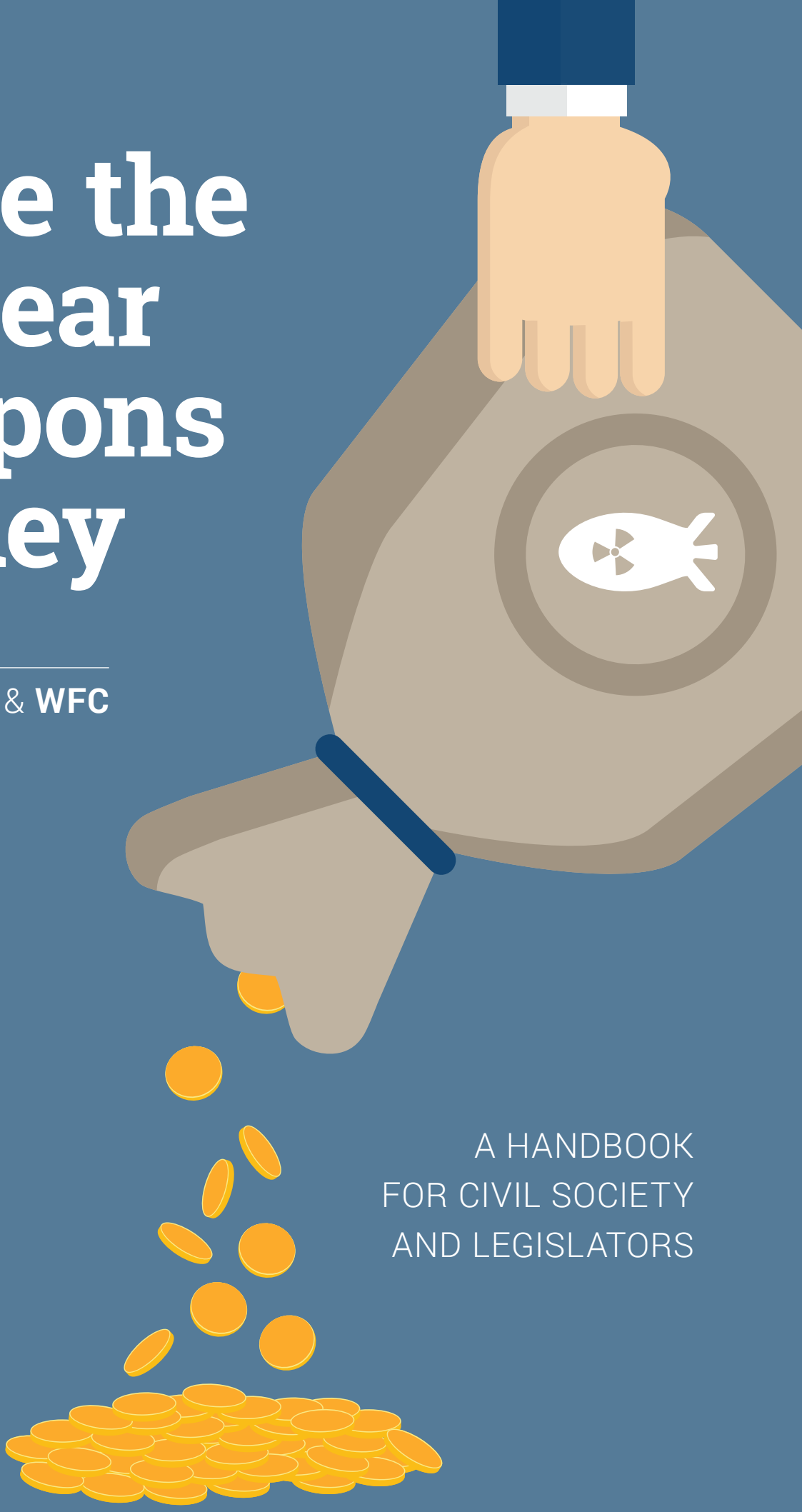
Move the nuclear weapons money

by **IPB**, **PNND** & **WFC**



A HANDBOOK
FOR CIVIL SOCIETY
AND LEGISLATORS

About the publication

Editor: Alyn Ware
Authors: Colin Archer, Jean-Marie Collin, Nina Delafontaine, Rob van Riet, Alyn Ware
Proofing: Max Beech, Rachel Day

Published in 2016 by the **International Peace Bureau**, **Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament**, and the **World Future Council**.

Contents

1 Introduction

Over the next 10 years, governments will spend a staggering 1 trillion USD on nuclear weapons globally. That's 100 billion USD annually.

