

# Parliamentary Action Plan for a **Nuclear Weapon Free World**

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2017–2020

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A range of actions that can be taken by parliaments and parliamentarians to reduce nuclear threats, phase out nuclear deterrence, prohibit nuclear weapons and achieve the peace and security of a nuclear-weapon-free world.

Developed by Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament in consultation with the Inter-Parliamentary Union.



**PNND**

PARLIAMENTARIANS FOR  
NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION  
AND DISARMAMENT

# Contents

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Summary .....  | 1  |
| Introduction .....   | 2  |
| The obligation to achieve nuclear disarmament .....  | 3  |
| Role of parliaments and parliamentarians.....  | 4  |
| Types of parliamentary action .....  | 4  |
| Issues and measures for parliamentary action.....  | 5  |
| ■ Nuclear posture reviews .....  | 6  |
| ■ NPT review process.....  | 7  |
| ■ Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons .....   | 7  |
| ■ 2018 UN High Level Conference on Nuclear Disarmament .....   | 8  |
| ■ Nuclear tests.....   | 9  |
| ■ Fissile materials treaty .....   | 10 |
| ■ Nuclear risk reduction.....  | 10 |
| ■ Stockpile reduction.....   | 11 |
| ■ Eliminating nuclear deterrence from security doctrines .....   | 12 |
| ■ Establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones .....   | 13 |
| ■ Negotiations for nuclear weapons convention, framework agreement and/or package of agreements.....           | 13 |
| ■ Nuclear weapons spending .....   | 14 |
| ■ Conventional arms control.....   | 16 |
| ■ Public education and promotion .....   | 16 |
| Role of the United Nations .....   | 17 |
| Links to the Sustainable Development Goals .....   | 17 |
| Conclusion – the role of PNND, IPU and regional parliamentary bodies .....                                     | 18 |
| Calendar 2017–2018 .....   | 19 |
| Composite list of parliamentary actions.....   | 20 |
| <br>APPENDIX I   Towards a nuclear-weapon-free world: The contribution of parliaments .....                    | 22 |
| APPENDIX II   Joint Parliamentary Letter to NATO and OSCE on Dialogue, Détente and Nuclear-Risk-Reduction..... | 25 |
| APPENDIX III   Summary of 2010 NPT outcome document.....   | 26 |
| APPENDIX IV   Nuclear risk-reduction and disarmament language of the Tbilisi Declaration .....                 | 27 |
| APPENDIX V   A Nuclear Weapon-Free World: Our Common Good .....  | 28 |

This parliamentary action plan has been developed by Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (PNND) in consultation with the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). The plan draws from reports and resolutions on nuclear disarmament adopted by the IPU in 2009 and 2014, as well as a series of consultations undertaken by PNND in key capitals and UN centres during 2016-2017. The plan complements, and builds upon, the IPU/PNND Handbook for Parliamentarians on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament which was published in 2012.

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## Summary

The period from 2017 to 2020 is a critical time for nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. Tensions between nuclear armed States and blocs, and the risks of nuclear weapons being used, are increasing. These trends need to be reversed. Progress on nuclear threat reduction is required to prevent a nuclear catastrophe. Progress is also required to fulfill the goal of the very first resolution of the United Nations to achieve the elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

There are a number of processes and forums in which parliaments and parliamentarians can engage over the next few years. These include nuclear posture reviews of the nuclear armed States and NATO allies, adoption and implementation of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons negotiated by non-nuclear States, the review process for the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and the 2018 UN High Level Conference on Nuclear Disarmament.

There are also opportunities for parliaments and parliamentarians to advance regional measures, such as nuclear weapon free zones in the Middle East and North-East Asia.

# Introduction

Ever since nuclear weapons were first used against the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, humankind has been living under the threat of a nuclear catastrophe that could wipe out all life on planet Earth.

Nuclear threats did not disappear with the end of the Cold War. Indeed, the risks of the use of nuclear weapons by accident, miscalculation or intent are rising due to increased tensions and conflicts in North East Asia, South Asia and between Russia and the West.

Nuclear threat postures and policies play a major role in these conflicts. Nearly 15,000 nuclear weapons are possessed by States in these regions, many of them deployed and ready to be used within minutes, under policies that allow for the first use of such weapons.

Should even a fraction of these weapons be used in a conflict, the devastation would dwarf the impact felt by Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

In a reflection of the growing risks of a nuclear catastrophe, the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists in January 2017 set the hands of their Doomsday Clock to 2½ minutes to midnight, the closest to nuclear Armageddon the world has come since the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Such risks have not yet moved the States relying on nuclear deterrence to abandon this doctrine. Indeed, they hold that nuclear deterrence plays an important role in preventing aggression and the possible use of nuclear weapons by an aggressor.

However, it is becoming increasingly possible to replace the reliance on nuclear weapons with other methods to achieve national and regional security. These include the use of diplomacy, negotiation of verifiable and enforceable agreements, adjudication through international courts, and the use of regional and international institutions such as the United Nations, Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe and others.

In addition, there is an increasing awareness that the global challenges of climate change, poverty, resource conflicts and erosion of human rights require cooperative action of governments and civil society, and that such action cannot occur in a world divided into blocs which threaten each other with weapons of mass destruction.

And most notably, the increasing national budgets being allocated to nuclear weapons programs are draining resources from economic, social and environmental needs, including protecting the climate and implementing the sustainable development goals.

As such, in 2014 the majority of the world's parliaments, including nearly all of the parliaments of the nuclear armed and allied States, adopted a resolution at the 130<sup>th</sup> Assembly of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, agreeing to '*work with their governments on eliminating the role of nuclear weapons in security doctrines*' and '*urging their governments to start negotiations on a nuclear weapons convention or package of agreements to achieve a nuclear-weapon-free world*' (Appendix I).

This *Parliamentary Action Plan for a Nuclear Weapon Free World* has been developed by Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (PNND) in consultation with the Inter-Parliamentary Union in follow-up to this resolution, and to implement the legal and political obligation to achieve nuclear disarmament.



## Global tensions and nuclear sabres

*“Global tensions are rising, sabres have been rattled and dangerous words spoken about the use of nuclear weapons. As Secretary-General, I am firmly resolved to actively pursue the abolition of all weapons of mass destruction and the strict regulation of conventional weapons. I am committed to achieving a world free of nuclear weapons.”*

UN Secretary-General **Antonio Guterres**, January 23, 2017, Geneva

## The obligation to achieve nuclear disarmament

There is a universal obligation, affirmed by the International Court of Justice, to eliminate nuclear weapons. Governments have agreed to this obligation through United Nations resolutions, various treaties including the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and nuclear weapon free zone treaties, and through a range of declarations.

Most countries have already rejected nuclear weapons.

On the other hand, more than 50% of the world's population live in the 30 countries that either possess nuclear weapons or rely on extended nuclear deterrence for their security.

In this context, there are a range of measures to be taken to achieve a nuclear-weapon-free world, some of which can be taken by non-nuclear States, some of which are more relevant for nuclear armed or allied States, and some of which can be undertaken by all States.

Non-nuclear states, for example, are more able to take comprehensive measures to prohibit nuclear weapons – nationally such as through prohibition legislation and nuclear divestment; regionally such as by establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones; or internationally such as by joining the *Treaty on the Prohibition on Nuclear Weapons* which was adopted by the United Nations in July 2017.

Nuclear armed States and those under extended nuclear deterrence relationships are currently reluctant to unilaterally give up the nuclear deterrence option and adopt comprehensive prohibition measures, or join the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. However, they are able to adopt interim measures to reduce the risks of nuclear weapons being used, strengthen the norm against use, reduce the types and numbers of nuclear weapons, develop confidence building measures and develop alternatives to nuclear weapons in security doctrines in order to pave the way for comprehensive prohibition.

They could also negotiate and adopt a framework agreement that sets out the measures required to achieve a nuclear-weapon-free world, the processes to develop these measures, and timelines for their achievement. Such a framework could be initiated at the *2018 UN High Level Conference on Nuclear Disarmament*, and negotiated in the *Conference on Disarmament* or through the *Non-Proliferation Treaty* review process.

Progress on the comprehensive and incremental measures indicated above can proceed simultaneously, along with the further implementation of non-proliferation measures. These measures are not in competition with each other, but are mutually reinforcing.

# Role of parliaments and parliamentarians

Parliaments and parliamentarians play a key role in the implementation of nuclear disarmament obligations. Parliaments develop policy, ensure government accountability, provide a public forum for discussing obligations and initiatives, ratify international agreements, adopt national implementation measures and allocate funding for the above.

In addition, parliamentarians, working in cooperation with colleagues from other legislatures, can help build bridges and develop common approaches to nuclear disarmament.



