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*Mayors for Peace and PNND delegation with the Chair of the United Nations Disarmament Committee after the presentation of a joint statement on nuclear disarmament. From left to right: Aaron Tovish, Mayors for Peace; Donald Plusquellic, Mayor of Akron OH and Vice-Chair of Mayors for Peace; Ambassador Choi Young-jin, Chair of the United Nations Disarmament Committee; Alexa McDonough MP, Vice-Chair of PNND Canada; Alyn Ware, PNND Global Coordinator.*

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## Message from the Global Coordinator

*Dear PNND Members, Friends and Supporters,*

New Zealand Maori Hone Tuwhare, in his poem "No Ordinary Sun" laments that humanity and the living earth itself are powerless in the face of nuclear weapons. Their radiance is not that of life but of death, and that with their introduction to earth, the end of life is now written.

Tuwhare's concerns are shared by US Former Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara, who was one of the architects of the US nuclear weapons policy in the 1960s. Addressing the United Nations during the 2005 NPT Review Conference, and in a Foreign Policy article entitled Apocalypse Soon, McNamara noted that we have been incredibly lucky so far not to have destroyed ourselves through a nuclear exchange, and that new threats of proliferation and expanded nuclear doctrines make a nuclear disaster more probable now than ever.

2005 saw a continuing failure of multilateral fora to reign in the nuclear weapons States and the potential proliferators. The Conference on Disarmament remains deadlocked.

The NPT Review Conference produced nothing after four weeks of deliberations. And leaders at the UN Summit in September could not agree on even one word relating to nuclear weapons issues.

In this climate, it is vital that actions be taken by parliamentarians to advance nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament.

This issue of PNND News includes reports of a number of very interesting initiatives in which parliamentarians are acting or can act to prohibit nuclear weapons nationally and regionally and advance nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation internationally. We hope you are inspired by these to take further action, and that collectively we will prevent a nuclear apocalypse and prove Tuwhare wrong.



Alyn Ware  
PNND Global Coordinator

## About PNND

The Parliamentary Network for Nuclear Disarmament (PNND) is a non-partisan forum for parliamentarians, nationally and internationally, to share resources and information, develop cooperative strategies and engage in nuclear non proliferation and disarmament issues, initiatives and arenas. It is a program of the Global Security Institute and is guided by the steering committee of the Middle Powers Initiative.

PNND is dedicated to providing parliamentarians worldwide with up-to-date information on nuclear weapons policies and to helping parliamentarians become engaged in nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament initiatives.

PNND has over 400 members in more than 70 countries. There are cross-party PNND Sections in Aotearoa-New Zealand, Canada, Japan and South Korea. PNND has partnerships with cross party groups in Belgium, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

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## New Political Force: Mayors and Parliamentarians co-operating for nuclear disarmament



*Alex McDonough, Vice-Chair of PNND Canada, speaking at the 60th anniversary of the UN after presenting the mayors and parliamentarians joint statement*

A new political force has burst onto the international stage with the potential to demolish the logjam in nuclear disarmament negotiations and focus the popular will of democratic societies towards the start of nuclear disarmament negotiations.

The initiative, which links mayors and parliamentarians around the world, was launched on May 23 at the NPT Review Conference with the release of a joint statement calling on the States Party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) to commence negotiations for nuclear disarmament and for the international control of all fissile materials.

The statement is coordinated by the Parliamentary Network for Nuclear Disarmament and Mayors for Peace and has now been endorsed by 150 mayors and 250 legislators from 29 countries including Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Japan, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, the Republic of Korea, Russia, Spain, UK and USA. It notes the common objective of mayors and legislators "to protect the security of citizens living within our jurisdictions and to protect our localities for future generations," and that "Such security is not advanced when there remain 30,000 nuclear weapons, many of which are deployed and ready for use at short notice."

"Regardless of where nuclear weapons are targeted or detonated, or whether they are used by terrorist organisations or State militaries, no-one would escape the calamitous consequences of a nuclear attack. Even cities that are not the direct brunt of an attack would feel the global economic, social and medical repercussions, which would dwarf those of 9/11. Any nuclear weapons use would cause unimaginable devastation requiring massive aid, global effects from nuclear fall-out and a rise in refugees seeking to escape the most contaminated regions."

States are required under the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) to negotiate for nuclear disarmament, the most appropriate place for such negotiations being the UN established Conference on Disarmament (CD). However, traditional consensus procedures at the NPT and CD have resulted in multilateral nuclear disarmament negotiations being blocked since the adoption of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in 1996. The statement thus says that "If a small number of States continue to prevent such negotiations being initiated at the Conference on Disarmament and also at the NPT Review Conferences, then governments should be encouraged to find an alternative track to nuclear disarmament as was done with the Landmines Convention.

*Continued on page 10...*

## Parliamentary actions to support the NPT

From 2-27 May 2005 States party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) met at the United Nations in New York to discuss proposals for implementing and strengthening the NPT. Whilst the States party to the NPT failed to reach any agreement, the conference stimulated action in a number of parliaments, including Australia, Belgium, Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the United States and the European Parliament.

The **Australian Senate**, on March 10, adopted a resolution introduced by PNND member Senator Lyn Allison, which called on the nuclear weapons states and nuclear capable states not to develop new types of nuclear weapons, and called for concrete agreed steps by nuclear weapons states and nuclear capable states to lower the operating status of nuclear weapons systems in their possession.

The **Belgian Senate** adopted a resolution introduced by PNND members Patrik Vankrunkelsven and Dirk Van der Maelen, calling on the Belgian government to promote the adoption of a more strict disarmament road map and of concrete engagements for the coming 5 years, and to work for the removal of US nuclear weapons from Europe (see U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe twice the number previously suspected, page 4).

The **European Parliament** adopted a resolution which called on States party to the NPT to implement the NPT objective of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, and which urged the EU to work hard for the adoption of a Nuclear Weapons Convention. It cited the Model Nuclear Weapons Convention which has been deposited at the UN and which could provide a framework of steps within a legally binding disarmament process.

In the **United States** the House and the Senate issued concurrent resolutions, with bipartisan support, affirming Congressional support for the NPT, describing it as "one of the most important international security agreements of all time." (See US Congress, page 9).

# U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe twice the number previously suspected: Belgian Parliament calls for their withdrawal

The Belgian parliament, in resolutions adopted without opposition by the Senate on April 21 and the Chamber on July 7, has called on the Belgian government "to propose initiatives in NATO concerning the review of nuclear weapons strategic doctrines; the gradual withdrawal of the American tactical nuclear weapons from Europe as fulfillment of art. VI of the NPT; the application of the irreversibility principle on the non-presence of nuclear weapons in the new NATO member states; and steps towards a nuclear weapon free zone, formed by all NNWS (non-Nuclear Weapon States) in Europe."

The resolutions, which were introduced by PNND members Patrik Vankrunkelsven and Dirk Van der Maelen, were adopted following concern by Belgian parliamentarians that insufficient progress was being made on nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament through the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review process and at the United Nations Conference on Disarmament.