Against the backdrop of increasing budgetary austerity and widespread cuts in health and social spending, such allocations for weapon systems appear not only exorbitant, but also counter to the economic and social needs of the nuclear-armed States. In order to spend such large budgets on nuclear weapons, they are forced to reduce the budgets in other areas such as health, education, environmental protection and welfare.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, architect of Pakistan's atomic programme acknowledged this 'opportunity cost' of nuclear weapons programs, asserting that *"if India builds the bomb, we will eat grass, even go hungry, but we will get one of our own."*

The bloated nuclear weapons budget also impacts negatively on the international community. The annual UN Core Budget, for example, is only 5.1 billion USD – or 5% of the annual global nuclear weapons budget. Overseas development aid from the nuclear-armed States to the developing countries remains way under the agreed target of 0.7% of GDP, a target which could easily be reached if the funding for nuclear weapons was re-directed towards development aid.

Civil society actors, working with legislators, can impact on budget decisions relating to nuclear weapons, and reverse this trend.

Most of the nuclear weapons money goes to private companies which are awarded contracts to manufacture, modernize and maintain nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles. For these companies, the bloated budgets are in their interests. Indeed, the companies actively lobby their parliaments and governments to continue allocating the funds to nuclear weapons. And they support think tanks and other public initiatives to promote the 'need' for nuclear weapons maintenance, modernization or expansion.

A recent report *Don't Bank on the Bomb* identifies 26 major nuclear weapon producers, and more than 382 banks, insurance companies, pension funds and asset managers from 27 countries that invest significantly in these corporations, all of which have a vested interest in high nuclear weapons budgets.

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.

"Money is a remarkable human invention, a mental symbol, a social organization and a means for the application and transfer of social power for accomplishment."

The Power of Money,
by **Garry Jacobs** & **Ivo Šlaus**

"Money makes the world go around."

Cabaret by **Christopher Isherwood**

Those pursuing nuclear disarmament therefore need to find ways of countering this power. Anti-nuclear activists 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.

This handbook provides ideas, examples and resources for legislators and civil society in order to realise this aim. The handbook will focus primarily on national and federal legislators, who are the ones with authority to decide on national budgets. However, the handbook will also include ideas, examples and resources for working with legislators at local and regional levels, and with other key institutions, such as banks and investment companies.

Nuclear weapons budget: opportunity cost

"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."

A Nuclear-Weapon-Free World: Our Common Good. Joint statement of legislators and religious leaders organised by Mayors for Peace, Religions for Peace and Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament.

2 The role of legislators

Legislators are the bridge between civil society and government. They serve as the elected (or appointed) representatives of the general population, invested with responsibility to set policy, adopt legislation and decide on budgets for public expenditure.

In some countries, where there is a deficit of democracy or a prevalence of corruption, this mandate is curtailed or subverted to some degree. But it is never lost entirely. Indeed, even in corrupt countries, legislators are prone to public scrutiny and require public support for re-election. As such, the best opportunity civil society has to impact on nuclear weapons budget issues is to work with, and influence, legislators.

The role legislators can play differs to some degree depending on the legislatures in which they serve.

Those in nuclear-armed countries can have direct input into decision-making on the nuclear weapons budgets. Those in nuclear-sharing countries might also have a role in budget decisions relating to the deployment of nuclear weapons on their territories.

Those in non-nuclear States can address policy or legislation on investments in nuclear weapons corporations – most of which are public companies. This can include prohibiting such investments by public funds or financial institutions, or even more comprehensive prohibitions on any investments in nuclear weapons corporations.

Legislators can also give more general support to the global promotion of disarmament for development (and non-investment in nuclear weapons corporations) at the United Nations, in inter-parliamentary bodies such as the *Inter-Parliamentary Union*, and in international financial institutions such as the *International Monetary Fund* and *World Bank*.

"Legislatures appropriate funds, hold officials accountable, debate policy, undertake investigations, ratify treaties, adopt implementing legislation, represent voices of public opinion, and some also work with legislatures in other countries, either directly or indirectly though organizations like the Inter-Parliamentary Union, or Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament.

Parliaments help to give disarmament not only vision, but also some backbone, muscle, and teeth."

Sergio Duarte, UN High Representative for Disarmament (2007 – 2012)

3 Nuclear weapons versus 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 16th 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 holocaust 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."*

"The threats to our planet – of climate change, poverty and war – can only be overcome by nations and the global community working in cooperation – something not possible while nations maintain large and expensive militaries and threaten to destroy each other.

When one year of global military spending equals six hundred years of the UN operating budget, are we truly committing ourselves to a world with increased cooperation and reduced conflicts?"

PNND Co-Presidents Statement on the International Women's Day for Disarmament, May 24, 2008

However, the vested interests of the permanent members of the Security Council – the world's largest weapons manufacturers and exporters – have so far prevented concrete. Costa Rica raised this issue in the Security Council in 2008, but did not have sufficient support to achieve anything concrete.

