be held in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, throughout Japan, and around the world.

From April to July 2015, a delegation of Hibakusha will travel the world onboard “Peace Boat Hibakusha Project: Global Voyage for a Nuclear-Free World”. Participating in a joint project by Peace Boat and Mayors for Peace called “I Was Her Age,” Hibakusha who were young children in 1945 will visit cities in 24 countries to give testimonies of the realities of the catastrophic devastation caused by nuclear weapons.

By telling their horrific stories to mayors, city officials, school children, and communities, Hibakusha hope to pass on their experience to future generations and appeal to citizens around the world to convince their governments to join a process to ban nuclear weapons.

Today, with only a few months left before the 70th anniversary, governments gathering in New York for the NPT Review Conference must face their responsibilities. This may well be the last NPT Review Conference during which delegates get to hear directly from Hibakusha, who have repeatedly urged that no one in the world ever endure what they have suffered. The only way to guarantee this is to abolish nuclear weapons. And now is time to establish a legal framework to do it. •



BAN THE BOMB, SAVE THE PLANET: A PERSPECTIVE FROM WITHIN A NUCLEAR-ARMED STATE

Greg Mello | Los Alamos Study Group

At this Review Conference, like all those preceding, there will be two competing systems of discourse regarding the continued possession of nuclear weapons.

One viewpoint says nuclear weapons have positive security value to those who possess them, if not for the whole world. They engender stability. They keep the peace. The security they create is extended to other states, which, by means of nuclear alliances, can also live beneath this alleged aegis of safety. Within this overall perspective, arms control is deployed to articulate policies like the preferences of Goldilocks in the fable: “just-right” arsenals and deployments, “just-right” transparency, a “just-right” roster of nuclear states, and so on. This is the “stable nuclear deterrence” perspective, in its welcoming “arms control” suit.

The other perspective reminds us that nuclear weapons provide no true security even to possessors and so-called “umbrella” states, are inherently transgressive of moral and legal norms, have no credible or legitimate military uses, and if they are considered legitimate for some they will also be considered legitimate for others. It immediately follows that if nuclear weapons are not legitimate they should, by definition, be banned.

In the United States, this second discourse is very rarely heard. Adopting it in civil society would have great political power—even prior to the appearance of a treaty, signed by a greater or a lesser number of states in the beginning, that bans the possession, development, production, use, and sharing of nuclear weapons.

It should be crystal clear by now that there is absolutely no interest in negotiating nuclear disarmament on the part of the US government. The arms control community is concerned that nuclear weapon modernisation threatens “the entire disarmament regime,” as one prominent article recently explained. As if there was one! Modernisation threatens the illusion of disarmament. How can a trillion-dollar commitment be explained away? Unlike an arms control discourse that glosses over the terrible reality of nuclear weapons, the so-called “humanitarian” perspective has the merits of being factually accurate, logically consistent, and harmonious with the moral pillars of human civilization and of every religion—as well as with the hard-won corpus of humanitarian law. No small differences, those.

This is not any kind of radical position. It’s merely a small part of the wider politics of solidarity, stewardship, and simplicity that we need to embrace desperate-

ly, if we would prevent mass extinction, quite possibly including our own, due to climate change and resource crises. Mass species extinction is now a guaranteed outcome of the “stable” economic and political relationships that are implied in “stable” nuclear deterrence. In truth there is nothing stable about nuclear deterrence—or more broadly, about the human prospect as a whole—today. The myth of stable deterrence is a fantasy, a professional convention among nuclear apologists akin to the belief that the earth is flat because all the authorities say it is.

Instead of a doomed quest for nuclear “stability” and “security,” it is a time when we need to fall head over heels in love with the planet and our human family and show it via political action.

History is advancing rapidly toward immense environmental and resource crises, which can be likened to a great wedge that we cannot control or evade. We have to pick which side we’re on. The time for neutrality and temporising is over. There’s the politics of aggressive war and ecological destruction on the one hand, or the politics of stewardship and solidarity on the other, with very little true middle ground.

Nuclear weapons are part and parcel of these wider political struggles, and their outcome bears in turn on nuclear policy. Nuclear weapons are not off in some neat little policy box by themselves where “experts” hold sway. They concern everyone and are everyone’s responsibility. •





Mayors for Peace

Hiroshima-Nagasaki Appeal Assembly

Monday, April 27; 2:00PM-4:00PM
One UN New York, 2nd floor Manhattan Room

* Located in front of United Nations Headquarters

The voices of A-bomb survivors and
 young leaders from Hiroshima and Nagasaki



Mayors for Peace Assembly

Wednesday, April 29; 10:30AM-12:00PM
UN Room C

Speeches from mayors of member cities, followed by a panel discussion on
 "The Role of Civil Society in Nuclear Weapons Abolition"

Mayors for Peace Youth Forum

- Messages from The Youth -

Thursday, April 30; 10:30AM-12:20PM
UN Room C

Youth presenters from Hiroshima, Nagasaki,
 Okinawa and Bangkok, and a video message
 from India



April 27 to May 22

The Mayors for Peace A-bomb Poster Exhibition takes place in the "Curved Wall"
 on the first floor of the conference building of the UN Headquarters.





Nuclear Weapons: Humanitarian Aspects and Legal Framework

Organized by
Hiroshima Prefectural Government (Japan)

Date & Time:	Place:
Wednesday, April 29 13:15-14:30	Conference Room C UN Headquarters

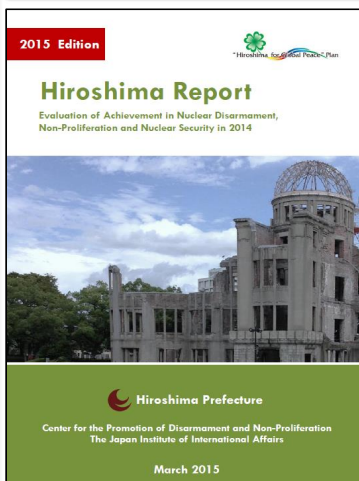
Speakers:

- **Nobuyasu Abe**, Commissioner, Japan Atomic Energy Commission *
- **John Burroughs**, Executive Director, Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy / Director, UN Office of International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA)
- **Angela Kane**, UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs
- **Alexander Kmentt**, Ambassador, Director, Austrian Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs
- **Hidehiko Yuzaki**, Governor, Hiroshima Prefecture
- **Hiroshima Mayor (President, Mayors for Peace)**

Chair:

- **Nobumasa Akiyama**, Hitotsubashi University *

* Amb. Abe and Prof. Akiyama are members of Hiroshima Prefecture's "Hiroshima for Global Peace" Plan Promotion Committee.



New publication

Hiroshima Report 2015: Evaluation of Achievement in Nuclear Disarmament, Non-proliferation and Nuclear Security in 2014

For further reading on our effort for nuclear disarmament, please refer to our report. *Hiroshima Report 2015: Evaluation of Achievement in Nuclear Disarmament, Non-Proliferation and Nuclear Security in 2014* can be downloaded at:

<http://www.pref.hiroshima.lg.jp/site/peace-en/hiroshimareport2015e.html>

For the "Hiroshima for Global Peace" Plan, please visit:

<http://www.pref.hiroshima.lg.jp/site/peace-en>

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