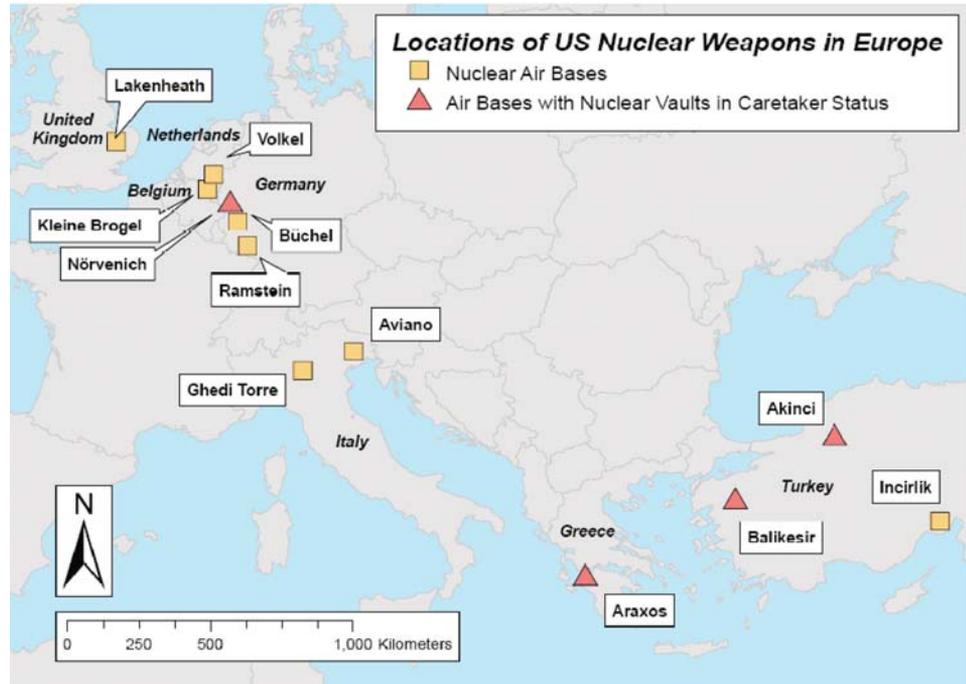


Table constructed by Hans Kristensen, NRDC.



Elevated Weapons Storage Vault (WSV) with B61 body in Protective Aircraft Hangar. Source: U.S. Nuclear Weapons in Europe: A review of post-Cold War policy, force levels, and war planning. Hans Kristensen, NRDC.

However, there were other reasons for the parliamentary resolutions receiving such strong support, including the very effective cross-party dialogue established by the Belgian Parliamentary Working Group for Nuclear Disarmament and Non-proliferation, strong lobbying by Belgian peace groups and the release of new information on the extent of continued deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe. For years parliamentarians have been requesting concrete information from the government and NATO on such deployments without success.

However, in February the Natural Resources Defence Council (NRDC) released a report based on declassified documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, military publications, commercial satellite imagery, and other documents indicating that up to 480 US nuclear weapons

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## Parliamentarians unite to end NATO nuclear sharing arrangements

93 parliamentarians from Belgium, Germany, Italy the Netherlands and the United Kingdom have united in a call on their governments and Turkey to end nuclear-weapons-sharing arrangements with the U.S. and remove U.S. nuclear weapons from Europe. The joint statement by the parliamentarians was released by the German branch of the International Physicians for the Prevention

of Nuclear War (IPPNW) in Berlin on September 13.

The United States is reported to have approximately 480 nuclear weapons deployed in Europe, with about 1/3 of these available for use by the military forces of the host countries if war should break out. The NATO nuclear-sharing countries - Belgium, Germany, Italy, the

Netherlands and Turkey – have nuclear cooperation agreements with the United States which include mutual development of nuclear-weapons-use plans, training of military personnel in the use of nuclear weapons and in defence against a nuclear attack, joint evaluation of nuclear capabilities of potential enemies,

[Continued on page 5...](#)

## Japan Parliament adopts resolution on nuclear abolition



*Tsuneo Suzuki, Chair of PNND Japan*

On August 2 the Japanese Diet (House of Representatives) adopted a resolution commemorating the 60th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the founding of the United Nations.

The resolution was introduced by Tsuneo Suzuki, Chair of PNND Japan. It notes the "doctrine of a permanent peace as stated in the Constitution of Japan," asserts that Japan is "the only country to have experienced the devastation of atomic bombings," and calls on the government to "do its utmost to carve out a future of sustainable human co-existence that includes the abolition of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, the avoidance of all wars and the pursuit of a World Federation of Nations."

While the resolution notes the unique situation of Japan being the victim of nuclear bombings, it also recognizes the suffering that Japan inflicted on other countries throughout history and paid tribute to the victims.

### *NATO nuclear sharing arrangements continued...*

development of delivery systems capable of carrying nuclear weapons, and arrangements for transfer of control of nuclear weapons to the host countries in time of conflict.

There have been suggestions that the nuclear sharing arrangements are against the spirit, if not the letter, of the Nonproliferation Treaty, which prohibits the transfer of nuclear weapons from Nuclear Weapons State (NWS) to non-NWS. More importantly the nuclear sharing arrangements could, according to IPPNW spokesperson Ute Watermann, drag NATO countries into a first-use of nuclear weapons by the United States using weapons deployed in Europe. New U.S. nuclear doctrine has strengthened the role of nuclear weapons in potential 'preventive' first strikes by the U.S.

IPPNW is continuing to collect signatures on the joint statement to support the campaign. For more information contact: Dr. Ute Watermann: +49-30-698074-18 [ippnw@ippnw.de](mailto:ippnw@ippnw.de); [www.ippnw.de](http://www.ippnw.de)

## Lawmakers back their governments on Iran's nuclear programme

Lawmakers in the US and Iran have, in the most part, rallied behind their respective governments in a growing dispute on Iran's civilian nuclear energy programme, providing little encouragement for a diplomatic solution.

On September 25, 180 members of the Majles Shoraye Eslami (Iranian National Assembly) denounced International Atomic Energy Agency Resolution GOV/2005/77 which calls on Iran to suspend uranium enrichment operations and reconsider the construction of a heavy water nuclear research reactor. This was followed by a vote on November 20, supported by 183 out of 197 lawmakers, on a bill requiring the government to resume uranium enrichment and end snap UN checks of its nuclear sites if Tehran is referred to the UN Security Council for possible sanctions.



*Mr Sirrus Naseri, Chief Iran Negotiator takes questions from reporters and journalist during a briefing after the IAEA Board of Governors meeting.*

The National Assembly members were supporting the Iranian government's position that the IAEA was taking a discriminatory and overly restrictive approach to Iran's nuclear energy programme, in violation of Iran's rights to nuclear technology under the NPT and at odds with the freedom given to other countries to pursue uranium enrichment and plutonium reprocessing technologies. The National Assembly members were also critical of the IAEA's determination that Iran was in non-compliance with its NPT safeguards agreement, and called for Iran to scale back cooperation with IAEA as a result.

In contrast, US Congress members have, in the most part, backed the US administration's position that Iran is in violation of IAEA safeguards agreements and could use uranium enrichment technology to produce nuclear weapons.



*U.S. Rep Mark Steven Kirk*

On September 20, Senator Rick Santorum introduced the Iranian Nuclear Trade Prohibition Act of 2005 (S.1737) which expresses concern that Iran, a nation that "has supported terrorist organizations and uses harsh rhetoric towards allies of the United States in the Middle East", should not be allowed to "develop nuclear weapons under the cover of a civilian nuclear power program." S.1737 supports the referral of Iran's nuclear programme to the UN Security Council and calls on the US to "prohibit entities that provide nuclear fuel assemblies to Iran from providing such assemblies to the United States."

In May 2005, US Rep Jim Saxton introduced H. CON. RES. 162 into the US House of Representatives condemning the Iranian civilian nuclear energy programme and supporting the referral of the issue to the UN Security Council for action against Iran.

However, not all US lawmakers support the US administration's approach. On June 14, Rep Mark Steven Kirk, Co-Chair of the US House Committee on Iran, introduced H. CON. RES. 177 expressing concern about Iran's civilian nuclear energy programme, but urging that the crisis be primarily resolved through diplomatic means. Res 177 expresses concern that military means to respond to the crisis are being contemplated and argues that other means, including economic sanctions, are available if diplomacy does not work.