In September 2015, the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev made a specific proposal to the UN General Assembly that every country contribute 1% of their military spending to fund the *Sustainable Development Goals*. However, this proposal has not yet been picked up by other countries or adopted by the UN.

It is therefore up to civil society, working in cooperation with legislators, to highlight the connection between nuclear disarmament and sustainable development, and to build cooperation between the nuclear disarmament and *SDG* communities. In this way we can build a more powerful movement, develop traction on international initiatives to move the money to *SDGs*, and ensure success of the core goals – *SDG* implementation and nuclear abolition.

"At a time when the international community is facing unprecedented global challenges, parliamentarians can take on leading roles in ensuring sustainable global security, while reducing the diversion of precious resources from human needs.

As parliaments set the fiscal priorities for their respective countries, they can determine how much to invest in the pursuit of peace and cooperative security."

UN Secretary-General **Ban Ki-moon**,
Letter to all parliaments, February 2010

"Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and not clothed.

This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children.

This is not a way of life at all in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron."

Dwight D. Eisenhower, from a speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors,16 April 1953.

4 Nuclear budgets

Nuclear-armed countries

Despite the decline in the overall number of nuclear weapons since the end of the Cold War, expenditure in this field continues to increase. The numbers are alarming.

According to a *Nuclear Weapons Cost Study* released by *Global Zero* in June 2011, global annual expenditure on nuclear weapons amounts to 105 billion USD annually or 12 million USD an hour. At this rate, we can calculate that nuclear-armed states will spend at least 1 trillion USD over the next 10 years. The significance of these numbers becomes even clearer when put into context. The annual budget of the *UN Office for Disarmament Affairs* is only 10 million dollars. And the target of the *UN Green Climate Fund* is to secure 100 billion USD a year – an equivalent amount to the global nuclear weapons budget.

The figures released by *Global Zero* in 2011 are likely to be under-stated, and the actual expenses much higher. Since 2011, the US Congress has authorized additional nuclear modernization programs, the full costs of which are not included in the 2011 figures.

In addition, the nuclear-weapon-possessing States have never comprehensively tracked all nuclear-weapon-related spending. Nuclear weapons expenses are spread over a number of departments – with some expenses such as compensation for nuclear test victims and secret radiation experiments not adequately documented. As Stephen I. Schwartz, author of *Atomic Audit: The Costs and Consequences of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Since 1940* notes with regard to US nuclear weapons spending:

"The problem is not (...) that the government 'has never officially disclosed the exact cost', it's that no one knows the exact cost because all the relevant data have never been collected and analyzed.' However, Schwartz acknowledges that even within the margin of uncertainty 'the nuclear weapons program has consumed an estimated 8.7 trillion USD (in inflation-adjusted 2010 dollars) since 1940, making it the third most expensive government program of all time."

Total Military and Nuclear Weapons Spending 2010–2011

	2010			2011 Est.	
	Total Military Spending	Nuclear Weapons		Nuclear Weapons	
		Core Cost	Full Cost	Core Cost	Full Cost
US	687	30.9	55.6	34	61.3
Russia	53–86	6.8	9.7	9.8	14.8
China	129	5.7	6.8	6.4	7.6
France	61	4.6	5.9	4.7	6.0
UK	57	3.5	4.5	4.5	5.5
India	35	3.4	4.1	3.8	4.9
Israel	13	1.5	1.9	1.5	1.9
Pakistan	7.9	0.8	1.8	1.8	2.2
North Korea	8.8	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.7
TOTAL	**1052–1085**	**57.7**	**91.0**	**67**	**104.9**

Note: Figures in billions of US dollars. Core costs refer to researching, developing, procuring, testing, operating, maintaining, and upgrading the nuclear arsenal (weapons and their delivery vehicles) and its key nuclear command-control-communications and early warning infrastructure; full costs add unpaid/deferred environmental and health costs, missile defenses assigned to defend against nuclear weapons, nuclear threat reduction and incident management. Not included are air defenses, anti-submarine warfare and nuclear-weapons related intelligence and surveillance expenses. Primary sources: SIPRI Military Expenditure Database; IISS Military Balance; CIA World Factbook, and other sources identified in the text of this report. **Source: Global Zero**

Nuclear budgets: the case of France

The cost of French nuclear weapons programs (research, development, testing and production, deployment, command and control, communications and intelligence) between 1945 and 2010 was estimated at 357 billion Euros by an independent think-tank *Observatory of Armament*. France had, and still has, the world's third largest nuclear weapons arsenal with 300 warheads, deployed on submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) and fighter aircraft. All of these weapons are deployed and operational.