## Letter from UN SG

*“Parliamentarians and parliaments play a key role in the success of disarmament and non-proliferation efforts. Parliaments support the implementation of treaties and global agreements contributing to the rule of law and promoting adherence to commitments.*

*They adopt legislation that increases transparency and accountability, thus building trust, facilitating verification and creating conditions that are conducive to the further pursuit of disarmament.”*

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Letter from UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon  
to every parliament, March 2010

# Types of parliamentary action

There are a range of actions that can be taken by parliaments and parliamentarians to promote and achieve nuclear threat reduction and disarmament measures. These include:

- Resolutions, motions and legislation adopted by parliament;
- Budgetary decisions in the nuclear armed States on their nuclear weapons programs;
- Budgetary decisions in all parliaments on supporting nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament treaties, mechanisms and initiatives;
- Questions, hearings and debates in parliament;
- Parliamentary commemorations of key days;
- Hearings, debates, panels and resolutions in inter-parliamentary bodies including the Inter-Parliamentary Union, NATO Parliamentary Assembly, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Commonwealth of Independent States;
- Participation in government delegations to sessions of the UN, treaty negotiations and treaty review/implementation conferences (such as the NPT review conferences);
- Joint letters/statements with parliamentary colleagues globally or regionally;
- Joint events with civil society constituencies;
- Social media actions and promotion.

# Issues and measures for parliamentary action

Guidance for parliamentary action on nuclear disarmament is provided by resolutions and declarations adopted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Together these two inter-parliamentary bodies include the legislatures of all the nuclear armed States, all the States under extended nuclear deterrence doctrines, and virtually all of the non-nuclear States.

**The two most relevant IPU resolutions**, both adopted by consensus, are *Advancing nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament, and securing the entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty: The role of parliaments*, adopted at the 120<sup>th</sup> IPU Assembly in 2009; and *Towards a nuclear-weapon-free world: The contribution of parliaments*, adopted at the 130<sup>th</sup> IPU Assembly in 2014.

These resolutions include a number of agreed actions for parliaments and parliamentarians, including to:

- Support the full ratification and entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty;
- Support negotiations on a fissile materials treaty;
- Urge the nuclear armed states to reduce the operational readiness to use nuclear weapons, and to make deeper, faster and irreversible cuts to all types of nuclear weapons;
- Work with governments to eliminate the role of nuclear weapons in security doctrines;
- Urge their governments to commence negotiations on a nuclear weapons convention or a similar package of agreements to achieve a nuclear-weapon-free world;
- Promote the establishment of additional nuclear-weapon-free zones, especially one in the Middle East;

- Work with their governments and civil society to strengthen the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) and ensure success of the NPT review conferences;
- Cooperate with civil society to build awareness about nuclear weapons risks and the need for nuclear disarmament, including through commemoration of the International Day for the Total Elimination of Nuclear Weapons;
- Examine national budgets to facilitate these goals.

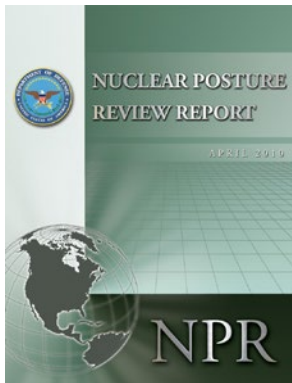
Background information on the above issues, along with examples of parliamentary action, are included in the *IPU/PNND Handbook for Parliamentarians on Supporting Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament* (available in Arabic, English, French, Russian and Spanish).

**The most relevant declarations adopted by the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly** (by consensus) are the Istanbul Declaration (2013), Helsinki Declaration (2015) and Tbilisi Declaration (2016). In these declarations, the parliamentary delegations to the OSCE PA agreed to:

- Urge all OSCE States with nuclear weapons or under extended nuclear deterrence relationships to reduce the risks of a nuclear war by taking nuclear weapons off high-alert and by adopting no-first-use policies;
- Encourage all OSCE States to participate in United Nations-facilitated deliberations and negotiations on multilateral nuclear disarmament;
- Call on all OSCE States to participate in the 2018 UN international conference on nuclear disarmament at the highest level, to include parliamentarians in their delegations to the conference and to pursue the adoption of nuclear-risk-reduction, transparency and disarmament measures at the conference.



## NUCLEAR POSTURE REVIEWS



The 2010 **U.S. Nuclear Posture Review** lowered the role of nuclear weapons and supported the goal of a nuclear-weapon-free world. The current U.S. administration is undertaking the next nuclear posture review.

The nuclear armed States and the NATO nuclear alliance undertake regular reviews of their nuclear postures and policies. **Legislatures of these countries can play a role by discussing current postures, and by ensuring that nuclear threat reduction and disarmament are priorities in the revised policies.**

**Parliamentarians from countries in regional alliances, such as NATO, can also work with their colleagues in the alliance countries on joint statements/letters to influence the policy review.** And they can cooperate on joint letters/statements with parliamentary colleagues in the OSCE countries in order to prioritise cooperative security approaches to dealing with regional conflicts rather than a focus only on military security. This would help reduce the role of nuclear weapons and support nuclear disarmament.

In addition, the U.S. nuclear posture review, which is taking place early in the administration of President Donald Trump, will consider the impact of any policy changes on extended deterrence for US allies in NATO and Asia/Pacific (Australia, Japan and South Korea). Parliamentarians from these countries can therefore contribute to the U.S. nuclear posture review by supporting measures to reduce nuclear stockpiles, end the foreign deployment of nuclear weapons, and lower the role of nuclear weapons in regional security alliances.

## GOOD PRACTICE

### Joint parliamentary letter to NATO and OSCE on Dialogue, Détente and Nuclear-Risk-Reduction

*We call on NATO and the OSCE to:*

- *Re-affirm our commitment and adherence to international law and diplomacy and our collective opposition to acts of aggression and gross violations of human rights;*
- *Affirm our opposition to the use of weapons of mass destruction impacting civilians as a violation of international humanitarian law and a violation of the rights and security of civilians;*
- *Pursue further measures to reduce risks of nuclear conflict escalation by declarations of nuclear states never to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states – preferably at the UN-level.*
- *Keep open various channels for dialogue with Russia, including the NATO-Russia Council, in order to provide the possibility for dialogue and détente;*
- *Affirm the historical practice of the non-use of nuclear weapons in wartime since 1945, and the common interest of humanity that this practice continues forever, including at least until the peace and security of a nuclear-weapon-free world can be achieved;*
- *Support nuclear risk-reduction and disarmament measures between Russia and NATO, particularly those which can be verified and enforced;*
- *Support multilateral, treaty-based processes that can facilitate confidence building, nuclear risk-reduction and disarmament including through the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the 2018 United Nations High Level Conference on Nuclear Disarmament.*

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Excerpt from a cross-party letter to the leaders of NATO and OSCE of July 2017. See Appendix II for the full text of the letter.



## NPT REVIEW PROCESS

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, since its indefinite extension in 1995, holds conferences every five years to review progress on implementing the three core aims (pillars) of the treaty, which are to; a) prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, b) achieve nuclear disarmament as an important step towards general and complete disarmament, and c) ensure that nuclear energy is only used for peaceful purposes.

The States Parties to the NPT also meet annually in each of the three years preceding the NPT Review Conference, in order to prepare for a successful outcome to the review conference. Despite this intense preparation, the NPT Review Conferences have only succeeded in adopting agreements (final outcome documents) in 1995, 2000 and 2010 (See Appendix III for a summary of the 2010 NPT outcome document).

**Parliamentarians can play an important role to support the NPT Review Conferences by promoting the implementation of key elements agreed in 1995, 2000 and 2010. Parliamentarians can also participate as observers in the NPT Review Conferences and the annual preparatory meetings.**

### GOOD PRACTICE

#### New Zealand Parliament motion in support of the 2010 NPT Review Conference

*[...] That this House recognise the historic opportunity to advance the cause of nuclear disarmament at the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) Review Conference May 3-28; acknowledge the leadership on this issue by United States President Barack Obama; and call on the New Zealand Government to take an active role in this issue, drawing on our country's proud nuclear-free stance, working together with other like-minded nations to support the United Nations Secretary-General's Five Point Plan for Nuclear Disarmament including preparations for the development of a Nuclear Weapons Convention.*

Resolution introduced into the NZ House of Representatives by PNND New Zealand Chair Phil Twyford and adopted by consensus on May 5, 2010.

## TREATY ON THE PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

On July 7, 2017, the United Nations adopted a Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) that was negotiated by non-nuclear States. The treaty prohibits States Parties from developing, producing, manufacturing, otherwise acquiring, possessing, stockpiling, transferring, using or threatening to use nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

The adoption of the treaty is one concrete measure to implement the agreement at the 2010 NPT Review Conference that *'All States need to make special efforts to establish the necessary framework to achieve and maintain a world without nuclear weapons.'*

**Parliamentarians from States which sign the treaty have roles in its ratification and national implementation.** This would include the parliaments adopting legislation and other measures to prohibit and criminalize nuclear weapons, according to the specific prohibitions and obligations in the TPNW.

