Nuclear Weapons Convention Seminar on Peace Boat:

- Exploring a Humanitarian Approach to Nuclear Disarmament -



June 10-14, 2010 Bergen, Norway to Dublin, Ireland

Summary Report Nuclear Weapons Convention Seminar on Peace Boat - Exploring a Humanitarian Approach to Nuclear Disarmament -

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Introduction

Taking place June 10-14, 2010, shortly after the conclusion of the 2010 Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty Review Conference (NPT RevCon) in May, this seminar brought together a limited but diverse group of 9 participants, including representatives of parliamentarians, mayors, the United Nations and NGOs from Europe, the US, the Pacific and Japan (see Annex 1 for Participants List). The seminar was held onboard Peace Boat's 69th Voyage, upon which 8 *Hibakusha* (survivors of the atomic bombings) were also participating in the third "Global Voyage for a Nuclear-Free World: Peace Boat Hibakusha Project." In addition to the onboard programme, events including public seminars, press conferences and meetings with local civil society, mayors and government representatives were held in Bergen and Dublin.

The aim of discussions was to explore various approaches, strategies and partners in order to advance a Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC) to outlaw all nuclear weapons, building upon the current global momentum and recent developments including the UN Secretary-General (UNSG)'s Five Point Proposal for Nuclear Disarmament and the outcome of the 2010 NPT RevCon outcome.¹

This report is a summary of discussions that took place, compiled by the host, Peace Boat. It represents neither conclusion nor consensus. Each of these discussions requires further development and modification, and it is hoped that this summary report will be of use in future discussions held by various actors including NGOs, governments, parliamentarians, mayors and experts, and contribute to the ongoing process towards a NWC.

I. Build on 2010 NPT Outcome, Speed up for a NWC

Discussion was held on the current political climate, including opportunities and challenges. This included, in particular, an evaluation of the outcome of the 2010 NPT RevCon, which led to the following points being raised.

Despite limitations, there are many positive elements in the 2010 NPT RevCon Final Document that can be further developed. These include:

- expression of "deep concern at the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons" and the reaffirmation of "the need for all States at all times to comply with applicable international law, including international humanitarian law" (Conclusion I.A.v);
- reference to the UNSG's Five-Point Proposal for Nuclear Disarmament that "proposes inter alia consideration of negotiation of a nuclear weapons convention or agreement on a framework" of instruments (Conclusion I.B.iii);
- affirmation that "all States need to make special efforts to establish the necessary framework to achieve and maintain a world without nuclear weapons." (Conclusion I.B.iii);
- endorsement of convening a conference on the "establishment of a Middle East zone free of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction" in 2012, and appointment of a Facilitator of such a conference (Conclusion IV.7).
- presenting a useful if watered-down and vague list of disarmament steps to be engaged by nuclearweapon States (Action 5) and calling on them to report back to the 2014 PrepCom.

 ²⁰⁰⁸ UN Secretary-General's Five-Point Proposal for Nuclear Disarmament: http://www.un.org/disarmament/WMD/Nuclear/sg5point.shtml
2010 NPT Reviw Conference Final Document can be downloaded from: http://www.un.org/en/conf/npt/2010/

Acknowledging the great efforts that went to achieve such positive elements despite the resistance by nuclear-weapon states and nuclear-allied states, participants noted the importance of picking up these positive seeds and developing them as much as possible.

Yet at the same time, participants collectively recognised that a further sense of urgency is also needed. Alternatives to sticking to the 5-year routine of the NPT review cycle, and instead stepping up efforts to commence the process for a NWC now, were emphasised. The obligation for nuclear disarmament transcends the NPT and is applied universally; the process for achieving a NWC must also either transcend or go beyond the NPT, involving all states. It was commented that nuclear disarmament is an inalienable duty.

The fact that the major challenges now faced for nuclear disarmament are not technical but political was also emphasised. Further efforts were suggested on how to build the necessary political momentum, and continue to identify enabling factors, key allies, and where resistance is currently coming from.

In relation to this, three converging political factors that could advance the disarmament process were raised for consideration:

- A groundswell from the grassroots/civil society in support of the abolition of nuclear weapons through a NWC combined with effective actions to delegitimise nuclear weapons.
- A coordinated, consistent effort by the diplomatic community, particularly middle powers from diverse groupings.
- Enlightened leadership by the leaders of the nuclear-armed and nuclear-allied states.