## Pentagon Outlines Nuclear Pre-emption Policy

International concern about the pre-emptive use of force policies of the United States entered the nuclear realm recently following the release of information about the U.S. Defence Department's updated Doctrine for Joint Nuclear Operations. The draft doctrine statement outlines a more aggressive nuclear posture with weapons on high alert to strike adversaries armed with weapons of mass destruction (WMD), pre-emptively if necessary.

Other recent nuclear doctrine statements, including the Nuclear Posture Review, indicated that the US was moving away from a strict nuclear deterrence policy to one involving the potential use of nuclear weapons alongside conventional weapons in war-fighting. The latest draft doctrine is the first official affirmation that the U.S. would also consider using nuclear weapons in pre-emptive strikes, i.e. even if there had been no prior attack against the U.S. or its allies.

The policy is prompting some opposition in the U.S. Congress with Rep Barbara Lee introducing H. Res 82 which argues that the US pre-emptive doctrine violates U.S. and international law including the UN Charter (see U.S. Congress page 7).

On December 5 a group of U.S. Senators and Representatives wrote a letter to President Bush, expressing concern that "this new doctrine, if approved, could exacerbate the danger of nuclear proliferation by giving states of concern, such as North Korea and Iran, an excuse to maintain their nuclear weapons options and would send a green light to the world's nuclear states that it is permissible to use these weapons offensively."

*For more information see The Role of U.S. Nuclear Weapons: New Doctrine Falls Short of Bush Pledge, Hans M. Kristensen, Arms Control Today, September 2005. [www.armscontrol.org/act/2005\\_09/Kristensen.asp](http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2005_09/Kristensen.asp)*

## Parliamentarians join Nobel laureates in call to reduce readiness to use nuclear weapons

*In January 1995, Russian early warning systems detected a missile heading towards Moscow. Russian leaders were alerted that it may be a nuclear tipped missile launched by a US submarine. The "nuclear suitcase" which is used to give commands for a retaliatory strike, was "opened" in preparation for activation. It took eight minutes to conclude that the missile was not a nuclear missile – less than four minutes before the deadline for ordering a nuclear response.*



*Senator Lynn Allison (Australia) who introduced a resolution on the operational status of nuclear weapons*

Despite the end of the Cold War, thousands of nuclear weapons remain deployed on alert status capable of being used within minutes. In addition, the US and Russia maintain Launch-on-Warning (LOW) policies, i.e. the readiness to retaliate to a nuclear attack with a nuclear response as soon as notification of approaching missiles or imminent launch is received and prior to any detonation. To cap this off, nuclear weapon States, in particular the US, are developing new rationales and potential scenarios for the threat and use of nuclear weapons.

This triple combination of high alert status, LOW and new scenarios for threat or use, generates a very high risk of the potential use of nuclear weapons by design or miscalculation.

57 parliamentarians from 18 countries including Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Finland, Germany, India, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Russia, Sweden, Tanzania, the UK and the USA have joined 44 Nobel Laureates from around the world in an appeal calling on the States possessing nuclear weapons to reduce their operational status. This includes lowering the alert and deployment status of nuclear weapons and abandoning launch-on-warning and first use policies.

The appeal calls for parliamentary action on the issue, and to date, resolutions have been adopted by the Australian Senate and the European Parliament and introduced in the Brazilian Senate.

States party to the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) agreed at the 2000 NPT Review Conference to take concrete steps to reduce the operational status of nuclear weapons. However, since 2000 there has been zero progress in implementation of this commitment. In contrast, some NWS particularly the USA, have indicated a greater readiness to use nuclear weapons in a wider variety of scenarios than previously contemplated.

These developments have stimulated the launching of an international campaign calling on States possessing nuclear weapons to reduce their operational status. This could include, among other things, removing the nuclear warheads from the delivery systems (such as missiles), abandoning the launch-on-warning policy and pledging not to use nuclear weapons first. Such steps would build a firebreak between the emergence of any conflict involving NWS and the possible use of nuclear weapons.

In addition to the appeal, the International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA) has drafted a model United Nations resolution on operational status of nuclear weapons.

*For more information see [www.lcnp.org/disarmament/policypractice/index.htm](http://www.lcnp.org/disarmament/policypractice/index.htm)*

*Keep up to date on nuclear weapons developments and parliamentary actions on nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament.*

*Visit [www.pnnd.org](http://www.pnnd.org)*

## Parliamentary actions help swing tide against missile defense

In early 2004 then-Canadian Defence Minister David Pratt sent a letter to U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld calling for Canada's "closest possible" participation in the U.S. ballistic missile defence (BMD) program. The letter was an indication of the positions of both the U.S. administration and the Canadian government. The U.S. wanted Canada's participation to gain valuable political support for a program unpopular with a large number of countries and for the geographical and technical assets Canada could contribute. The Canadian government was trying to mend fences broken with their refusal to support the use of force against Iraq, and the possible defence contracts for Canadian companies which might be granted as part of joining the program.

However, the Canadian government's indication of possible participation in the BMD program stimulated considerable reaction from the public and from parliamentarians across the political parties, including from the governing party. There were concerns that the program could stimulate an arms race in outer space, increase the threats other countries would feel, and stimulate counter measures from



*Hon. Maria Minna, Chair of PNND Canada*

countries like China and Russia - including the building of new nuclear weapons.

The Canadian Section of PNND, chaired by the Hon. Maria Minna, held a series of parliamentary briefings and cross party discussions on the issue from November 2004 until February 2005. Speakers included former Canadian Ambassador for Disarmament Peggy Mason, UK Labour

MP Alan Simpson, former United States Ambassador Jonathan Dean, former US foreign service officer Greg Thielmann, and PNND Europe Coordinator Karel Koster.

In addition, debates were called in the House, parliamentary petitions against BMD were submitted and a motion against BMD, introduced by Mr. Claude Bachand, was adopted. The discussions strengthened parliamentarians' concerns about the BMD programs and resulted in opposition to the program across all political parties.

Information about the program from groups such as Polaris and the Physicians for Global Survival, increased public opposition to BMD from approximately 30% in 2003 to over 70% in late 2004, with 66% of Canadians telling pollsters that missile defence was an issue worth going to an election over (by comparison, only about 30% felt the same way about same-sex marriage).

The result of this very active public and parliamentary debate was that in late February the Canadian government announced its decision not to join the program.

## Parliamentarians and UN Security Council Resolution 1540



*United Nations Security Council in session. Photo: United Nations*

On April 28, 2004 the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1540 which requires all States to (a) take measures to prohibit non-State actors manufacturing, acquiring or using nuclear, chemical or biological weapons and their means of delivery, and (b) establish domestic controls to prevent proliferation of nuclear, chemical or biological weapons and their means of delivery including materials accounting, physical protection,

border controls, transit and trans-shipment controls and criminal and civil penalties.

In addition, the resolution encourages States to take other measures including: (a) universal adoption and implementation of non-proliferation treaties, (b) adoption of national rules to ensure full compliance with disarmament and non-proliferation obligations, (c) education of industry and public regarding such obligations and (d) cooperation with other States to achieve non-proliferation.

Parliaments and parliamentarians need to be engaged in some of these implementation measures, including the adoption of appropriate legislation and allocating funds for national implementation actions.

Parliamentarians also have a role in shaping governments' implementation efforts. Some parliamentarians, for example, have called on their governments to focus not only on addressing horizontal proliferation,

*Continued on page 15...*

## Parliamentarians attend first meeting of Nuclear Weapon Free Zone countries



Senator Dulce Maria Sauri Riancho (Mexico) and Mayor Gabino Aguirre (Santa Paula USA), co-Chairs of the Civil Society Forum

On April 27 a Civil Society Forum organized by the Parliamentary Network for Nuclear Disarmament (PNND) at the invitation of the Mexican government, brought together mayors, parliamentarians, academics, scientists, government officials, media, nuclear survivors and non-governmental organisations from around the world to discuss the role of nuclear weapon free zones in reducing nuclear dangers and achieving a nuclear weapons free world.