**Parliaments could use this opportunity to also adopt measures that are not specifically mentioned in the TPNW, but would fall under a general prohibition in the treaty on assisting, encouraging or inducing anyone to engage in activities prohibited under the treaty.** Parliaments could, for example, interpret this general prohibition as applying to transit of nuclear weapons (across land, through airspace and through waters), and also to public investments in corporations manufacturing nuclear weapons and their delivery systems. Already, some parliaments have taken action to prohibit these activities.

**Parliamentarians from States that have not signed the treaty can play a role in encouraging their governments to do so.** Most likely only non-nuclear States will sign. None of the nuclear armed States or the States under extended nuclear deterrence relationships appear willing to unilaterally abandon nuclear deterrence and join the treaty. Never-the-less, building treaty membership by non-nuclear countries will strengthen the norm against nuclear weapons, especially after 50 States have ratified, at which time the treaty will enter into force.

## 2018 UN HIGH LEVEL CONFERENCE ON NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

In 2013, the United Nations General Assembly decided to hold a High-Level Conference on Nuclear Disarmament no later than 2018, following a series of high level annual meetings on nuclear disarmament.

The High-Level Conference (HLC) provides a unique opportunity for the global community to elevate, advance and adopt nuclear risk-reduction and disarmament measures.

HLCs garner the attention of media, elevate the issue within government agencies, and provide opportunities for parliaments and public to stimulate or challenge government policies and promote concrete goals.

As such, UN High Level Conferences have had considerable success in recent years on difficult global issues including sustainable development (2015) which adopted the Sustainable Development Goals, climate change (2016) which adopted the Paris Agreement, refugees and migrants (2016) which adopted the New York Declaration and oceans (2017) which adopted the 14-point action plan *Our Ocean: Our Future*.

The mandate set for the HLC on Nuclear Disarmament is to review progress on the achievement of a nuclear weapons convention – a global agreement or package of agreements on the complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons.

This mandate is flexible enough to allow the promotion and adoption of a range of nuclear risk-reduction and disarmament measures at the HLC. Some nuclear-risk reduction and incremental disarmament measures (such as no-first-use) could be adopted by the nuclear armed States and their allies. Other more comprehensive disarmament measures, such as the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW), could be promoted by the non-nuclear States encouraging more countries to sign and ratify. The HLC could also advance regional measures such as nuclear-weapon-free zones in the Middle East and North-East Asia.

**Parliamentarians can help ensure a successful HLC by encouraging their governments to participate at the highest level, initiating debates and parliamentary resolutions in support, and promoting key measures that could be adopted at the HLC.**

### GOOD PRACTICE

#### Parliamentary promotion of the 2018 UN High Level Conference

*We, parliamentarians of the OSCE participating States, call on all OSCE States to participate in the 2018 UN international conference on nuclear disarmament at the highest level, to include parliamentarians in their delegations to the conference and to pursue the adoption of nuclear-risk-reduction, transparency and disarmament measures at the conference.*

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Tbilisi Declaration adopted on July 5, 2016 by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (see Appendix IV).

## NUCLEAR TESTS

In 1986, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) that had been negotiated in the Conference on Disarmament. The CTBT has not yet entered into force, as it requires the ratification of all States with nuclear energy facilities (China, Egypt, India, Iran, Israel, North Korea, Pakistan and the USA are still to ratify). However, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organisation (CTBTO), established to monitor the treaty, is fully functional and able to detect any nuclear tests.

The CTBTO is also able to monitor earthquakes and feed this information into the Tsunami Early Warning System, and to monitor serious radiation leaks or accidents from nuclear energy facilities, such as happened in Fukushima.

In addition, the United Nations has established the *International Day Against Nuclear Tests* which is commemorated on August 29.

**Parliamentarians in countries that have not yet ratified the CTBT can encourage their parliaments to do so. Parliamentarians can also ensure that the CTBTO has sufficient resources to undertake its verification tasks, and they can organize commemorative events on the International Day Against Nuclear Tests to promote the CTBTO and an end to nuclear tests globally.**



Radionuclide monitoring station RN56 Peleduy, Russian Federation. Photo CTBTO

## GOOD PRACTICE

### Astana Vision Declaration: From Radioactive Haze to a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World

*We – as legislators, religious leaders, representatives of international organisations, academics, scientists, medical professionals, lawyers, youth and other representatives of civil society – specifically call on governments to:*

- *Sign and Ratify the CTBT, in particular the nuclear armed States, if they have not already done so...*
- *Reduce the risks of nuclear-weapons-use by taking all nuclear forces off high-operational readiness, adopting no-first-use policies and refraining from any threats to use nuclear weapons;*
- *Commence multilateral negotiations in 2017 to prohibit and eliminate nuclear weapons;*
- *Support interim measures by the UN Security Council regarding nuclear disarmament, including to prohibit nuclear tests and nuclear targeting of populated areas;*
- *Eliminate the reliance on nuclear deterrence in security doctrines, and instead resolve international conflicts through diplomacy, law, regional mechanisms, the United Nations and other peaceful means;*
- *Call on all nuclear weapon states to undertake deep cuts to their nuclear weapons stockpiles with the aim to completely eliminate them as soon as possible, but definitely no later than the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the United Nations.*

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Excerpt of a statement adopted at an international conference in Astana on August 29, 2016 – the International Day Against Nuclear Tests and the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the closing of the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site.

## FISSILE MATERIALS TREATY

In 1995, the States Parties to the NPT agreed that a Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) and a treaty on fissile materials were vital elements for preventing proliferation and achieving a nuclear-weapon-free world. The CTBT was negotiated and adopted. However, it has not yet been possible to commence negotiations on a fissile materials treaty.

A key barrier to the commencement of negotiations are different positions on whether the treaty should include production and stockpiles of fissile materials, or only production, and on how closely to link the fissile material to nuclear disarmament. **Parliamentarians could assist by encouraging their governments to take a flexible approach, including the possibility of negotiating an agreement outside of the Conference on Disarmament, i.e. not requiring consensus of all countries with nuclear facilities.**

## NUCLEAR RISK REDUCTION

The risks of a nuclear weapons use – whether by accident, miscalculation or intent – are elevated by aggressive nuclear threat postures and by nuclear armed States maintaining nuclear forces on high alert, under policies of launch-on-warning which include the possibility of the first use of nuclear weapons.

Proposals to rule out the first use of nuclear weapons by NATO have been raised in some NATO parliaments, but have not yet garnered sufficient support to move NATO policy in this direction.

Parliamentarians have also been supporting initiatives in the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly to move all OSCE States (including France, Russia, UK, USA and other NATO countries) to adopt no-first-use policies, and support an initiative at the United Nations General Assembly for a global prohibition on the first-use of nuclear weapons.

In some of the nuclear armed States, the high operational readiness to use nuclear weapons is combined with authority of the President/Prime Minister to use nuclear weapons without having to seek approval of their parliament/congress.

In the United States, congressional members Senator Ed Marker and Representative Ted Lieu are trying to change this with the *Restricting First Use of Nuclear*

*Weapons Act of 2017*. This act, if adopted, would prohibit the President from launching a nuclear first strike without a declaration of war by Congress.

In June 2017, Global Zero – an international organization that includes parliamentarians, political leaders and military experts – established a *Nuclear Crisis Group* in order to help prevent regional conflicts and ‘nuclear flashpoints’ from escalating into the use of nuclear weapons by accident or miscalculation. The Nuclear Crisis Group tracks, in particular, the North Korean conflict, NATO-Russian tensions and instability in Eastern Europe, the India-Pakistan conflict, U.S.-China tensions around the South China Sea and Taiwan, and the systemic threat of cyber vulnerabilities of nuclear command and control systems globally.

**Parliamentarians can take action to lower the operational readiness to use nuclear weapons, extend the presidential decision-making time in any nuclear crisis, require parliamentary/congressional approval for the first use of nuclear weapons, and establish crisis-management and confidence building measures between nuclear armed States.**

### GOOD PRACTICE

#### Nuclear risk-reduction

*We, parliamentarians of the OSCE participating States, [...]*

*expressing deep concern at increased nuclear threats arising from the deteriorating relationship between the Russian Federation and NATO, including statements indicating an increased readiness to use nuclear weapons, (and) increasing numbers of military incidents between NATO and Russian forces [...]*

*call on all OSCE States with nuclear weapons or under extended nuclear deterrence relationships to reduce the risks of a nuclear war by taking nuclear weapons off high-alert and by adopting no-first-use policies.*

Tbilisi Declaration adopted on July 5, 2016 by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (see Appendix IV).

## STOCKPILE REDUCTION

As of January 2017, nine nuclear armed States possessed a total of approximately 14,900 nuclear weapons. This includes Russia (7,000), the United States (6,800), France (300), China (260), UK (215), Pakistan (130), India (120), Israel (80) and North Korea (less than 15).

The five permanent members of the UN Security Council (China, France, Russia, UK and USA) agreed at the 2010 NPT Review Conference to 'rapidly move to an overall reduction in the global stockpile of all types of nuclear weapons.' The five countries have met a number of times since then to discuss implementation of the 2010 NPT agreement. However, all they have achieved is the publication of the *P5 Glossary of Nuclear Key Nuclear Terms*.