II. Engagement - Governments, the UN, Parliamentarians, Mayors and Civil Society

Debate was then conducted on the roles of and engagement with various actors in order to advance the NWC agenda. Participants shared their own perspectives in light of their own positions and fields – from civil society, the United Nations, parliaments and local authorities. Discussion continued to consider how to further encourage governments and other actors, and to promote engagement between these various actors, with the following points being paid particular attention.

Engaging Governments

- A critical mass of governments not just supporting the principle of NWC, but actively engaged on it, is necessary.
- Coming out of the NPT RevCon there is a broader range of allies, including several countries newly expressing their support.
- It is useful to examine groupings of countries and to identify opportunities and challenges for each.
- Governments can be especially encouraged to develop and implement elements for nuclear abolition that do not require consensus.
- Several initiatives with the aim of preparatory work for a NWC have already been proposed, including the the International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (ICNND)'s proposed Global Centre for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament. It is hoped that such new initiatives will advance progress towards a NWC, and efforts to support such directions should be made.

Supporting the United Nations

- Civil society should continue to engage with and support the United Nations, and particularly the UN Secretary-General. Next steps to move his 2008 Five-Point Proposal forward – with a sense of urgency - are encouraged.
- UNSG Ban Ki-moon will visit Hiroshima in August 2010 this will be a key moment for engagement. As well as making efforts now to encourage the SG to take forward steps towards an NWC upon this opportunity, civil society should be ready to follow up and support any such positive announcements made upon this occasion in a timely fashion.

Supporting Parliamentarians and Mayors

- Many elected officials, while motivated, lack the resources to dedicate much time to this issue.
- Civil society can support and engage parliamentarians and mayors by providing them with information, encouraging them to join Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (PNND) and Mayors for Peace (MfP), and advancing key initiatives for nuclear abolition.

Broadening constituency, Education and Media

- There is a need to broaden the constituency to further involve youth, women's groups, environmental groups, churches, humanitarian organisations, etc. Encourage such groups to become partner organisations of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) and members of the Abolition 2000 network.
- It is important to emphasise that the issue has not just individual impact but global. There is no such thing as a "regional nuclear war" it is automatically global.
- Education for disarmament is critical, and there is a great need for allocation of resources.
- Engaging more with media is vital to encourage public debate.
- In order to further involve the public, campaigns should offer concrete actions capable of being replicated globally with visible and measurable results.

III. Humanitarian Approach

This seminar was held onboard Peace Boat, together with a group of *Hibakusha* (survivors of the atomic bombings), including several who had also participated in the NPT RevCon held in New York the previous month. Dialogue between seminar participants and the Hibakusha was held on several occasions, focusing particularly on the strong recognition of the lasting effects of nuclear weapons on humanity, as well as humanitarian perspectives on the path to a NWC. The following points were emphasised as a result of this dialogue.

- As well as recognising the 1996 International Court of Justice (ICJ) Advisory Opinion, participants also paid attention to the 2010 NPT Final Document regarding the humanitarian consequences of nuclear use and international humanitarian law. The study on "Delegitimizing Nuclear Weapons: Examining the Validity of Nuclear Deterrence", commissioned by the Swiss Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs and undertaken by the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, the Monterey Institute of International Studies, was also referred to and recommended.²
- The need to engage seriously with humanitarian organisations, including but not limited to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and national Red Cross societies, was raised.
- Participants agreed on the necessity of taking a broader approach on the concept of security to encompass human security.

Global Hibakusha

- Conversation with second generation Hibakusha was also part of the dialogue between seminar participants and Hibakusha. Discussions focused not only the destruction directly caused by the bombing but also on the after-effects caused by radiation. The Hibakusha's experience is still ongoing, sixty-five years after the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
- Recognition was raised that the Japanese Hibakusha movement is now at a critical turning point. The time left for the first generation to speak is becoming very limited, while the second and successive generations will start to be coming into the centre of the discussion.
- Linking Hibakusha around the world is necessary not only those of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but also those from other parts of the fuel chain mining, testing, research and all nuclear facilities.
- Participants shared a dedication to respect and help fulfill the deepest wish of the Hibakusha to see a nuclear-weapon-free world.
- Emphasis was placed on considering further steps to highlight the medical, psychological, sociological, environmental consequences of nuclear weapons globally, which can contribute powerfully to building a norm to delegitimise nuclear weapons.