The Forum was part of the first ever Conference of States Parties to Nuclear Weapon Free Zones which was held in Mexico City and attended by

representatives of most of the 108 States parties to NWFZs as well as observer States, and is a first step in consolidating and strengthening the regional NWFZs

PNND Global Coordinator Alyn Ware, in presenting the Civil Society Forum report to the Conference, celebrated the fact that the initiative “establishes a new and powerful forum for the delegitimation and abolition of nuclear weapons.”

The Conference adopted a declaration concerning the consolidation, strengthening and expansion of nuclear weapon free zones, the prevention of nuclear proliferation and the achievement of a nuclear weapons free world.

In addition, the Conference established a process for continuing communication, cooperation and collaboration between the zones.

The Forum discussed a proposal that, if there continued to be no progress at the Non-Proliferation Treaty meetings and the Conference on Disarmament, States party to the NWFZs initiate deliberations or negotiations on a program or treaty for nuclear disarmament.

Alyn Ware noted that “States parties to NWFZs, having renounced nuclear weapons themselves, have the moral authority to require NWS to develop concrete plans and initiate ongoing steps towards complete nuclear disarmament.”

Pamela Meidell from Abolition 2000, reminded the Forum that “the nuclear age began in New Mexico (where the first nuclear bombs were constructed and tested) and perhaps this initiative from Mexico indicated that the older wiser Mexico will become known as the place where the end of the nuclear age was instigated.”



PNND Coordinator Alyn Ware presenting the Civil Society Forum Report to the final plenary

## Parliamentary Opposition to nuclear deal with India

On July 18 the United States signed a nuclear cooperation deal with India that astounded international nuclear policy analysts and signaled a tacit acceptance of India as a member of the “nuclear weapons club.”

The deal, allowing the resumption of nuclear technology trade with India, came as a surprise to the international community, including the other members of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG). Comprising 44 nuclear advanced States, the NSG had proscribed nuclear technology assistance or trade with India because India has refused to join the NPT or accept IAEA full-scope safeguards.

The deal also appears to contradict UN Security Council resolution - 1172 adopted

in response to the announcement by India and Pakistan in 1998 of a nuclear capability and their demonstration of this through nuclear weapons test explosions. Resolution 1172 calls specifically for all States to prevent the export of equipment, materials or technology that could in any way assist programmes in India or Pakistan for nuclear weapons. Although the July agreement includes provisions to prevent the nuclear technology being used for weapons purposes, it is not certain that such provisions will be honoured or adequately verified.

The deal has stimulated parliamentary opposition from a range of directions. Days after the Washington deal was

signed, a committee of the US House of Representatives resolved to block nuclear technology transfers to India due to concerns about the possible support it gives to nuclear proliferation in South Asia. In India there was opposition from the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) not against nuclear cooperation itself, but against the many restrictions and requirements placed on India in the agreement - restrictions that BJP felt were discriminatory. This included requirements for IAEA safeguards on some (but not all) Indian nuclear facilities – something not required of the US or other nuclear weapon States.

*Continued on page 10...*

# United States Congress

report by Jessica Kronish, International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms

## Resolutions in support of the NPT

Both the House and the Senate issued concurrent resolutions affirming Congressional support for the NPT, describing it as "one of the most important international security agreements of all time." Rep. Spratt (D-SC) introduced H.Con.Res.133 on 14 April, and Sen. Feinstein (D-CA) introduced S.Con.Res.36 on 23 May. Both resolutions urge all parties to the NPT to implement their disarmament obligations and commitments. The House resolution is more specific and more demanding, requiring a decrease in active and reserve stockpiles, a continuation of the nuclear test moratorium and ratification of the CTBT, and an agreement for the verifiable reduction of non-strategic (tactical) nuclear weapons. In addition, the preamble to the House resolution acknowledges the 2000 Review Conference agreement, which had "specific steps toward nonproliferation and disarmament." The resolutions were referred to the House Committee on International Relations and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, respectively.

## Rejection of doctrine of preemption, including nuclear preemption

H.Res.82, introduced by Rep. Lee (D-CA) on 9 February, declared that Bush's doctrine of preemption "far exceeds" the acceptable view of self-defense as promulgated in the UN Charter and international and American law. Thus, the preemption doctrine, including nuclear preemption, is disavowed. The bill was referred to the House Committee on International Relations.

## Push toward nuclear disarmament and conversion

Rep. Norton (D-DC) introduced H.R.1348, the Nuclear Disarmament and Economic Conversion Act of 2005 on 16 March. The Act requires all U.S. nukes to be disabled and dismantled, and resources used for nuclear weapons programs to be redirected to peaceful activities within 3 years of the Act taking effect. This will occur once the President certifies that all other states possessing nuclear weapons have established legal requirements comparable to those specified under the Act, and these requirements have taken effect. The bill was referred to the House Subcommittee on International Terrorism and Nonproliferation in April.

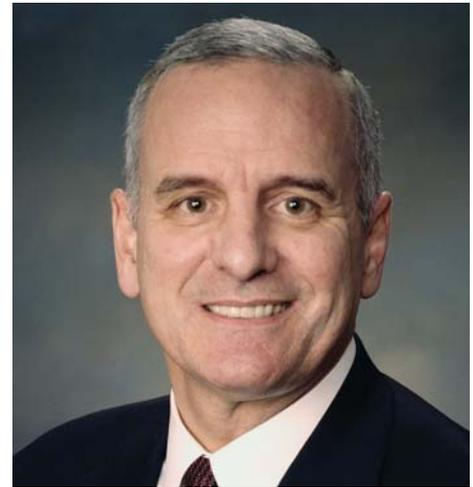
## Restrictions on nuclear testing

H.R.1194, introduced by Rep. Matheson (D-UT) on 9 March, applies to the Nevada Test Site and any other location that may be used for any future nuclear tests. The bill requires a detailed Environmental Impact Statement to be undertaken and made public prior to any test. Congressional authorization is required before tests can take place, and any tests must be preceded by public notice. In addition, a Nevada Test Site Citizens Review Board must be established, and community representatives from areas around the test site must be included on the Board. If a test is proposed, the Board must meet at least 180 days prior, and address the environmental, health, and safety issues surrounding the test. Lastly, radiation monitoring must be undertaken, with results publicly available via Internet within 24 hours of collection, and if radiation is found to be uncontained, all tests in the U.S. must stop. The bill was referred to the House Subcommittee on Strategic Forces in April.

## Appropriations for research on new and modified nuclear weapons

On October 25, Pete Domenici (R-NM), Chairman of the Senate Energy and Water Appropriations Subcommittee, announced that funds for the Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator (RNEP) – otherwise known as the nuclear bunker buster - would be scrapped from the 2006 budget. This refusal to fund the administration's request, resulted from growing bipartisan concern about the risks of U.S. plans to develop new, tactical nuclear weapons that could break the taboo against nuclear weapons use. David Hobson (R-OH), Chair of the House Energy and Water Appropriations Committee, for example, said "What worries me about the nuclear penetrator is that some idiot might try to use it."

The axing of the RNEP program does not however prevent the possibility of the development of new nuclear weapons. The administration managed to secure funding for the Reliable Replacement Warhead program which aims to develop a new generation of nuclear warheads by 2012-2015. The replacement warheads are supposedly being designed only to replace existing warheads, but there are



Senator Mark Dayton who introduced legislation to establish a Dept of Peace

concerns that the weapons labs could use the program to explore warhead modifications for new roles for the weapons.