The US and Russia concluded the new START agreement in 2011 which reduced their delivery systems (strategic nuclear missile launchers) and the number of deployed nuclear weapons, but did not require the destruction of nuclear warheads. Since then, there have been no reductions in nuclear stockpiles.

The Obama administration considered the possibility of unilaterally reducing the US nuclear stockpile, advancing the notion that nuclear deterrence does not require parity in weapon numbers, and could be maintained through a much smaller stockpile.

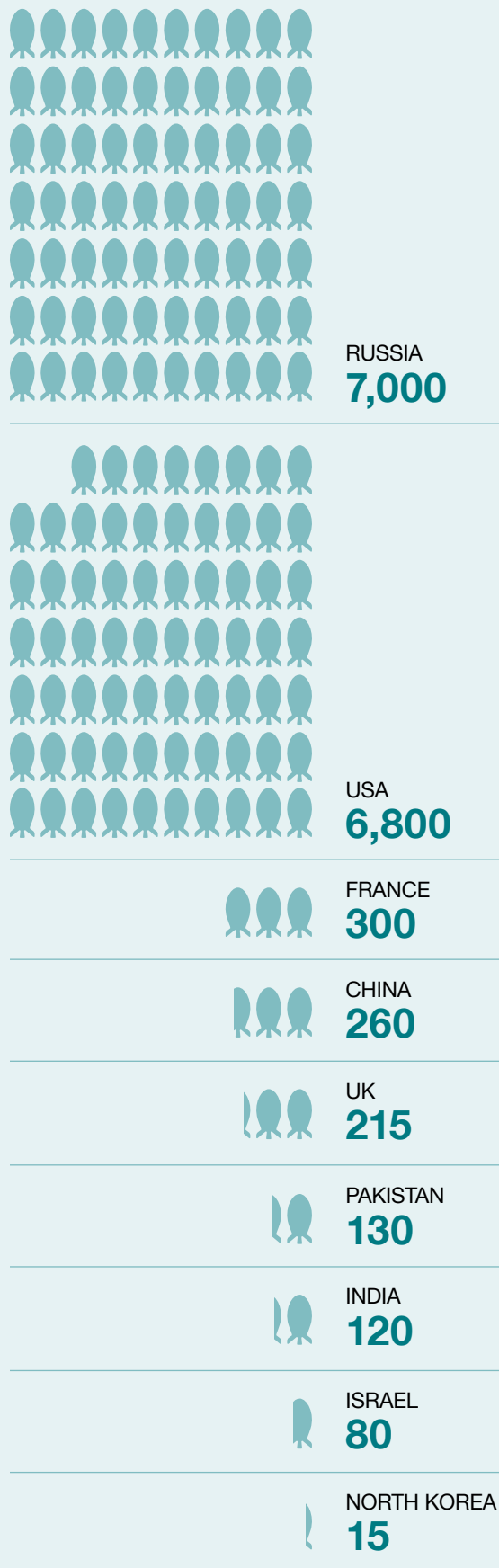
However, this was opposed by the US Congress which announced it would only support bilateral US/Russia reductions. An effort to support unilateral reductions through the *SANE Act (Smarter Approach to Nuclear Expenditure)* has not yet been able to garner majority support.

The issue of stockpile reductions will continue to be part of nuclear posture reviews and budget appropriations for specific weapons systems.

**Parliamentarians in nuclear armed States can promote unilateral reductions in stockpile numbers, bilateral negotiations between Russia and the United States on stockpile reductions, and P5 negotiations to implement the 2010 NPT commitment to rapidly reduce nuclear weapons stockpiles.**

## DATA

### Nuclear weapons in the world







Saber Chowdhury, PNND Co-President, Chairing the Inter Parliamentary Union Assembly session which adopted the 2014 nuclear disarmament resolution – including the commitment of IPU member parliaments to eliminate the role of nuclear weapons in security doctrines.

## ELIMINATING NUCLEAR DETERRENCE FROM SECURITY DOCTRINES

Nuclear armed and allied States will continue to resist or reject nuclear disarmament measures so long as nuclear deterrence continues to play a significant role in security doctrines. Indeed, the nuclear armed States have made it clear in the NPT deliberations that they will only accept or adopt nuclear disarmament measures that ‘promote international stability’ and ‘are based on the principle of undiminished security for all.’

As such, it is important to a) demonstrate that nuclear disarmament would not increase instability or reduce security, and/or b) advance alternatives to nuclear deterrence for the maintenance of stability and undiminished security.

At the 2016 NATO Summit in Warsaw, NATO allies responded to the NPT obligation to achieve nuclear disarmament by reaffirming their commitment to ‘*create the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons, in full accordance with all provisions of the NPT, including Article VI, in a step-by-step and verifiable way that promotes international stability and is based on the principle of undiminished security for all.*’

There has been a tendency amongst some NATO States to address this commitment by listing current political conditions which prevent them from taking nuclear disarmament steps rather than creating the conditions to take such steps.

Parliamentarians in these countries could respond by reminding their governments of the obligation to phase out reliance on nuclear weapons. This can be done by utilising alternative, non-nuclear means to address security issues and to establish the conditions for a nuclear-weapon-free world.

Concrete approaches along these lines can be found in resolutions of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly mentioned above, as well as in the 2010 United States Nuclear Posture Review and the 2014 resolution on nuclear disarmament adopted by the 130<sup>th</sup> Assembly of the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

The 2010 U.S. Nuclear Posture Review, in advancing President Obama’s Prague agenda for a nuclear weapon free world, included a number of commitments to lower and eventually eliminate the role of nuclear weapons in the U.S. security doctrine. It is uncertain whether the current U.S. nuclear posture review will do the same.

The 2014 IPU resolution on nuclear disarmament specifically calls on IPU member parliaments to work with their governments to eliminate the role of nuclear weapons in security doctrines and policies.

UNFOLD ZERO, a platform established to support United Nations initiatives for nuclear disarmament, highlights also the potential of the United Nations system to assist in the resolution of international conflicts and the maintenance of security without relying on the threat or use of force, and especially without relying on nuclear deterrence.

The experience of the majority of countries in the world that do not rely on nuclear deterrence, including some that formerly did, can assist those countries that currently rely on nuclear deterrence to phase out this reliance.

**Parliamentarians in nuclear armed and allied countries can promote the elimination of nuclear deterrence from their security doctrines, including by highlighting alternative means and mechanisms to resolve conflicts and maintain security.**

## ESTABLISHING NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONES

Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones (NWFZs) provide a mechanism for reducing or eliminating the role of nuclear weapons, and advancing common security between the States in a region.

NWFZs have been established covering the Antarctic (1959), Latin America and the Caribbean (1968), the Pacific (1986), South-East Asia (1995), Africa (1996) and Central Asia (2006), as well as Outer Space (1967), the Sea-Bed (1971) and the moon (1979). Mongolia has also established itself as a single-state NWFZ.

The United Nations General Assembly has adopted resolutions, by consensus, on the establishment of a Middle East NWFZ. The proposal for a Middle East zone free of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction was agreed by States Parties to the NPT in 1995 and 2000. In 2010, the States Parties to the NPT decided to invite the United Nations to hold a conference on establishing such a zone, with the participation of all relevant parties. However, it was not possible to get agreement between the regional parties on the modalities and agenda for the conference. The proposal for a Middle East zone will be an important topic for the 2020 NPT Review Conference. It will possibly also be an important topic for the 2018 UN High Level Conference on Nuclear Disarmament.

There are also proposals for NWFZs to cover North East Asia, Europe and the Arctic. While there is considerable academic, parliamentary and civil society support for some of these, especially the NE Asia NWFZ proposal, none of the proposals has gained sufficient support from the States in the respective regions yet, nor has been the subject of United Nations resolutions.

**Parliamentarians can support the establishment of a Middle East zone free from nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, and can explore the possibilities for establishing NWFZs in North East Asia, Europe and the Arctic.**

## NEGOTIATIONS FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS CONVENTION, FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT AND/OR PACKAGE OF AGREEMENTS

In 1996 the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruled unanimously that *‘there exists an obligation to pursue in good faith, and bring to a conclusion, negotiations on nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control.’*

The United Nations General Assembly followed-up the ICJ decision by adopting a resolution (repeated annually) calling on States to initiate negotiations leading to the conclusion of a nuclear weapons convention prohibiting the development, production, testing, deployment, stockpiling, transfer, threat or use of nuclear weapons and providing for their elimination. (137 countries voted in favour in 2016).

The drafters of the resolution have noted that a nuclear weapons convention would not necessarily be achieved as a single agreement, but might pull together a number of agreements to provide for the complete and universal prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons.

In line with this, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon released a *Five Point Proposal for Nuclear Disarmament* in 2008, with the principal objective of achieving a nuclear weapons convention or similar package of agreements. He also circulated a *Model Nuclear Weapons Convention* – drafted by legal, technical and political experts – to guide such negotiations.