Since 2003, the parliament votes a Military Planning Law (LPM), which defines the defence budget for the next six years. The last one was voted on in the fall of 2013 and covers the period from 2014 to 2019. 23.3 billion Euro are devoted in this LPM for the deterrence policy. In the previous period (2009-2014), the amount was 20.25 billion Euro.

The explanation of the increase in the budget is that it is the result of the modernization of submarines (adaptation for the new M51 missile) and the production of two kinds of nuclear warheads. Also, to be added is the cost of the budget for the nuclear test simulation program, which began in 1995. The cost of this program was originally less than 3 billion Euro and has now reached 7.2 billion Euro.

The next president will have to make major decisions, to prepare the renewal of all nuclear components. The objective is to have the first nuclear submarine of the third generation ready to use by 2030 (then 3 others will be built by 2045), and a new nuclear cruise missile planned to enter service in the 2030s for the Rafale fighter. The deterrence budget will thus be doubled to 6.5 billion Euro from 2020 until 2040.

Nuclear-sharing countries

Belgium, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands and Turkey. These five NATO states are not nuclear-armed states but host American-owned nuclear weapons on their territory, capable of being used by the air-forces of the host countries. The other NATO states – as well as Japan, South Korea and Australia – are under extended-nuclear deterrence (*nuclear umbrella*) relationships with the United States, but do not host US nuclear weapons on their soil.

The United States spends approximately 100 million USD per year to deploy 184 B-61 nuclear bombs in the five nuclear-sharing states.

In 2010, the US National Nuclear Security Administration initiated a modernization program of the B61. The Federation of American Scientists described this program as *"a gold plated nuclear bomb project."* The initial estimated cost was 4 billion USD. In 2012, it had already increased to 10 billion USD.

The B61 nuclear bomb is not only being modernized. A new version of this bomb is being developed. It will be called the B61-12 and will possess a guided tail kit to increase the accuracy of the weapon. This will cost an additional 1 billion USD.

Once the B61-12 is ready, another 1 billion USD will be spent in order to integrate the new weapons onto US and NATO aircraft. This sum includes, for example, software upgrades and operational flight tests.

This is not all. NATO has already invested over 80 million USD since 2000 to secure nuclear weapons storage sites in the nuclear-sharing countries. And according to the US Department of Defense budget request for 2015, another 154 million USD will be disbursed so as to meet stringent new US safety standards.

One crucial element missing in all these numbers is the financial contributions of the five NATO states hosting the US nuclear weapons. Costs for the host country airplanes required to deliver the nuclear weapons are generally known, and parliaments can play a role in policy decisions on whether to maintain this role (see Chapter 6). However, other costs of the host countries relating to storage of the weapons are not public. This is a suitable topic for parliamentarians to raise questions.

5 How to engage with legislators

Contacting your legislator

Your legislator/member of parliament was elected to represent you. So you have a right to contact him/her and to state your opinion on a key issue. You can do this by phone, fax, email, twitter or even publicly through letters to the editors of local or national papers.

Such messages are generally more influential if done on an issue or question that is currently before parliament or is in the portfolio of your legislator. They are also more effective if many people contact the legislator with a similar opinion, or if you can indicate that there are a large number of constituents supporting your opinion. It can help to cite petitions, opinion polls or resolutions of influential organisations supporting your opinion. It can also help to refer to relevant policy of the legislator's political party, or to speeches of party leaders.

Messages to legislators should be kept brief. Neither the legislator, nor their staff, have time to read thousands of long letters from constituents.

Letters should be polite. Threatening letters will get thrown away. And they should be specific. You should ask your legislator to take action on a key initiative, resolution, draft legislation or budget allocation item. Or you can ask your legislator their opinion on specific policy issues or initiatives.

Contacting other legislators

If you are a member of a national or international organization, you may decide to contact a number of legislators in order to build support for an initiative, or specific legislators – such as the foreign minister, chairs/members of the foreign affairs and defence committees, speaker/president of the parliament, or heads of delegations to inter-parliamentary bodies such as the *Parliamentary Assembly for the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe* or the *Inter-Parliamentary Union*.

Include brief information about your organization in the letter to your legislator. You might consider contacting other relevant organisations to see if they will endorse your letter. This adds to the impact. You might also consider announcing your letter to the press through a press release.

Meetings with legislators

Meetings with legislators provide additional possibilities to inform them of your initiative or call, present information or perspectives that might not capture their attention in a letter, garner support from them and possibly even change their positions. However, securing meetings can be difficult. You increase your chances if you represent an organization with a large number of members (i.e. possible votes for the legislator) and if you join forces with other organisations to request a meeting.

Before meeting with your legislators, take some time to consider why they might be interested in this issue or willing to support. Research their interests and views. Try to gauge what might move them to support.