IV. Environmental Aspect of Nuclear Weapons

In addition to the humanitarian aspects, the danger of nuclear weapons in relation to the environment was also discussed. The facts were emphasised that nuclear weapons are not restricted by national borders and are a threat on a global scale, as well as severely impacting future generations to come. Participants

² Ken Berry, Patricia Lewis, Benoit Pelopidas, Nikolai Sokov and Ward Wilson, "Delegitimizing Nuclear Weapons – Examining the validity of nuclear deterrence" http://cns.miis.edu/opapers/pdfs/delegitimizing_nuclear_weapons_may_2010.pdf

deepened their common recognition of the urgent need to ban nuclear weapons from this global environmental perspective also. Key discussions on this point were as follows.

- The concept of security should encompass the protection of the natural environment
- The global catastrophic climate change consequences of even limited use of nuclear weapons need to be far more widely known, and must be fully reflected in government policies.
- Highlight that the consequences of nuclear weapons production, testing and use are uncontrollable in time and space, affecting global commons and future generations
- Need to seriously engage with environmental groups

V. Beyond Nuclear Deterrence

Upon consideration of what is standing in the way to a NWC, participants acknowledged that the continuing reliance on nuclear deterrence doctrine by nuclear-armed states and nuclear-allied states in their security policies is a significant obstacle. The rationale for nuclear weapons will disappear once the doctrine of deterrence is debunked. Therefore, participants recognised that overcoming the adherence to nuclear deterrence in security policies is key to a NWC, as well as the importance of building non-nuclear security and strengthening the norm against nuclear weapons.

- The opinion that the nuclear "deterrent" should be eliminated from the NATO strategic concept, and all US nuclear weapons should be withdrawn from Europe was expressed, and was supported by other participants.
- Regional security arrangements such as nuclear-weapon-free zones (NWFZs) can assist in abandoning the adherence to nuclear weapons. Proposed NWFZs such as for the Middle East, Northeast Asia, Central Europe, the Arctic, etc could play a positive role; however participants debated the respective merits of some of these zones. Steps to promote of the concept of single nuclear-weapon-free states such as Mongolia, and expand cooperation amongst members of such zones, are encouraged.
- States can adopt national legislation prohibiting and criminalising nuclear weapons, such as New Zealand.
- There is considerable disagreement among participants regarding the value of promoting a "sole purpose" nuclear doctrine, i.e. a declaratory policy that the sole purpose of nuclear weapon is to deter others to use nuclear weapons, as a step towards realising a nuclear-weapon-free world. Some see risks of establishing a legitimate purpose for nuclear weapons, while others see its potential if situated within clear path to a NWC.

VI. Economic Aspect of Nuclear Disarmament

With participants from diverse backgrounds and with diverse perspectives, discussion also covered the economic implications of nuclear disarmament. That focusing on the economic perspective can also help to speed the momentum towards nuclear abolition was demonstrated in the following points of discussion.

Importance of economic arguments

Economic arguments can be powerful tools for use in raising awareness, and in enabling politicians to be active on issue – redirection of funds could provide other benefits for their constituencies. Data that can be utilised country by country would be useful.

Divestment

Divestment or boycotting can be a powerful tool for delegitimising nuclear weapons – discussion on the examples of Norway and New Zealand were held. Potential effects include media attention, drop in share price, and the "egg on face effect". However such campaigns should be pursued selectively, upon careful consideration. Learn from divestment campaigns conducted by the conventional weapons movement. The role of churches, municipalities, universities etc can be important. Divestment/boycotting needs also to be combined with changes in policies at the buyer level.

Disarmament for Development

Participants referred to the recent report by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) that world military expenditure has now exceeded \$1531 billion. The importance of raising

the crucial issue of military expenditure was emphasised. It was suggested that campaigns by civil society for 'disarmament for development' should be strengthened, research should be updated, and alliances should be formed and further built upon. The reference to military expenditure in the UNSG's Five Point Proposal for Nuclear Disarmament has potential to be followed up, and the potential of the UN Standardised Instrument for the Reporting on Military Expenditures (MilEx), which commenced in 1981 and is being reviewed for the first time in 2010-11, can be explored.