In 2010, the Conference of States Parties to the NPT agreed that *‘All States need to make special efforts to establish the necessary framework to achieve and maintain a world without nuclear weapons. The Conference notes the Five-Point Proposal for Nuclear Disarmament of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, which proposes inter alia the consideration of negotiations on a nuclear weapons convention or a framework of separate mutually reinforcing instruments backed by a strong system of verification.’*

The resolution adopted by the 130<sup>th</sup> IPU Assembly in 2014 specifically calls on member parliaments to *‘urge their governments to commence negotiations on a nuclear weapons convention or a similar package of agreements to achieve a nuclear-weapon-free world’*.

The proposal for a nuclear weapons convention is supported by *A Nuclear-Weapon-Free World: Our Common Good*, a joint statement by parliamentarians, mayors



## GOOD PRACTICE

### A Nuclear-Weapon-Free World: Our Common Good

*Together – as mayors, parliamentarians and religious leaders – we support the common good of nuclear abolition. We reject nuclear weapons, which threaten our humanity, contravene our moral principles, violate international law and thwart the safety and well-being of current and future generations.*

*We call upon world leaders to commit to nuclear abolition and to replace nuclear deterrence with shared security approaches to conflicts. We further urge states to advance a nuclear weapons convention or framework of agreements that eliminate nuclear weapons.*

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Joint statement of mayors, parliamentarians and religious leaders adopted on the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and being used to build support for the 2018 UN High Level Conference on Nuclear Disarmament. See Appendix V for the full statement.



PNND and Religions for Peace present 'A Nuclear-Weapon-Free World: Our Common Good' to Izumi Nakamitsu, the UN High Representative for Disarmament.

and religious leaders. The statement will be used to help build support for a nuclear weapons convention, especially at the 2018 UN High Level Conference on Nuclear Disarmament.

An initial step in such negotiations, which might be agreeable to the nuclear armed States, would be the adoption of a framework agreement, outlining the general requirements and obligations to achieve a nuclear-weapons convention, but leaving the details for further negotiations.

**Parliamentarians can promote negotiations for a nuclear weapons convention (or package of agreements) in their parliaments, in inter-parliamentary forums and by endorsing joint statements such as 'A Nuclear-Weapon-Free World: Our Common Good.' Parliamentarians can urge the nuclear armed and allied States to adopt a framework agreement at the 2018 UN High Level Conference on Nuclear Disarmament.**

## NUCLEAR WEAPONS SPENDING

The global nuclear weapons budget is approximately 100 billion USD annually. Against the backdrop of increasing budgetary austerity and widespread cuts in health and social spending, such allocations for nuclear weapons systems appear to be counter to the economic and social needs of the nuclear armed States, as well as draining resources required for the United Nations and for meeting the Sustainable Development Goals and climate protection measures.

Efforts to reduce nuclear weapons budgets in nuclear armed States, such as the *SANE Act (Smarter Approach to Nuclear Weapons Expenditure)* in the United States, are countered by the corporations which are manufacturing the weapons and their delivery systems, and thus have a financial interest in maintaining the nuclear arms race. As such, it is difficult for those legislators in nuclear armed States to build sufficient support to control nuclear arms spending.

They can be supported by legislators in non-nuclear States. Many of the corporations manufacturing nuclear weapons and their delivery systems, are public corporations floated on the stock market. Legislators in non-nuclear States can take action to divest public funds and banks from these corporations, unless and until they give up the nuclear weapons part of their enterprise.

Already the parliaments in Lichtenstein, New Zealand, Norway and Switzerland have taken action to divest public funds from these corporations. Parliaments of other non-nuclear countries, particularly those that sign and ratify the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, could be encouraged to follow suit.

**Parliamentarians in nuclear armed States can act to reduce nuclear weapons budgets. Parliamentarians in non-nuclear countries can act to divest public funds and banks from corporations manufacturing nuclear weapons and their dedicated delivery systems.**

## PUBLICATION

### Move the Nuclear Weapons Money

In 2016, PNND, World Future Council and the International Peace Bureau launched the Move the Nuclear Weapons Money campaign, which supports actions by parliaments to cut nuclear weapons budgets, divest public funds from corporations manufacturing nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles, and re-invest these funds in economic, environmental and social needs. See the publication Move the Nuclear Weapons Money, available from PNND.

*“US President Eisenhower warned 60 years ago of the possibility of a military-industrial complex being established – a formidable union of armed forces and defence contractors using their power to move governments and parliaments to maintain high military budgets. This has arguably come true – especially in relation to nuclear weapons.*

*Those pursuing nuclear disarmament therefore need to find ways of countering this power. Nuclear disarmament advocates and other civil society leaders need to join forces with progressive legislators, non-nuclear governments and allies within the governments of nuclear armed states in order to reduce the lobbying power of the nuclear weapons corporations, and move the money from nuclear weapons budgets to fund social, economic and environmental programs instead.”*

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Move the nuclear weapons money: A handbook for civil society and legislators





## CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL

Nuclear weapons policies are currently related not only to the threats from other nuclear armed States, but also the threats of aggression using conventional weapons. As such, progress on nuclear disarmament is easier when there is also progress on controlling conventional weapons. This connection is recognized in the Non-Proliferation Treaty, article VI of which includes an obligation to not only achieve nuclear disarmament, but also to make progress on general and complete disarmament. The connection is also noted in the UN Secretary-General's *Five Point Proposal for Nuclear Disarmament*, which calls for progress on conventional arms control in parallel with progress on nuclear disarmament.

A good framework for advancing conventional arms control and general and complete disarmament can be found in the Strategic Concept for the Removal of Arms and Proliferation (SCRAP), a project established by the Centre for International Studies and Diplomacy (SOAS) at the University of London.

The SCRAP project evaluates the range of conventional arms control measures that would be required to achieve general and complete disarmament, reviews the measures already in place, and proposes measures to fill the gaps. SCRAP works closely with PNND to build cooperation between nuclear disarmament and conventional disarmament initiatives.

**Parliamentarians are encouraged to evaluate and advance the ideas and proposals for conventional disarmament measures as put forward in the UN Secretary-General's Five Point Proposal for Nuclear Disarmament and in the Strategic Concept for the Removal of Arms and Proliferation.**



## PUBLIC EDUCATION AND PROMOTION

The UN Report on Disarmament and Non-proliferation Education, which the United Nations General Assembly adopted by consensus in 2002, recommends that UN member states develop disarmament education programs at all levels of society, establish public advisory boards on disarmament education, include parliamentarians on delegations to key multilateral disarmament meetings, and establish peace parks, museums, websites and other peace and disarmament education initiatives.

**Parliaments and parliamentarians are encouraged to commemorate key dates relating to nuclear disarmament, including the anniversaries of the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (August 6 and 9), UN International Day Against Nuclear Tests (August 29), and the UN International Day for the Total Elimination of Nuclear Weapons (September 26).**



Above: Parliamentarians join civil society activists in #3dNukeMissile, a public education event in front of the German parliament.

Left: PNND organizes a conference in Astana on International Day Against Nuclear Tests, August 29, 2016

# Role of the United Nations

United Nations bodies play a number of key roles in nuclear disarmament.

The **UN General Assembly** provides a universal forum for all States to discuss and adopt nuclear disarmament proposals, and advance nuclear disarmament negotiations. The **UN Security Council** plays a role in enforcing compliance with nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament obligations, and in addressing security issues and threats related to nuclear policies and practices. The **International Court of Justice** can assist in the resolution of legal disputes including those involving nuclear weapons issues. The **UN Secretariat** (UN Secretary-General and UN Office of Disarmament Affairs) provide leadership and

support for the goal of nuclear disarmament, for UN deliberations and negotiations on nuclear disarmament and for treaty implementation.

The secretariat is also active in public promotion and education for nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. This includes promotion of relevant United Nations Days, and disarmament education materials.

**Parliamentarians are encouraged to make use of the UNFOLD ZERO platform ([www.unfoldzero.org](http://www.unfoldzero.org)) which highlights UN initiatives for nuclear disarmament, and provides information on how parliamentarians and civil society can be engaged.**

## Links to the Sustainable Development Goals

On 25 September 2015, member countries of the United Nations adopted a set of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to end poverty, protect the planet, and ensure prosperity for all. This was followed by the adoption of a specific plan of action to address climate change at the COP 21 Conference in Paris in December 2015. The 16<sup>th</sup> SDG has a special relevance, calling for 'peaceful and inclusive societies'.

Achievement of the SDGs and implementation of the COP 21 will depend on political will and the allocation of sufficient resources. Progress on nuclear disarmament would assist in achieving these goals in three key ways, through:

1. Re-allocation of financial, scientific, intellectual, political and personnel resources from nuclear weapons to SDG implementation;
2. Reduction of tensions and conflicts currently perpetuated by nuclear threat postures, and the increased cooperation that would occur from joint verification of nuclear disarmament agreements, which would enhance the cooperation and trust required for SDG implementation;

3. Ending the production and testing of nuclear weapons which create catastrophic impacts on the environment for current and future generations.