## Legislation to establish a Department of Peace

U.S. Senator Mark Dayton (D-MN) introduced legislation (S.1756) on September 22 that would elevate the current, nonpartisan, federally-funded Institute of Peace to a Cabinet-level department, dedicated to the study and development of policies to promote peace and nonviolence and expand human rights. Dayton's Department of Peace and Nonviolence Act is the Senate counterpart to House legislation (H.R. 3760) introduced by Representative Dennis Kucinich (D-OH) and cosponsored by 59 members of Congress.

Speaking from the Senate floor, Dayton said, "If we are to remain the world's leader, and if we are to lead the world into a more secure and more prosperous future, we must become better known and more respected for our peacemaking successes than for our military forces. Peace, to have any lasting value, must be advanced, expanded and strengthened continuously. Doing so requires skill, dedication, persistence, resources, and, most importantly, people."

A cabinet level position for a peace department would be quite unique in the world, although New Zealand does have a cabinet level position for its Minister for Disarmament and Arms Control.

# Phoenix from the Ashes: New approaches to nuclear disarmament:

In May governments met at the 2005 NPT Review Conference. In September they met again at the UN General Assembly High-Level Plenary. These were supposed to provide opportunities to collectively make progress on nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament efforts. But these hopes were demolished both times. Nothing what-so-ever was agreed at the NPT Review Conference after 4 weeks of fruitless negotiations. And while governments at the High-Level Plenary could adopt a text on a range of controversial issues, nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament was so divisive that nothing could be agreed.

The failures in 2005 reflect the inability of the United Nations Conference on Disarmament (CD) since 1996 to even begin nuclear nonproliferation and/or disarmament negotiations. There is also a widening division between some non-Nuclear Weapon States who refuse to accept additional restraints on nuclear-fuel cycle technologies that could potentially provide technology and materials for the production of nuclear weapons, and some Nuclear Weapon States who refuse to adopt nuclear disarmament steps or reduce the role of nuclear weapons in



Mayors  
Tadatoshi Akiba  
(Hiroshima)  
and Iccoh Itoh  
(Nagasaki)

their security doctrines. As the NPT, CD and UNGA High-Level Plenary all required consensus to move forward, nothing was possible.

However, from the ashes of these failed forums have emerged some Phoenix's of hope, based on a new strategy of making progress without the handicaps of consensus.

At the 60th anniversary of the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima in August, Mayors for Peace announced a "Nuclear Disarmament Kick-Start" campaign which included a proposal that the United Nations establish, by majority vote, a sub-committee or sub-committees to initiate nuclear disarmament deliberations and negotiations.

In October, the governments of Brazil, Canada, Kenya, Mexico, New Zealand and Sweden proposed that the United

Nations establish four such committees to commence deliberations on a) a fissile materials cut-off treaty; b) negative security assurances (commitments not to use nuclear weapons against non-NWS); c) nuclear disarmament; and d) prevention of an arms race in outer space.

In addition, the Middle Powers Initiative (MPI) in August launched the Article VI Forum, an informal procedure for governments to collaborate on developing the legal, technical and political elements and mechanisms for the achievement of a nuclear weapons free world.

Parliamentarians are supporting these initiatives through the joint statement which was circulated at the United Nations and presented to the Chair of the UN Disarmament Committee (see New Political Force, page 1) and by directly encouraging their governments to support the UNGA process and join the MPI Article VI Forum.

## Mayors and Parliamentarians continued...

In October, six countries proposed that the United Nations General Assembly initiate nuclear disarmament negotiations (see Phoenix from the Ashes: New approaches to nuclear disarmament, above). In order to support this initiative, PNND and Mayors for Peace presented the mayors and parliamentarians' statement to the Chair of the United Nations General Assembly Disarmament Committee, and also distributed the statement to the UN ambassadors from every country.

As part of the increasing collaboration between mayors and parliamentarians, PNND Belgium member Senator Patrik Vankrunklesven; Hon Nick Smith, Chair of PNND New Zealand; and Hon Marian Hobbs, New Zealand Minister for Disarmament contacted every mayor in their respective countries encouraging them to join Mayors for Peace and endorse the joint statement. Nearly half the mayors in both countries responded positively.



Belgian Senator and Mayor Patrik Vankrunklesven

Patrik Vankrunklesven notes that "As politicians, chosen by the people, we have a responsibility towards cities.

"If there ever will be a nuclear conflict, it will be these citizens that will be victim and it will be politicians that must normally help them. But if one day the bomb may be dropped, there won't be much left to help".

"Therefore, we must never stop repeating: there only is one solution and that's prevention. Mayors have an important role in spreading this message because they are standing so close to the people."

## India deal continued..

There was no opposition in the Indian parliament to the overall objective of increased nuclear cooperation with advanced nuclear States. However, the same was not true of the Indian peace movement which responded with outrage at their government.

Praful Bidwai of the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace noted that the July 18 agreement "marks India's descent into cynical, Machiavellian nuclear realpolitik as a newly recognised member of the cabal that forms the world's exclusive 'Nuclear Club'. This is a comprehensive and disgraceful betrayal of the United Progressive Alliance's promise to "take a leadership role in promoting universal nuclear disarmament and .a nuclear weapons-free world".

# PNND at the 2005 NPT Review Conference



Former US President Jimmy Carter addressing the January 1 consultation

PNND and its partners - the Bipartisan Security Group, (BSG) Global Security Institute and Middle Powers Initiative - organized a number of events at the NPT Review Conference involving legislators and other political leaders. These included:

- A dialogue between mayors and parliamentarians on how to develop collaborative strategies for nuclear disarmament
- A press conference and presentation to the NPT of a joint statement by mayors and parliamentarians on nonproliferation and disarmament
- A bipartisan presentation featuring U.S. Congressmen Ed Markey (D-MA) and Curt Weldon (R-PA) on the topic of "U.S. Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Goals: Honoring the Balance" They joined Dr. Hans Blix, Chair of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission and former Head of UNMOVIC.

- A forum: "Lessons for the Future From the Crucible of Experience" with Mr. Robert McNamara, former U.S. Secretary of Defense; Mr. Ted Sorensen, former Special Counsel to President John F. Kennedy; and Ambassador Thomas Graham, Jr., Chairman of BSG and President Clinton's Special Representative for Arms Control, Non-proliferation and Disarmament

In the run-up to the NPT, PNND and its partners organized a number of other key events including:

- A Civil Society Forum at the first meeting of States Party to the Nuclear Weapon Free Zones which was held in Mexico. The Forum included government representatives, mayors, parliamentarians, scientists, nuclear survivors, disarmament experts and activists.



US Rep Dennis Kucinich speaking at the PNND press conference in the UN



US Reps Curt Weldon and Ed Markey speaking at the UN along with Hans Blix, Chair of the Commission on Weapons of Mass Destruction.

- A consultation with government representatives hosted by former US President Jimmy Carter at the Carter Center.
- Presentation of the Alan Cranston Award to Ted Turner at the United Nations and a dialogue between Mr Turner and Mikhael Gorbachev. Other speakers included the Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell (former Prime Minister of Canada), Dr. Jane Goodall, Mr. Kim Cranston, and Mr. Mark Malloch-Brown, Chef de Cabinet to the UN Secretary General. The public ceremony took place before a standing-room-only audience of more than 1000 people, and was made available for worldwide media distribution by UN TV.

For more information see [www.gsinstitute.org/gsi/newsletter/newsletter\\_2005-06-09.html](http://www.gsinstitute.org/gsi/newsletter/newsletter_2005-06-09.html)

## Nuclear weapons in Europe continued...

remain deployed in Europe most likely targeted against Russia, Iran and Syria. This is nearly twice the number previously suspected by most analysts to be deployed in Europe.