Conclusion

Initial discussions were raised on a variety of important points, and participants agreed on the necessity of continuing such discussions with the involvement of parliamentarians, governments, mayors, and a wider circle of NGOs including those from the humanitarian and environmental fields. Coordination between such groups will be vital for realising a NWC, as well as with the United Nations and governments, who are invited to seriously consider the points expressed in this summary report. It is hoped by all participants, and the host Peace Boat, that the points outlined here will be of use for future regional and international discussions. For this purpose, participants mentioned information about certain upcoming meetings, and confirmed to consolidate such efforts. The meetings referred to are listed in the attached Annex 2, and it is hoped that many experts and activists will use these opportunities to the greatest extent possible, and that discussions here will contribute to the overall process towards delegitimising nuclear weapons and creating a Nuclear Weapons Convention to abolish these inhumane, devastating weapons of mass destruction.

Upon the success of this initial meeting, Peace Boat expressed its plans to continue to hold and further develop similar onboard seminars in the coming year – including consultations with key government officials – and this proposal was welcomed by all participants.

Annex 1: Participants List

(In alphabetical order)

Lisa CLARK	PNND (Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament) Coordinator for Italy
Jean-Marie COLLIN	PNND Coordinator for France
KAWASAKI Akira	Peace Boat Executive Committee member
Sue MILLER	House of Lords, UK / PNND Co-President
Randy RYDELL	Senior Political Affairs Officer, Office of Disarmament Affairs, United Nations
Eros SANA	Parliamentary assistant to French Senator (and Mayor) Jacques Muller
Aaron TOVISH	Mayors for Peace 2020 Vision Campaign
Alyn WARE	PNND Global Coordinator
Tim WRIGHT	International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) Coordinator
Staff:	
Meri JOYCE	Peace Boat International Coordinator
KOMATSU Mariko	Peace Boat Hibakusha Project staff

Annex 2: Calender of key events

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July 2-4	ICNND final meeting, Vienna
July 27-29	Mayors for Peace Conference, Hiroshima
August 6	UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon visit to Hiroshima
August 25-30	IPPNW meeting, Basel
September 9	UN Day of No Testing & Nuclear Disarmament commemoration (August 29)
September 14-16	Middle Powers Initiative, Geneva
September 21	UN International Day of Peace
October	First Committee of UN General Assembly
October 25-31	Disarmament Week

Annex 3: Programme

Thursday, June 10

Peace Boat in Bergen, Norway

- Public Seminar at Christian Michelsens Institute (CMI) Opening & welcome: Kawasaki Akira, Peace Boat; John Jones, Networkers SouthNorth Rebecca Johnson (Acronym Institute) From NPT to NWC: Strategies and Ways Forward Panel 1: Politics from the NPT to the NWC Randy Rydell (United Nations Office of Disarmament Affairs) Assessment of the NPT RevCon from UN perspective Panel 2: Mobilising for the NWC
- Testimony of Hibakusha and informal exchange with local youth and activists
- Student Nuclear Abolition Day event at Torgallmenningen (central Bergen) Performances, Hiroshima and Nagasaki exhibition, symbolic action for NWC
- Arrive at ship (The Oceanic), departure from Bergen

Friday, June 11

- Orientation
- Enjoying the Fjords
- Session I: Where are we now? Evaluating the NPT RevCon and political challenges
- Conversation with Hibakusha
- Screening of documentary Flashes of Hope

Saturday, June 12

- Session II: How to get there? A humanitarian approach and strategies towards a NWC
- Session III: What can be done, and by whom? (Parliamentarians, mayors and NGOs)
- Cultural performances by Peace Boat participants

Sunday, June 13

- Wrap-up session: Next steps, Dublin actions, Summary report
- Public sessions in English and Japanese

Monday, June 14

Ship arrives at Dublin

- Press conference at Buswell's Hotel (opposite Irish Parliament)
- Roundtable discussion with Irish Department of Foreign Affairs and civil society
- Ceremony at memorial cherry peace tree in Merrion Square Park
- Reception at the Mansion House, hosted by Lord Mayor of Dublin, Cllr Emer Costello
- Public event including Hibakusha testimonies at Dublin Exchange