In addition, the use of nuclear weapons in an armed conflict would cause even greater human and environmental consequences, and would likely trigger a global nuclear catastrophe from which there would be zero chance of achieving the SDGs.

The relationship between disarmament and development has been widely recognized for many decades. Article 26 of the United Nations Charter, for example, places an obligation on the UN Security Council to facilitate disarmament 'in order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources.'

**Parliamentarians have a key role to play in determining budget priorities, which includes choices on whether to prioritise funding for sustainable development, or for nuclear weapons and militarism.**





PNND Council meeting with UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon.

## Conclusion – the role of PNND, IPU and regional parliamentary bodies

The goal of a nuclear-weapon-free world is a difficult one to achieve. Since the dawn of the nuclear age in 1945, nuclear weapons have become part of the security framework for a number of countries and regional alliances. The fact that the five permanent members of the UN Security Council possess nuclear weapons gives the impression that these weapons are locked into the international security infrastructure, even though all but one of these countries became permanent members before they acquired nuclear weapons.

**Governments** are obliged to achieve nuclear disarmament. However, their failure to implement this obligation to-date is one of the main reasons why parliamentarians and civil society have to become more engaged in the issue.

**Inter-parliamentary forums**, including the Inter-Parliamentary Union, NATO Parliamentary Assembly and Parliamentary Assembly of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, provide vital forums for parliamentarians to discuss nuclear disarmament issues and adopt common courses of action.

Parliaments are members of these forums, rendering considerable authority to the resolutions they adopt. However, the resolutions are neither binding, nor self-implementing, on the member parliaments. Individual parliamentarians and civil society members need to take action in their national parliaments in order to advance the recommendations in the resolutions.

**Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (PNND)** is the only international parliamentary network on nuclear weapons issues which open for any individual parliamentarian to join. PNND provides a forum for parliamentarians to engage with disarmament experts, civil society leaders and other like-minded parliamentarians in order to amplify their actions for nuclear disarmament. PNND members play a role in introducing topics and proposals in the inter-parliamentary bodies (IPU, OSCE, NATO...) and then in following up on their implementation.

PNND members initiate parliamentary debates, questions, legislation, events, joint statements/declarations and other activities in order to advance nuclear risk reduction, non-proliferation and disarmament.

PNND leaders include current and former prime ministers, foreign ministers, presidents of national assemblies, chairs of foreign affairs and defence committees, presidents of inter-parliamentary bodies and other leading parliamentarians. PNND has twice been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for its disarmament work.

# Calendar 2017–2018

## DIPLOMATIC EVENTS – MULTILATERAL DISARMAMENT CONFERENCES

Currently, the most important diplomatic (multilateral) conferences relating to nuclear disarmament from 2017 to 2020 are the *UN High Level Conference on Nuclear Disarmament* in 2018 and the *NPT 2020 review cycle*. Below is a list of specific meetings in 2017–2018. For updates on dates and other information on these events we recommend the **UN Disarmament Calendar** published online by the United Nations Office of Disarmament Affairs [www.un.org/disarmament/events](http://www.un.org/disarmament/events).

- **UN General Assembly First Committee**, New York. September 28 – November 2, 2017
- **Conference on Disarmament**, Geneva, sessions in January–March, May–June and July–September 2018
- **First Preparatory Meeting for the 2020 NPT Review Conference**, Geneva, April 2018
- **UN GA High Level Conference on Nuclear Disarmament Preparatory Meeting**, New York, March 2018
- **UN GA High Level Conference on Nuclear Disarmament**, New York, May 2018
- **UN General Assembly**, New York, October – November 2018

## INTER-PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLIES

The following is a list of key inter-parliamentary assemblies where further cooperation for nuclear disarmament can be built between parliaments and parliamentarians.

### INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION

- 137<sup>th</sup> Assembly, St Petersburg, October 14–17, 2017
- Fourth Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians, Ottawa, Nov 17–18, 2017
- 138<sup>th</sup> Assembly, Geneva, 24–28 March, 2018

### NATO PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY

- Annual Session, Bucharest, Oct 6–9, 2017
- Annual Session, Ottawa, Nov 16–19, 2018

### OSCE ANNUAL ASSEMBLY

- Winter Meeting, Vienna, Feb 22–23, 2018
- Annual Session, Berlin, July 7–11, 2018

## CIVIL SOCIETY DATES

These are suitable dates for parliaments and civil society to organize joint events to increase public awareness about nuclear weapons and nuclear disarmament.

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| Jan 24 | Anniversary of the 1 <sup>st</sup> UN resolution, which was adopted by consensus and put forward the goal of the elimination of nuclear weapons |
| Aug 6  | Anniversary of the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima   |
| Aug 9  | Anniversary of the nuclear bombing of Nagasaki  |
| Aug 29 | International Day Against Nuclear Tests   |
| Sep 21 | International Day for Peace   |
| Sep 26 | International Day for the Total Elimination of Nuclear Weapons  |
| Oct 2  | International Day for Non-violence (Birthday of Mahatma Gandhi)   |

# Composite list of parliamentary actions

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## **Nuclear posture reviews**

Parliamentarians in nuclear armed States and in nuclear alliances (such as NATO) can positively influence their nuclear posture reviews by advancing nuclear threat reduction and disarmament as priorities in the revised policies. They can do this through parliamentary debates, joint statements and public events.

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## **NPT review process**

Parliamentarians can play an important role to support the NPT Review Conferences by promoting the implementation of key elements agreed in 1995, 2000 and 2010. Parliamentarians can also participate as observers in the NPT Review Conferences and the preparatory meetings.

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## **Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons**

Parliamentarians in countries which sign the treaty can act to ensure the adoption of strong national implementation measures, possibly including some that go beyond the requirements of the prohibition treaty, such as prohibitions on transit and financing of nuclear weapons. Parliamentarians in countries that have not signed the treaty can encourage their governments to do so.

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## **2018 UN High Level Conference on Nuclear Disarmament**

Parliamentarians can help ensure a successful UN High Level Conference in 2018 by encouraging their governments to participate at the highest level, initiating debates and parliamentary resolutions in support, and promoting key measures that could be adopted at the HLC.

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## **Nuclear tests**

Parliamentarians in countries that have not yet ratified the CTBT can encourage their parliaments to do so. Parliamentarians can also ensure that the CTBTO has sufficient resources to undertake its verification tasks, and they can organize commemorative events on the International Day Against Nuclear Tests to promote the CTBTO and an end to nuclear tests globally.

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## **Nuclear risk reduction**

Parliamentarians can act to lower the operational readiness to use nuclear weapons, expand the Presidential decision-making time in any nuclear crisis, require parliamentary/congressional approval for the first use of nuclear weapons, and establish crisis-management and confidence building measures between nuclear armed States.

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## **Stockpile reduction**

Parliamentarians in nuclear armed States can promote unilateral reductions in stockpile numbers, bilateral negotiations between Russia and the United States on stockpile reductions, and P5 negotiations to implement the 2010 NPT commitment to rapidly reduce nuclear weapons stockpiles.

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**Eliminating nuclear deterrence from security doctrines**

Parliamentarians in nuclear armed and allied countries can promote the elimination of nuclear deterrence from their security doctrines, including by highlighting alternative means and mechanisms to resolve conflicts and maintain security.

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**Establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones**

Parliamentarians can support the establishment of a Middle East zone free from nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, and explore the possibilities for establishing NWFZs in North East Asia, Europe and the Arctic.

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**Negotiations for nuclear weapons convention, framework agreement and/or package of agreements**

Parliamentarians can promote negotiations for a nuclear weapons convention (or package of agreements) in their parliaments, in inter-parliamentary forums and by endorsing joint statements such as 'A Nuclear-Weapon-Free World: Our Common Good.' Parliamentarians can urge the nuclear armed and allied States to adopt a framework agreement at the 2018 UN High Level Conference on Nuclear Disarmament.

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**Nuclear weapons spending**

Parliamentarians in nuclear armed States can act to reduce nuclear weapons budgets. Parliamentarians in non-nuclear countries can act to divest public funds and banks from corporations manufacturing nuclear weapons and their dedicated delivery systems.

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**Conventional arms control**

Parliamentarians are encouraged to evaluate and advance the ideas and proposals for conventional disarmament measures as put forward in the UN Secretary-General's Five Point Proposal for Nuclear Disarmament and in the Strategic Concept for the Removal of Arms and Proliferation.

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**Public education and promotion**

Parliaments and parliamentarians are encouraged to commemorate key dates relating to nuclear disarmament, including the anniversaries of the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (August 6 and 9), UN International Day Against Nuclear Tests (August 29), and the UN International Day for the Total Elimination of Nuclear Weapons (September 26).

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**Role of the United Nations**

Parliamentarians are encouraged to make use of the UNFOLD ZERO platform which highlights UN initiatives for nuclear disarmament, and provides information on how parliamentarians and civil society can be engaged.