Ensure that you are on time for the meeting, and you have decided before-hand who will introduce your group and who will speak on which points. It's most effective if you begin the meeting by praising the legislator for something they have said or done, before moving to criticism or to your request for support for your position.

Do not overload the meeting with too much information, nor too many points. You need to allow time after presenting your case for the legislator to respond and have some dialogue. To ensure that the legislator has all the information required, you can leave background/briefing papers (or send a briefing paper to them before the meeting).

In addition to asking the legislator to support (or take action) on your initiative, you could consider inviting them to join *Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (PNND)*. This way they can continue to be informed about, and engaged in, nuclear disarmament issues and related parliamentary initiatives.

After the meeting, send a follow-up letter thanking the legislator for the meeting. If the legislator agreed to your request, for example to support an initiative, sign an appeal or join PNND, thank them for doing so. If not, then politely remind them of your request for them to do so.

Influencing party policy

Most legislators are members of political parties. These parties have policy which their legislators, in general, are expected to follow. You will increase your chances of getting support from legislators for your initiative if it is consistent with their party policy, or if you can get specific support for this initiative/policy into party policy. Such changes are often initiated at local (constituency) level, and are then carried forward as a resolution to the annual Party congress or National Executive. You can find out how to work on this by asking party members or legislators from the party who are already sympathetic to your position.

Inter-parliamentary organisations

Most parliaments are members of inter-parliamentary organisations such as the *Inter Parliamentary Union, Parliamentary Assembly of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe*, *Inter-Parliamentary Assembly of the Commonwealth of Independent States* (former Soviet countries), *African Parliamentary Union*, *Commonwealth Parliamentary Association*, *NATO Parliamentary Assembly*, *Arab Parliament*, *Parliamentary Assembly of the Mediterranean*, *Latin American Parliament* and more.

Many of these inter-parliamentary organisations have considered, and taken action on, nuclear disarmament issues and proposals.

Resolutions are adopted by the member parliaments at the annual assemblies of the inter-parliamentary bodies. Once a resolution is adopted, it gives civil society campaigners an opening to follow-up the resolution in the member parliaments, especially through delegates from your parliament to the inter-parliamentary assembly.

The Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU), whose 168 member parliaments includes most of the nuclear-armed States and their allies, has adopted strong resolutions on nuclear disarmament in 2009 and 2014, committing member parliaments to work with their governments to eliminate the role of nuclear weapons from security doctrines and to participate in negotiations to achieve a nuclear-weapon-free world. The resolutions were adopted by consensus, so if your parliament is a member of the IPU, it has endorsed this resolution.

IPU has also produced a handbook for parliamentarians on supporting nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament, and participates actively in key events such as the *International Day for the Total Elimination of Nuclear Weapons*.

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE PA), which includes the parliaments of France, Russia, the UK, the USA and all European countries, has adopted declarations in 2014, 2015 and 2016 which include a call for nuclear threat postures to be reduced, no-first-use policies to be adopted, and for member countries to join multilateral negotiations for complete nuclear disarmament. The declarations were adopted by consensus, so if your parliament is a member of the OSCE PA, it has endorsed the declarations.

You can use the resolutions/declarations from inter parliamentary bodies to build support from your legislators for nuclear disarmament issues/initiatives.

The IPU and OSCE PA resolutions were introduced by PNND members. PNND is coordinating follow-up, including through events in parliaments. Contact PNND for more information, including on follow-up in your parliament.

6 Examples of parliamentary actions

Budgets

Parliaments have a critical role to play in challenging nuclear weapons spending through their mandate to scrutinize and approve funding and authorization of military programs, including nuclear weapon systems. While nuclear planning and doctrines often don't involve consultation of legislatures, the budgets and programs for acquiring and modernizing nuclear forces in many nuclear weapon states and nuclear sharing states are approved by parliaments. In some instances, parliaments or members of parliament have used this prerogative in attempts to cut nuclear weapons spending, re-order budget priorities and change the shape and size of nuclear forces.

For example, in the **United States**, a coalition of legislators from across the political aisle, supported by civil society groups and former military officials, worked in 2004 and 2005 to deny funding requests from the Bush Administration to develop the Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator, a new type of nuclear weapon designed to penetrate the earth's surface to reach tunnels, caves and bunkers. By cutting funding for the development of these 'nuclear bunker busters', the US Congress effectively shut down the controversial program. As US Congressman Ed Markey (Co-President of Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament) noted at the time, *"If we are to convince other countries to forgo nuclear weapons, we cannot be preparing to build an entire new generation of nuclear weapons here in the US."*

In mid-2016, congressional members in the United States launched a campaign to refuse the Air Force request to congress to fund a planned new nuclear air-launched cruise missile. The senators, led by Ed Markey and Dianne Feinstein, oppose the new missile for security reasons. They argue that it would be destabilizing, would escalate the nuclear threat and would more easily lead to nuclear-weapons-use in a conflict. However, the tool they are using in their attempt to squash the cruise missile program is the congress appropriation process. If congress refuses the funds, the Air Force will not be able to build the missile.