The NRDC report dispels rumors that the United States reduced its nuclear weapons in Europe in the mid-1990s to 150-200 warheads.

Even when it withdrew U.S. personnel that maintained custody of the nuclear weapons in German, Italian and Turkish bases in 1993 and 1996, the United States transferred the weapons to other U.S. bases in those countries rather than bringing them home.

The report discloses for the first time how many nuclear bombs the United States would provide non-nuclear NATO allies in the event of war. It found that as many as 180 U.S. bombs would be delivered by Belgian, German, Italian, Dutch and Turkish aircraft. NRDC contends that this arrangement is inconsistent with international law because the Nonproliferation Treaty prohibits a nuclear state from transferring nuclear weapons to a non-weapon state, and prohibits a non-nuclear state from receiving such weapons.

The parliamentary resolutions also call on the Belgian government to work within

the European Union (EU) to develop policies which "suppress the spread of weapons for mass destruction and to take initiatives that exclude the possibility to use nuclear weapons within EU security and defence policy."

While not binding on the government, the resolutions are expected to have a significant influence especially as they were adopted with support from all political parties and with no opposition.

See: *U.S. Nuclear Weapons in Europe: A review of post-Cold War policy, force levels, and war planning.* Hans Kristensen, NRDC, Washington, Feb 2005. [www.nrdc.org](http://www.nrdc.org)

# Six-Party Talks: Road map for peace on the Korean peninsula

Lee, Mikyung. Member of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea

## PNND Korea established

On September 1, PNND global coordinator Alyn Ware addressed a cross-party meeting in the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea (ROK) on the topics of the Six Party talks, a North East Asian Nuclear Weapon Free Zone and parliamentary initiatives for global nuclear disarmament.

Following his visit to the ROK:

- (a) a Korean section of PNND was established comprising 18 parliamentarians from the government URI Party and opposition Grand National and Democratic Labour Parties,
- (b) PNND Korea members endorsed the joint mayors and parliamentarians statement on nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament, and
- (c) Representative Mi-Kyung Lee, who hosted the National Assembly meeting on September 1, submitted the following article on the Six-Party process for PNND News.

## Six Party Talks: Towards a Win-Win solution.

The joint statement issued at the six-party talks held on 19 September in Beijing was a breakthrough in efforts to resolve the North Korean nuclear issue. The past 35 months since the United States' announcement of suspected highly enriched uranium development programs in North Korea (DPRK) have been a time of unprecedented anxiety and suffering for the South Korean people. We were at a loss as to how we should deal with the heightened conflict and confrontation between the US and DPRK; the former our closest ally and the latter the same Korean people.

So the news of a successful round of six-party talks was a most welcome gift during the Korean Thanksgiving season, and we are thankful for the diplomatic efforts of the delegations from all six countries, especially the US representative Christopher Hill.

The success of the last round of six-party talks lies in fundamental changes in the policies toward the DPRK adopted by the Bush administration, which used to regard the DPRK as an "axis of evil" and a "base of tyranny" that should be confronted and toppled. Since the inauguration of former president Kim Dae-Jung in 1999 to the current Roh Moo-Hyun administration, Seoul has based its policies vis-à-vis

Pyongyang on the "sunshine policy," aimed at building peace between the two Koreas through mutual exchanges and cooperation. In this respect, the US's hostile policies towards the DPRK and South Korea's sunshine policy were far from compatible.

Through the last round of six-party talks, South Korea, together with China, contributed significantly to the reaching of a compromise between the US and DPRK. The Geneva Framework in 1992 had been a bilateral deal between the US and DPRK, with South Korea relegated to shouldering the enormous financial burden of building the light water reactors. Such an initiative naturally hurt the South Koreans' pride, leading to divided public opinion regarding official aid to the North. But the epoch-making offer of direct power transmission of some 20 thousand kilowatts went a long way in drawing the North back to the talks. The South Korean people have believed that South Korea has to be the main stakeholder in issues concerning peace on the Korean peninsula, and that any policy towards North Korea that excludes South Korea would be meaningless. In this respect, our assessment of our government's role in the last six-party talks has been favorable. And as the six parties take the next steps in implementing their agreements, South Korea must continue to play a leading role, even if it means accepting huge financial costs.

US chief negotiator Christopher Hill called the agreement a "win-win game" with no side making all the concessions, and his South Korean counterpart Song Min-Soon also used the same term.

Negotiations can never succeed when one side wins everything or one side makes all the concessions. Then what have the US and DPRK won and conceded? Pyongyang has agreed to completely abandon its nuclear weapons programs. The term "completely abandon" deserves particular attention, as it connotes a much higher standard than was achieved during the Geneva negotiations. As for Washington, it reaffirmed the DPRK's sovereignty and agreed to normalize diplomatic relations with Pyongyang. In addition, it recognized Pyongyang's right to the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Another breakthrough that the joint statement represents is the establishment of a framework for peace in 21st-century Northeast Asia. It is the first time that the six players have agreed on such a



PNND Global Coordinator Alyn Ware with Lee, Mi-Kyung (centre) and other PNND members from different political parties in the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea.

road map. The road map presents a phase-by-phase schedule that includes establishment of lasting peace on the Korean peninsula (moving from an armistice to a peace pact), normalization of relations between the US and North Korea and between Japan and North Korea. The joint statement is historically significant in that it has expanded the framework for resolving the North Korean nuclear issue to the long-term task of building a permanent peace regime in Northeast Asia.

As a parliamentarian in South Korea, I would like to make a request to my friends and fellow members of the PNND. The establishment of peace on the Korean peninsula necessitates international interest and support. The successful outcome of the six-party talks is not an end but just a beginning. The ambiguity of the phrase "to discuss, at an appropriate time, the provision of light water reactor to the DPRK" has already led to heated debate between the US and DPRK over when this "appropriate time" should be. Differences in opinion regarding the extent and methods of verification are sure to follow. Just as the six-party talks succeeded through the spirit of the "win-win" principle, future negotiations must continue in the same vein. What I would like to ask for is your interest and encouragement to this end.

The joint statement of 19 September created the road map for the resolution of the North Korean nuclear issue and the establishment of peace in Northeast Asia. As the biggest stakeholder in this process, the South Korean people will transform our hopes into reality one step at a time. I sincerely hope that our friends at the PNND will join us on this journey.

## Trident replacement: will parliament have a say?

Parliamentarians in the United Kingdom House of Commons are increasingly questioning whether the UK should replace its nuclear weapons arsenal when the current Trident system is retired.

The UK has four Vanguard-class submarines, each carrying up to 16 U.S.-built Trident missiles with multiple nuclear warheads. While the weapons system could last for another two decades, it would take around 15 years to put a similar one in place. Thus UK Prime Minister Tony Blair has announced that a decision will be made prior to the next election.

Blair has stated that "No decisions on replacing Trident have yet been taken," but he appears to have ruled out a natural attrition to nuclear disarmament when he reaffirmed in parliament that "as we set out in our manifesto we are committed to retaining the UK's independent nuclear deterrent."

However, Blair is expected to face strong opposition from labour backbenches to any plan to replace Trident. Paul Flynn MP noted in parliament that "there are people in the military who think this is a very bad



*Trident nuclear missile*

decision. Trident missiles didn't stop Galtieri invading the Falklands. We don't need to spend £20 billion on a useless status symbol."

Peter Kilfoyle, a former Labour defence minister, said spending such a huge sum would take money away from the hard-pressed Armed Forces, which were already overstretched because of commitments in Iraq, and reduce the money available for health and education.

A poll conducted in October and cited in *The Independent*, indicates that more people oppose Trident replacement (46%) than support it (44%), and that when told the likely cost of replacement, the opposition increases to a clear majority (54% oppose while 33% support). 90% believe that the issue should be the subject of a full public debate.