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## APPENDIX I

### **Towards a nuclear-weapon-free world: The contribution of parliaments**

Resolution adopted  
at the 130<sup>th</sup> IPU  
Assembly in 2014

The 130<sup>th</sup> Assembly of the Inter-Parliamentary Union,

*Convinced* of the need to achieve and maintain a nuclear-weapon-free world,

*Affirming* the key role of parliaments and parliamentarians in addressing nuclear risks and building the legislative and political framework needed to achieve a nuclear-weapon-free world,

*Recalling* previous IPU resolutions on the disarmament and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, in particular the resolution adopted by the 120<sup>th</sup> IPU Assembly (Addis Ababa, April 2009),

*Noting with grave concern* that more than 17,000 nuclear weapons exist worldwide, constituting a serious threat to international peace and security, and that any use of nuclear weapons, whether by accident, miscalculation or intent, would have devastating humanitarian and environmental consequences,

*Welcoming* the Conferences on the Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons held in Oslo, Norway, in 2013 and in Narayit, Mexico, in February 2014, and the conference to be held in Vienna, Austria, in 2014,

*Underscoring* the mutually reinforcing nature of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation,

*Recognizing* the importance of the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), which embodies the international consensus on the need to pursue the interrelated pillars of disarmament, non-proliferation and the peaceful use of nuclear energy,

*Reaffirming* that all States must ensure compliance with their nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation obligations, especially those under the Non-Proliferation Treaty,

*Also reaffirming* the nuclear disarmament obligations of nuclear-weapon States under Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, notably to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to urgent cessation of the nuclear arms race and to nuclear disarmament, and the obligation of all NPT States Parties to pursue negotiations on general and complete disarmament,

*Mindful* of the 64-point Action Plan adopted by the 2010 NPT Review Conference, which, inter alia, “calls on all nuclear-weapon States to undertake concrete disarmament efforts and affirms that all States need to make special efforts to establish the necessary framework to achieve and maintain a world without nuclear weapons”,

*Noting* its strong support for the essential work of the International Atomic Energy Agency and for the universal implementation of its system of safeguard agreements and their additional protocols as essential tools for strengthening the non-proliferation regime,

*Also noting* its strong support for the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization and its monitoring system,

*Further noting* the partial contribution made by unilateral and bilateral disarmament initiatives, *reaffirming* the continued importance and relevance of multilateral frameworks and action, and *underlining* the urgent need for progress,

*Noting* the United Nations Secretary-General’s five-point proposal for nuclear disarmament and his address on nuclear disarmament, of the opening Public Plenary of the Conference on Disarmament, held on 21 January 2014,

*Also noting* the New START Treaty and efforts made by the Russian Federation and the United States of America to implement it,

*Affirming* the key role of the Conference on Disarmament in the negotiation of multilateral agreements to achieve a nuclear-weapon-free world,

*Acknowledging* the significant contribution made by a number of countries to realizing the objective of nuclear disarmament by establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones and voluntarily renouncing nuclear weapon programmes or withdrawing all nuclear weapons from their territories,

*Affirming* that all States must ensure unconditional respect for such nuclear-weapon-free zones,

*Welcoming* the first ever High-Level Meeting of the United Nations General Assembly on Nuclear Disarmament, held on 26 September 2013,

*Encouraged* by the emergence of other multilateral initiatives, including the United Nations General Assembly's decision to establish a group of governmental experts to begin discussion of possible elements of a fissile material cut-off treaty and to set up the United Nations Open-ended Working Group to develop proposals to take forward multilateral nuclear disarmament negotiations,

*Welcoming* the Geneva interim agreement of 24 November 2013 between the Islamic Republic of Iran, on the one hand, and the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and Germany, on the other, which paves the way for the gradual lifting of economic sanctions against the Islamic Republic in exchange for an in-depth review of its nuclear programme; *inviting* all the parties to the agreement to apply all its provisions faithfully and speedily,

*Determined* to work with governments and civil society to generate and mobilize the political will needed to achieve a world without nuclear weapons,

1. *Calls on* all Member Parliaments and parliamentarians to promote nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation as objectives of the highest priority and urgency;
2. *Encourages* parliamentarians to engage in dialogue and to build multiparty networks and coalitions at all levels in the pursuit of nuclear disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation;
3. *Appeals* to parliamentarians to educate citizens and raise awareness about the continuing dangers of nuclear weapons and the need for and benefits of their total elimination;
4. *Calls on* all parliamentarians to promote and commemorate the International Day for the Total Elimination of Nuclear Weapons each year on 26 September, in accordance with United Nations General Assembly resolution 68/32;
5. *Calls on* parliaments to encourage their governments to advance the goal of a sustainable nuclear-weapon-free world in all appropriate international forums and treaty bodies and to take the necessary concrete steps to that end;
6. *Calls for* the universalization of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and *appeals* to parliaments to ensure that States that have not signed and ratified the Treaty do so without further delay or any conditions;
7. *Highlights* the importance of securing the entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty, and *urges* those States identified in Annex 2 of the Treaty, in particular nuclear weapon States, that have not yet done so to accelerate the process of signing and ratifying it, as a matter of priority and an indication of their political will and commitment to international peace and security, and in the meantime to respect their moratoria on nuclear tests;
8. *Calls on* all States to refrain from conducting any kind of nuclear weapon test;
9. *Stresses* the need for parliamentarians to work with their governments to ensure full compliance with all provisions of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and all commitments under the 2000 NPT Review Conference (the 13 practical steps) and the 2010 NPT Review Conference (the Action Plan);
10. *Calls on* parliaments to work together and with governments and civil society to build momentum for a constructive NPT Review Conference in 2015;
11. *Urges* parliaments to strengthen the safety of all nuclear materials, including those intended for military use, notably by monitoring the implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1540 (2004), and by ensuring the ratification of relevant multilateral treaties such as the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism and the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material and its 2005 Amendment;
12. *Calls on* parliaments in States that have not yet done so to bring into force, as soon as possible, a comprehensive safeguards agreement and additional protocol, which, together, constitute essential elements of the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards system;
13. *Calls on* parliamentarians to use all available tools, including committees, closely to monitor national implementation of the above commitments, including by scrutinizing legislation, budgets and progress reports;
14. *Recommends* that parliaments urge their governments to start negotiations on a nuclear weapons convention or on a package of agreements to help achieve a nuclear-weapon-free world, as outlined in the United Nations Secretary-General's five-point proposal and noted in the 2010 NPT Review Conference Action Plan;

15. *Also recommends* that parliaments urge their governments to start multilateral negotiations on a verifiable, robust, non-discriminatory and multilateral treaty banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices;
16. *Encourages* parliaments in States possessing nuclear weapons to demand, in keeping with Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, deeper and faster action on disarmament and increased transparency from their governments in relation to nuclear weapons arsenals, stockpiled fissile material, and information on related programmes and spending
17. *Invites* parliaments, pending a fissile material cut-off treaty, to encourage their governments who have not yet done so to establish a moratorium on the production of fissile material by unilaterally ceasing such production and dismantling their production facilities;
18. *Encourages* parliaments to work with their governments in the pursuit of confidence-building measures, including by eliminating the role of nuclear weapons in security doctrines and policies;
19. *Also encourages* the parliaments of nuclear-weapon-possessing States to demand, in accordance with Action 5(e) of the Final Document of the 2010 NPT Review Conference, a reduction in the operational status of nuclear weapons;
20. *Further encourages* parliaments to strengthen existing nuclear-weapon-free zones and to support their expansion and the establishment of new zones;
21. *Calls on* parliamentarians to support the convening, at the earliest possible date, of a conference for a Middle East free of weapons of mass destruction, to be attended by all States in the region on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at;
22. *Urges* parliaments to demand the return to substantive work of the United Nations Conference on Disarmament;
23. *Reiterates* the need to reach an early agreement in the Conference on Disarmament on an effective, universal, unconditional and legally binding instrument in order to give assurances to non-nuclear States regarding the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons;
24. *Calls on* parliamentarians to use the IPU as a global forum to focus political attention on the need for effective, verifiable and irreversible nuclear disarmament, and on concrete and practical actions that can be taken in the immediate future to advance this goal.

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\* The delegation of the Russian Federation expressed reservations on operative paragraphs 1 and 2. The delegation of India expressed reservations on operative paragraphs 6, 7 and 17. The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran expressed reservations on preambular paragraphs 11 and 21 and on operative paragraphs 11, 12 and 15. The delegation of Pakistan expressed reservations on preambular paragraphs 7, 10 and 20 and on operative paragraphs 6, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17 and 19.

**Joint Parliamentary  
Letter to NATO  
and OSCE on  
Dialogue, Détente  
and Nuclear-  
Risk-Reduction**

July 2017

**LETTER TO NATO SECRETARY-GENERAL JENS STOLTENBERG  
AND CHAIR OF THE OSCE MINISTER SEBASTIAN KURZ**

July 14, 2017

Excellencies,

We write to you out of concern about the deteriorating security environment globally and in Europe, aggravated by illegal Russian actions against Ukraine, and an increase in nuclear threat postures including in planning and preparation for the possible first-use of nuclear weapons in Europe.