Members of the US Congress have also initiated legislation and proposals for more comprehensive nuclear disarmament, and to redirect nuclear weapons funding towards meeting health and social needs and new security threats. Since 2012, Ed Markey has annually introduced the *Smarter Approach to Nuclear Expenditures (SANE) Act* into the US Congress, initially in the House of Representatives and then in the Senate when he became a senator.

The *SANE Act* effectively highlights concrete possibilities to cut the bloated US nuclear arsenal. As the Washington-based *Arms Control Association* has noted, *"Congress can and should pursue these proposals to avoid wasting taxpayer dollars on rebuilding a massive, Cold War-sized nuclear arsenal, which is poorly suited for today's threats, including nuclear terrorism."*

2016 campaign for US president nomination

"We are spending hundreds of billions of dollars maintaining 5,000 nuclear weapons.... The Cold War is over!"

Senator **Bernie Sanders**, running for the US Democratic nomination for president

Trident and its cost

"The government is in favour of replacing Trident at a cost of at least £205 billion. This money would be enough to improve the National Health Service by building 120 state of the art hospitals and employing 150,000 new nurses, build 3 million affordable homes, install solar panels in every home in the UK or pay the tuition fees for 8 million students."

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament,
No to Trident Campaign

So far, the *SANE Act* has not received sufficient backing to be adopted as law. However, if implemented it would save 100 billion USD over a period of 10 years by scrapping specific nuclear weapons programs and investing this money into education, health and social programs.

In the **United Kingdom**, the prohibitively high cost of the Trident submarine and its nuclear weapons delivery systems (missiles) has been raised publicly and in parliament as one of the reasons to oppose their replacement and renewal. *Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament* has run a public campaign condemning the government for being prepared to spend over 200 billon pounds on the Trident renewal, whilst at the same time cutting funding for social services.

PNND Council member Jeremy Corbyn has been one of the leading parliamentary voices opposing Trident renewal – partly on economic grounds and partly for ethical reasons. He initially did this as a back-bencher through *Early Day Motions* in parliament, and publicly as a leader of the CND campaign. More recently, as the new leader of the Labour Party, he has been pushing the party more directly to adopt policy opposing Trident renewal.

In **France**, the issue of the nuclear budget was traditionally a taboo topic and was never challenged publicly or in parliament. However, this is starting to change. Starting in 2013, PNND has organised a number of events in the Senate and National Assembly where nuclear weapons issues have been raised – including the nuclear weapons budget. In 2014, PNND Council member François de Rugy MP (Ecology Party) raised official questions in the French National Assembly regarding the issue of the French nuclear budget. Also, for the first time ever, two experts of civil society (including PNND French Director Jean-Marie Collin) made formal presentations to the Defense Committee of the National Assembly on the French nuclear weapons budget.

Election campaigns in the nuclear-armed States can be a good time to raise the issue of nuclear weapons spending and to encourage better policies from the candidates. In the 2016 campaign for the Democratic nominee for US president, young campaigners from *Global Zero* raised this issue at many of the public meetings. Senator Bernie Sanders, one of the co-sponsors of the *SANE Act*, responded by publicly criticizing the US budget for nuclear weapons.

The *Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament* ensured that the cost of Trident was an issue in the 2015 elections in the UK. The publicity generated by CND was probably a key factor in the huge increase in seats gained by the Scottish Nationalist Party, the only party other than the Green Party to oppose Trident renewal.

In other parliaments the possibility of channeling nuclear weapons spending towards addressing the real security challenges of the 21st century has also been raised. The **Bangladesh Parliament**, for instance, on 5 April 2010, unanimously adopted a resolution submitted by PNND Co-President Saber Chowdhury, which supports the UN Secretary-General's *Five Point Proposal for Nuclear Disarmament* and notes that *"the 100 billion USD spent annually on nuclear weapons should be channeled instead towards meeting the UN Millennium Development Goals as well as the urgent climate change adaption funding needs of the most vulnerable countries."*

Role of Parliaments

"At a time when the international community is facing unprecedented global challenges, parliamentarians can take on leading roles in ensuring sustainable global security, while reducing the diversion of precious resources from human needs.

As parliaments set the fiscal priorities for their respective countries, they can determine how much to invest in the pursuit of peace and cooperative security."

UN Secretary-General **Ban Ki-moon**, Letter to all parliaments, February 2010.