Labour backbenchers have asked that, given the significance of the issue, parliament be given a role in deciding on whether Trident should be replaced. The government has not indicated that this would be likely.

## United Kingdom Nuclear Disarmament EDMs

Members of the United Kingdom parliament can introduce an Early Day Motion (EDM) which is a notice of motion allowing Members to put on record their opinion on a subject and canvass support for it from fellow Members.

On May 18, Alan Simpson MP (Member of Parliament) introduced EDM 129 on UK and the NPT recalling the UK's "unequivocal undertaking to accomplish the elimination of nuclear arsenals, recognising that such a worthy commitment is incompatible with plans to build a successor to the existing Trident nuclear missile system; and calling upon the Government to abandon any such plans."

On May 19, Michael Ancram MP responded with EDM 149 arguing that "the United Kingdom should continue to possess a strategic nuclear deterrent as long as other countries have nuclear weapons; and accordingly endorses the principle of preparing to replace the Trident system with a successor generation of the nuclear deterrent." On May 26 Jeremy Corbyn MP offered an amendment to EDM 149 which would



*Alan Simpson MP*

remove the call to continue possessing a nuclear deterrent and instead "pursue non-nuclear defence policies in the future as a contribution to world peace.

On June 27 Jeremy Corbyn MP introduced EDM 412 expressing concern about the regional instability arising from Israel's development of weapons of mass destruction, calling for an embargo "on the sale and purchase of all UK and

EU relevant military equipment to and from Israel" and calling "upon the Israeli Government to end all restrictions upon Mordechai Vanunu's personal freedom." (Mordechai Vanunu is the Israeli nuclear technician who served 18 years in prison for revealing information affirming that Israel has a nuclear weapons programme).

On June 29 David Chaytor MP introduced EDM 455 noting the "the waste of scarce public resources in the budgets allocated by the world's nuclear states to the research, development, maintenance and deployment of nuclear weapons" and calling "on the G8 leaders during the UK presidency to commit to a major transfer of resources from nuclear weapons development to investment in renewable energy technologies and economic and social development in Africa."

On July 19 Harry Cohen MP introduced EDM 627 commemorating the 60th anniversary of the US bomb attacks on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, noting that the use, or threat of use, of nuclear weapons would be illegal under international law; and calling on the global eradication of nuclear weapons as a fitting tribute to the Japanese nuclear victims.

# International Parliamentary Hearing in U.S. Congress on Space Security.

On September 14 a group of legislators from ten countries held a joint parliamentary hearing and dialogue in the US Congress about the possible development and deployment of weapons in space. Space weaponisation is under consideration by the US Air Force – a potential development that is becoming increasingly controversial. Proponents see such weapons as essential for the defence of satellites and other space assets. Critics argue that space-based weapons could also be used offensively, and therefore would trigger a new arms race in space.

Participants in the hearing represented differing viewpoints about space weaponisation, and included several members of the US House Armed Services Committee, as well as the Chairs of Foreign Affairs and Defense Committees, and other leading legislators, from the parliaments of Australia, Brazil, Britain, Denmark, the European Parliament, Ghana, Italy, Japan, Mexico and Norway.

Senator Lyn Allison (Australia) criticised the emerging US military space policy, indicating that it would increase the threat of attacks through and from space. "So-called global strike attacks through space or from space-based platforms could be used to take out targets on the ground anywhere in the world within as little as 30 minutes from say-so." Senator Allison expressed concern that the US President seems ready to "authorise the US Air Force to conduct both defensive and offensive space warfare, ending international agreement, tacit and in treaties, that space is owned in common by all nations and should be reserved for peaceful purposes."

Ambassador Henry Cooper, Chairman of High Frontier, argued that U.S. development of space weapons is necessary to counter emerging threats from 'rogue states – particularly North Korea and Iran', 'traditional competitors, Russia and China' and 'terrorist groups.' Commenting on the U.S. withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty, Cooper noted that "Only recently have engineers been freed from such flawed ABM Treaty constraints to use their talents and the best technology to protect the citizens of free nations."

In a recent paper entitled Policy and Legislative Options for Parliamentarians regarding possible deployment of further military capabilities in outer space, the



Henry Cooper, Chairman of High Frontier

Institute of Air and Space Law at McGill University Law School outlines six main options that may be considered by national legislators when designing national and international laws and policies regarding peaceful and military uses of outer space.

These include options to:

- (a) maintain the legal status-quo
- (b) strengthen the existing international and national frameworks including greater ratification and implementation of existing agreements
- (c) join a multilateral effort to expand the current international legal regime

based on the premise that the current legal regime presents loopholes that may eventually lead to a weaponisation of outer space

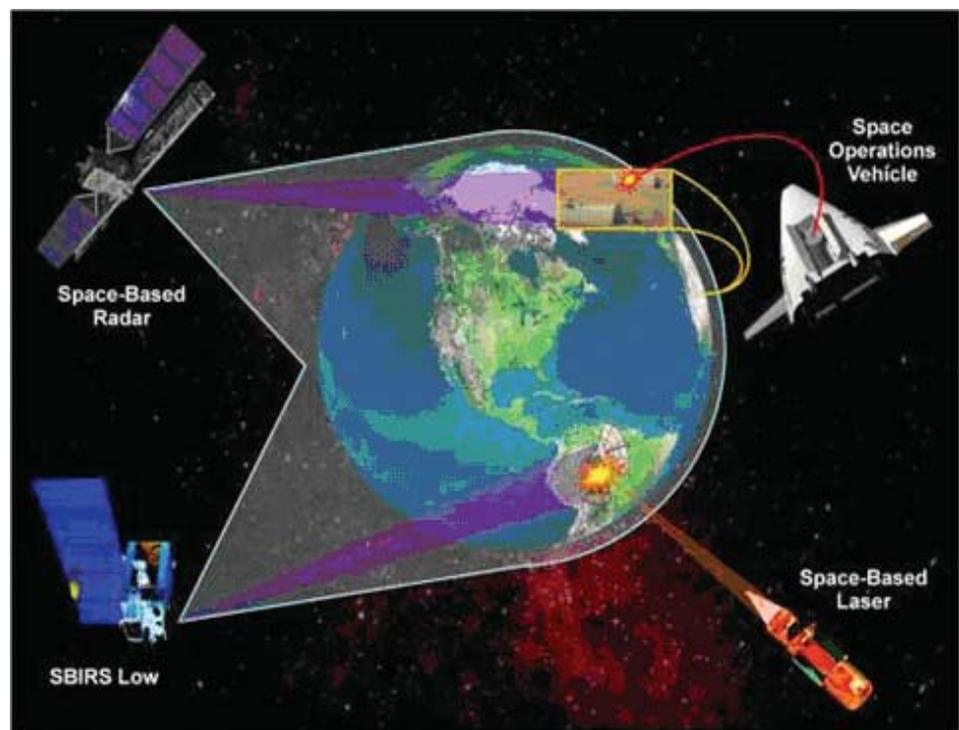
(d) undertake regional or bilateral initiatives to expand the international legal regime as an alternative mechanism to the multilateral approach

(e) adopt unilateral declarations by which States vouch to, for example, not be the first to test, deploy or station space weapons, or to reaffirm their commitment to the peaceful uses of outer space, and

(f) adopt national legislation and policies addressing issues relevant to space security and military uses of outer space.

On December 13, the Bipartisan Security Group, PNND's partner in the U.S., co-hosted an event in the Congress to discuss the security implications of space weaponisation. The event was attended by disarmament experts, congressional staffers and congressional members including Ed Markey (Democrat-MA) and Christopher Shays (Republican-CT), Co-Chairs of the U.S. House of Representatives Bipartisan Task Force on Non-Proliferation.