This has led the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists to this year move the hands of their Doomsday Clock to 2½ Minutes to Midnight, the closest we have been to a partial or total Armageddon since the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962.

The recent use of chemical weapons in Syria, and the threats by North Korea to use nuclear weapons against the US and its allies in East Asia, demonstrate the unfortunate willingness of undemocratic leaders to violate international norms and laws, including laws against aggression and international humanitarian law which protects civilians in times of conflict and precludes the use of weapons of mass destruction.

In these times, Europe and our North American allies must reinforce international law and common security, stay true to our principles upholding human rights and protecting civilians, and resist the temptation to lower our standards to those of the worst violators of international norms.

Our security is based not only on common defence, but also on common values and international law.

And while we must uphold the law, morality and common defence, we must also be open to dialogue and détente in order to reduce threats and open the door to resolving conflicts.

As such, we call on NATO and the OSCE to:

1. Re-affirm our commitment and adherence to international law and diplomacy and our collective opposition to acts of aggression and gross violations of human rights;
1. Affirm our opposition to the use of weapons of mass destruction impacting civilians as a violation of international humanitarian law and a violation of the rights and security of civilians;
2. Pursue further measures to reduce risks of nuclear conflict escalation by declarations of nuclear states never to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states – preferably at the UN-level.
3. Keep open various channels for dialogue with Russia, including the NATO-Russia Council, in order to provide the possibility for dialogue and détente;
4. Affirm the historical practice of the non-use of nuclear weapons in wartime since 1945, and the common interest of humanity that this practice continues forever, including at least until the peace and security of a nuclear-weapon-free world can be achieved;
5. Support nuclear risk-reduction and disarmament measures between Russia and NATO, particularly those which can be verified and enforced;
6. Support multilateral, treaty-based processes that can facilitate confidence building, nuclear risk-reduction and disarmament including through the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the 2018 United Nations High Level Conference on Nuclear Disarmament.

We believe that these measures would be in the common interests of all parties and would build security for all.



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## Summary of 2010 NPT outcome document

Compiled by  
PNND. For more  
information see  
[www.un.org/en/  
conf/npt/2010/](http://www.un.org/en/conf/npt/2010/)

### NON-PROLIFERATION

"The conference reaffirms the urgent necessity of negotiating a non-discriminatory, multilateral and internationally verifiable treaty banning the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons or other explosive devices."

"The conference, noting that 18 States Parties to the Treaty have yet to bring into force comprehensive safeguards agreements, urges them to do so without further delay."

### COMPLIANCE

"The Conference reaffirms the role of the United Nations Security Council and the General Assembly, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, in upholding compliance with IAEA safeguards agreements..."

"The Conference emphasized that responses to concerns over compliance... should be pursued by diplomatic means."

### TRANSPARENCY

"The Secretary-General is invited to establish a publicly-accessible repository which shall include the information provided by nuclear weapon States."

### MIDDLE EAST

"The UN Secretary-General and the cosponsors of the 1995 Middle East Resolution, in consultation with the States of the region, will convene a Conference in 2012, to be attended by all States of the Middle East, on the establishment of a Middle East zone free of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction..."

"Appointment by the UN Secretary-General and the cosponsors of the 1995 Middle East Resolution, in consultation with the States of the region, of a Facilitator with a mandate to support implementation of the 1995 resolution by conducting consultations with the States of the region and undertaking preparations for the convening of the 2012 Conference"

### NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

"All States need to make special efforts to establish the necessary framework to achieve and maintain a world without nuclear weapons. The Conference notes the Five-Point Proposal for Nuclear Disarmament of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, which proposes *inter alia* the consideration of negotiations on a nuclear weapons convention or a framework of separate mutually reinforcing instruments backed by a strong system of verification";

"The nuclear weapon states commit to accelerate concrete progress on steps leading to nuclear disarmament... To this end they are called upon to promptly engage with a view to, *inter alia*:

- rapidly move to an overall reduction in the global stockpile of all types of nuclear weapons...;
- address the question of all types of nuclear weapons regardless of the type and location...;
- further diminish the role and significance of nuclear weapons in all military and security concepts, doctrines and policies;
- discuss policies that could prevent the use of nuclear weapons...;
- consider the interest of non-Nuclear Weapon States in further reducing the operational status of nuclear weapons...;
- reduce the risk of accidental use of nuclear weapons;
- further enhance transparency and increase mutual confidence."

"The Nuclear Weapon States are called upon to report on the above undertakings to the Preparatory Committee meeting in 2014. The 2015 Review Conference will take stock and consider the next steps for the full implementation of Article VI."

### INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW

"The Conference expresses its deep concern at the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons, and reaffirms the need for all States at all times to comply with applicable international law, including international humanitarian law."

## APPENDIX IV

### **Nuclear risk-reduction and disarmament language of the Tbilisi Declaration**

Adopted on July 5, 2016 by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe

We, Parliamentarians of the OSCE participating States, have met in annual session in Tbilisi from 1 to 5 July 2016 as the Parliamentary dimension of the OSCE to assess developments and challenges relating to security and co-operation, in particular on 25 Years of Parliamentary Co-operation: Building Trust Through Dialogue, and we offer the following views to the OSCE Ministers.

[...]

Expressing deep concern at increased nuclear threats arising from the deteriorating relationship between the Russian Federation and NATO, including potential violations of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, statements indicating an increased readiness to use nuclear weapons, increasing numbers of military incidents between NATO and Russian forces, lack of transparency over deployments of tactical nuclear weapons by both sides, and statements indicating potential plans to deploy nuclear weapons to additional territories in Europe and locations in Russia;

Welcoming proposals made at the United Nations Open-Ended Working Group on Taking Forward Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament Negotiations for the commencement in 2017 of multilateral nuclear disarmament negotiations and the decision of the United Nations General Assembly to hold an international conference on nuclear disarmament in 2018;

[...]

Calls on all participating OSCE States to support the commencement in 2017 of United Nations-facilitated deliberations and negotiations on multilateral nuclear disarmament;

Calls on all OSCE States with nuclear weapons or under extended nuclear deterrence relationships to reduce the risks of a nuclear war by taking nuclear weapons off high-alert and by adopting no-first-use policies;

Calls on all participating OSCE States to participate in the 2018 UN international conference on nuclear disarmament at the highest level, to include parliamentarians in their delegations to the conference and to pursue the adoption of nuclear risk reduction, transparency and disarmament measures at the conference.



## A Nuclear Weapon-Free World: Our Common Good

Joint statement of  
parliamentarians,  
mayors and  
religious leaders

### A NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE WORLD: OUR COMMON GOOD

*Statement by parliamentarians, mayors and religious leaders to commemorate the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the onset of the nuclear age and the foundation of the United Nations*

From the ashes of World War II, and in the wake of the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the United Nations was established with a common vision to end war and with its first resolution to eliminate “all weapons adaptable to mass destruction.”

70 years later, over 16,000 nuclear weapons remain in the world’s arsenals costing \$100 billion annually – funds that could instead be used to reverse climate change, eliminate poverty and address other social and economic needs.

As parliamentarians, mayors and religious leaders we join together to highlight the continuing risks of a nuclear catastrophe – whether by accident, miscalculation or intent – and the moral and security imperative to achieve nuclear abolition.

We reaffirm UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon’s description of the abolition of nuclear weapons as a “common good of the highest order.”

In special ways mayors are responsible for protecting the safety and welfare of their citizens, as well as for preserving and promoting cultural and environmental values and heritages; parliamentarians for national policies and laws for the benefit of present and future generations; and religious leaders for advancing the shared moral principles and respect for the well-being of all people regardless of ethnicity, nationality or religion.

Together—as mayors, parliamentarians and religious leaders— we support the common good of nuclear abolition. We reject nuclear weapons, which threaten our humanity, contravene our moral principles, violate international law and thwart the safety and well-being of current and future generations.

We commit to principled action to advance shared security and well-being based on deeply held and widely shared moral principles, the rule of law and a profound commitment to non-violent conflict resolution.

We call upon world leaders to commit to nuclear abolition and to replace nuclear deterrence with shared security approaches to conflicts. We further urge states to advance a nuclear weapons convention or framework of agreements that eliminate nuclear weapons.

We pledge to engage our constituencies and to strengthen the cooperation among religious leaders, parliamentarians and mayors to promote this vital mission.

*Adopted in Hiroshima on August 6, 2015, for presentation to the United Nations to support multilateral negotiations for the elimination of nuclear weapons.*

*Facilitated by Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament ([www.pnnd.org](http://www.pnnd.org)), Religions for Peace ([www.religionsforpeace.org](http://www.religionsforpeace.org)) and Mayors for Peace ([www.mayorsforpeace.org](http://www.mayorsforpeace.org)).*

## MY NOTES

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