Parliaments can also challenge military spending commitments in states hosting nuclear weapons, thereby changing the shape of nuclear forces. For example, in 2001 **Greece** unilaterally decided to upgrade its fighter jets to types unable to carry the US B-61 nuclear bombs that were at the time deployed in Greece. As a result, the US was forced to remove its tactical nuclear weapons from Greek territory.

The **Dutch Parliament** attempted to end the hosting of US tactical nuclear weapons on Dutch soil in a similar manner. The parliament first adopted a motion rejecting the modernization of the B-61 nuclear weapons deployed in the Netherlands. Then in November 2013, the parliament adopted a motion calling on the government to ensure that the successor to the F-16 fighter not be equipped to deliver nuclear weapons.

In addition, a group of Dutch legislators representing a majority in parliament presented a letter to the US Congress urging it to decline to appropriate the funds necessary for the modernization of US tactical nuclear weapons stationed in Europe. The letter notes: *"As your responsibilities include the authorization or appropriation of funds which could be used for the modernization of the B61- the tactical (or sub-strategic) weapons that are currently stationed in Europe, it was imperative to bring this decision of our national parliament to yours. In closing, we undersigned members of the Dutch parliament, encourage you to use the anticipated $664,580,000 B61 spendingx for other purposes."*

The parliamentary actions were not sufficient to move the Dutch government to follow the example of Greece and end the nuclear sharing arrangement in Netherlands. However, it did ensure that there was a public debate about the issue, and put pressure on the government to be more supportive of multilateral nuclear disarmament initiatives such as the *UN Open Ended Working Group on Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament*. In other countries hosting US tactical nuclear weapons, similar decisions on replacing fighter jets needed for their delivery are taking place. This gives an opportunity for civil society groups to support parliamentarians in influencing and overseeing the relevant procurement and budget decisions.

Divestment

Divestment has been a popular and effective mechanism for many movements seeking to enact social change or prohibit and eliminate certain practices. It was used effectively by the campaign against apartheid in South Africa, as large numbers of colleges, cities, counties and state authorities around the world excluded companies doing business in South Africa from their investment portfolio.

More recently, the fossil divestment campaign has proven to be a crucial tool in taking the fossil fuel industry to task for its culpability in the climate crisis and breaking its hold on economies and governments.

In the area of arms control and disarmament, divestment policies have already been pursued with some vigour. The diplomatic efforts to obtain treaties banning cluster munitions and landmines were accompanied by moves to divest from companies involved in the production of these types of weapons. In some instances, divestment campaigns preceded the

global treaties banning these weapons, with parliaments playing a crucial role. The **Belgian parliament**, for example, adopted landmines and cluster munitions divestment legislation before negotiations on the Mine-Ban Convention and Convention on Cluster Munitions had even started.

Nuclear weapons divestment has also been pursued in some countries, with parliaments playing a critical role in such initiatives. The **Norwegian Stortinget** (parliament) played a crucial role in the development and adoption in 2004 of ethical guidelines for the *Norwegian Government Pension Fund Global* to ensure the fund does not make investments which risks the fund or may contribute to unethical acts. This includes divestment from companies involved in *"the development and production of key components for nuclear weapons."* Since then, ten such companies have been excluded from the fund's portfolio.

Spurred on by the Norwegian precedent, in **New Zealand** a coalition of parliamentarians and civil society groups successfully called on the Government Superannuation Fund to divest from nuclear weapons producers. Similarly, in **Switzerland** legislators worked with civil society to revise the *Swiss Federal Act on War Material* in 2012 to, inter alia, prohibit the financing of nuclear weapons producers.

Nuclear divestment policies contribute to stigmatising nuclear weapons, thereby bringing about a normative shift towards their prohibition, as well as reducing the power of the nuclear weapons corporations by impacting on their share prices. They also highlight the application of International Humanitarian Law to nuclear weapons, and help ensure that government investments are in line with their obligations under international law.

In addition, some non-nuclear governments have established banks that have ethical investment policies which rule out investments in nuclear weapons corporations. *Kiwi Bank*, established by the New Zealand government from a parliamentary initiative, is one such example.

It is not surprising that none of the nine nuclear-armed States have a nuclear-weapons divestment law. However, within some of these countries there are banks with policies to not invest in nuclear weapons corporations. Parliamentarians and political parties in nuclear-armed States can therefore join the *Don't Bank on the Bomb* initiative (see Chapter 9 below) and decide to only have bank accounts and banking transactions with such banks.

Care must be taken, however, to examine the policies and practices of banks that claim to be adhering to nuclear weapons divestment policies. The French bank *BNP Paribas* (third largest bank in the world), for example, claims to not invest in them. It notes that nuclear weapons have indiscriminate effects and cause undue harm and injuries. This looks good until one reviews the exception made by *BNP Paribas*, which allows for investments in *"companies that only contribute to government controlled nuclear weapon programs in NATO countries that are authorized to possess nuclear weapons under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty".*

Economic conversion

Economic conversion (defence conversion, or arms conversion) relates to specific programs to utilize members of a military workforce in alternative work. The idea of economic conversion is that it minimizes job losses when cutting weapons or military systems.