For further information see [www.e-parl.net](http://www.e-parl.net) or [www.gsinsitute.org/bsg](http://www.gsinsitute.org/bsg)



US Space Command plans for weapons and weapons support systems in space. Graphic from Vision 2020, US Space Command.

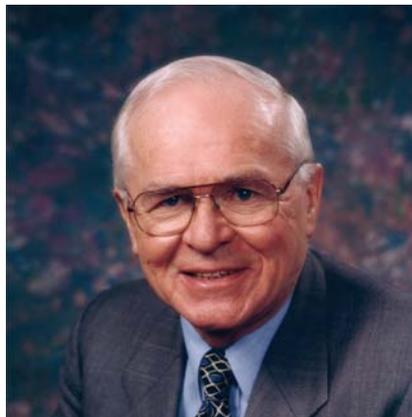
## Beyond Hiroshima

Senator Emeritus Douglas Roche  
foreword by Jayantha Dhanapala  
Novalis, Ottawa 2005. pp249

It is 8:15 on 6 August 2005, and Senator Douglas Roche is standing with another 55,000 people at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park, silent in the summer heat as a minute's silence is observed for those who perished in the atomic fire. He recalls the moment 60 years ago that he heard the news on the radio about the dropping of the bomb and the joy of his parents that the war would now end and he would be saved the horror of having to join the war himself.

In *Beyond Hiroshima* Senator Roche avoids the pitfalls of arguing whether or not the atomic bombs ended the war and were justified. His book does not look back, except to recount the suffering inflicted by nuclear weapons, as a warning that it must never happen again. Rather the book examines the world now – so different from the world in 1945 - a world which still maintains a nuclear firepower 200,000 times more destructive than the bombs which destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and in which the threat of nuclear use by State or non-State actors has increased tremendously. But also a world where political, legal and technical developments have made the resolution of conflicts and the verified elimination of nuclear weapons much more possible.

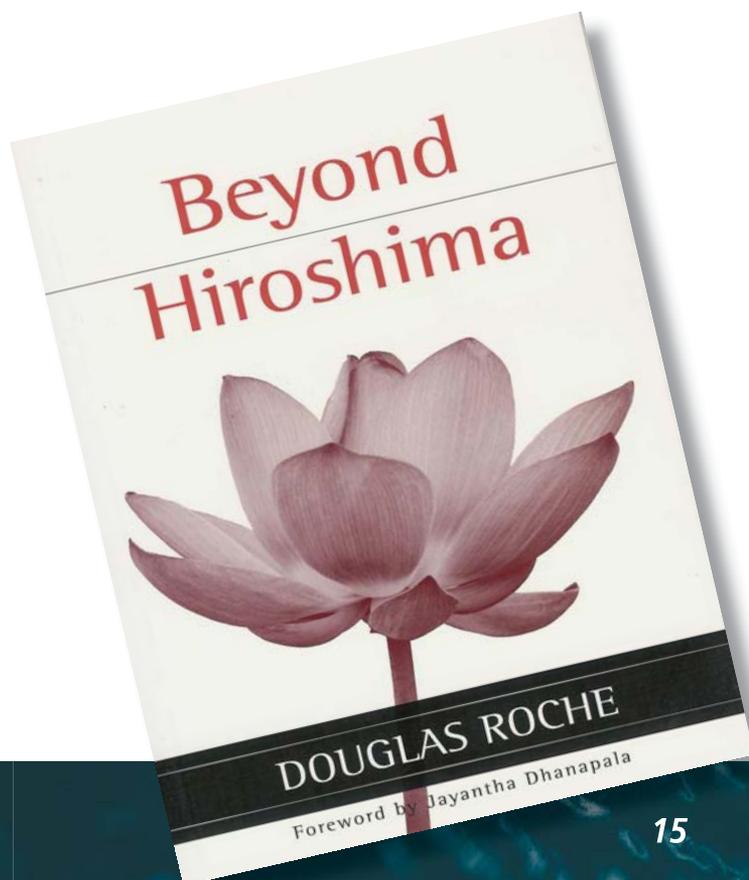
Most importantly *Beyond Hiroshima* looks to the future. It envisions a nuclear weapons free world, examines the



Senator Douglas Roche, author of *Beyond Hiroshima* and Chair of the Middle Powers Initiative

nature of such a world and reports on a range of current initiatives which have the potential of moving us inexorably towards such a world.

Senator Roche's narrative is easy to read and requires little prior background from the reader – and yet it is comprehensive enough to give elected representatives and the wider public sufficient information and understanding to engage effectively in nuclear policy questions, thus helping move governments from the current nuclear weapons impasse to a concerted and concrete process to abolish nuclear weapons and create a nuclear weapons free world.



### UNSC 1540 continued ...

but also to act against current possession, deployment and vertical proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Some parliamentarians have also called for their governments to focus not only on proliferation-risk actions by non-State actors, but also to address such activities by State actors.

The New Zealand Section of PNND met with Foreign Ministry officials to discuss national and regional implementation of UNSC 1540. New Zealand's report to the UN Security Council 1540 Committee reflected the parliamentarians' concerns stating that "all weapons of mass destruction should be eliminated" and that New Zealand had adopted legislation making it "an offence to aid, abet or procure any person to manufacture, acquire, possess, or have control over any nuclear explosive device." New Zealand noted in its report that similar provisions apply also to chemical and biological weapons, and that the prohibitions apply to both State and non-State actors under New Zealand's jurisdiction.

Parliamentarians could take the following actions:

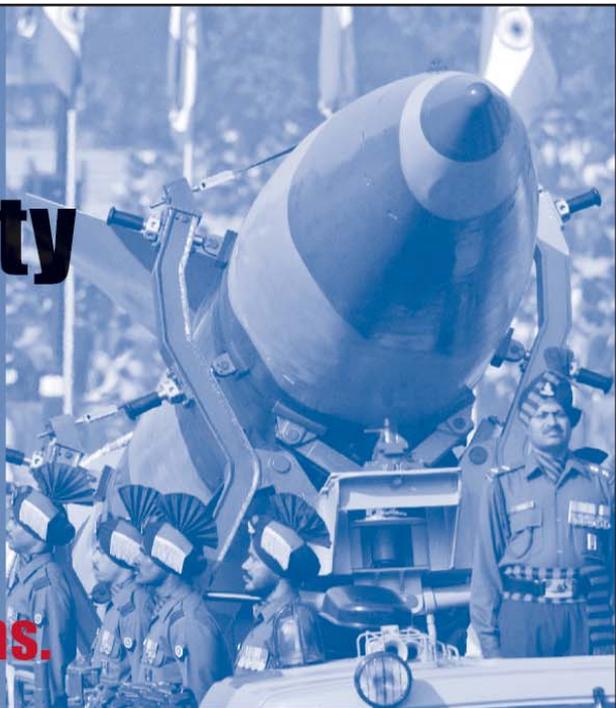
- Request copies of their government's report to the Security Council Committee 1540
- Call for parliamentary debate on implementation plans for Security Council Resolution 1540
- Encourage their government to take action on both nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament obligations referred to in Security Council Resolution 1540
- Consider legislation for criminalising actions by both State and non-State actors relating to the acquisition, possession, use or threat of use of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

The success of the UN Security Council Resolution will require collaboration between countries in order to harmonise international control mechanisms and also to provide logistical and technical assistance to those States, particularly smaller ones, requiring it. As such PNND, along with the Global Security Institute, plans on organising an international seminar in the US Congress in 2006 on UNSC 1540 implementation.

For more information see [www.gsainstitute.org/pnnd/Update11.htm](http://www.gsainstitute.org/pnnd/Update11.htm)

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