One of the reasons that the majority of senators are not willing to support the *SANE Act* in the **United States**, is because the corporations manufacturing the weapons systems have production facilities in most of the US states. This gives the weapons corporations considerable political clout. They argue that a cut to the weapons programs would lead to job losses in their senator's states, and this would be against the best interests of the senators.

In the **United Kingdom**, Jeremy Corbyn has faced a similar problem of strong resistance to cutting the funding for Trident replacement from parliamentarians and trade unionists concerned about job losses in areas where the submarines and other components for the Trident system are, or would be, built.

Parliamentary support for specific economic conversion programs would assist in building support for cuts in nuclear weapons budgets.

In the **United States** there has been some success in conversion of the tasks of some personnel at the national laboratories (Sandia, Los Alamos and Livermore) – moving from designing nuclear weapons to disarmament verification or to research and development of renewable energies. However, the failure of the US Congress to adopt a national conversion strategy has meant that such conversion in the labs is minimal, and is non-existent in the weapons corporations. PNND member Eleanor Holmes Norton is attempting to address this in a *Nuclear Disarmament and Economic Conversion Act* she introduces annually into the US Congress.

In 2013, the **US State of Connecticut** began an attempt to move the conversion process in their state by adopting Senate Bill No. 619 which establishes the *Connecticut Commission on Business Opportunity, Defense Diversification and Industrial Policy*. If this process succeeds, it could be a good model for other states.

There are two other areas relating to nuclear weapons budgets that require action by parliaments. One is the requirement for funding for the implementation, verification and enforcement of nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament agreements and organisations – such as the *International Atomic Energy Agency* and the *Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organisation*. Another is setting appropriate levels of budgets for clean-up of nuclear production sites and compensation for nuclear test victims.

7 Local authorities

Decisions on national nuclear weapons policies are generally made by national or federal administrations and legislatures. However, local authorities (mayors, city councils and regional councils) also have an important role to play.

Local authorities have a responsibility to provide a safe and sustainable environment for residents and visitors to their communities. The use of nuclear weapons – whether by terrorist organization or government – would have a catastrophic impact on human health, the environment, infrastructure and economy of cities. Even if nuclear weapons are used in low numbers far away from one's own city, the impact of refugees, radiation and resulting political turmoil would be felt. Local authorities, therefore, have a responsibility to act in cooperation with each other, and with national governments, to prevent such use.

Local authorities have been implementing this responsibility in a number of ways. Some have established themselves as *nuclear-weapon-free zones*, either through symbolic declarations or through more concrete measures to prohibit any nuclear-weapons-related activities in their jurisdiction. Others have joined organisations such as *Mayors for Peace* to provide a strong, collective voice from cities for national, regional and global nuclear disarmament initiatives.

With regard to moving the nuclear money, local authorities are able to adopt policies to ensure that public funds they administer do not invest in nuclear weapons corporations. In April 2016, the **City of Cambridge, Massachusetts** took such action, effectively removing 1 billion USD from possible investment in companies involved in producing and modernizing nuclear weapons.

Resolution adopted by consensus on 2 April 2016 by the Cambridge (US) City Council to prohibit city funds from investing in nuclear weapons corporations

WHEREAS: Nations across the globe still maintain over 15,000 nuclear weapons, some of which are hundreds of times more powerful than those that obliterated Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and detonation of even a small fraction of these weapons could create a decade-long nuclear winter that could destroy most of the Earth's population; and

WHEREAS: The United States has plans to invest roughly one trillion dollars over the coming decades to upgrade its nuclear arsenal, which many experts believe actually increases the risk of nuclear proliferation, nuclear terrorism, and accidental nuclear war; and

WHEREAS: In a period where federal funds are desperately needed in communities like Cambridge in order to build affordable housing, improve public transit, and develop sustainable energy sources, our tax dollars are being diverted to and wasted on nuclear weapons upgrades that would make us less safe; and

WHEREAS: Investing in companies producing nuclear weapons implicitly supports this misdirection of our tax dollars; and

WHEREAS: Socially responsible mutual funds and other investment vehicles are available that accurately match the current asset mix of the City of Cambridge Retirement Fund while excluding nuclear weapons producers; and

WHEREAS: The City of Cambridge is already on record in supporting the abolition of nuclear weapons, opposing the development of new nuclear weapons, and calling on President Obama to lead the nuclear disarmament effort; now therefore be it

ORDERED: That the City Council go on record opposing investing funds from the Cambridge Retirement System in any entities that are involved in or support the production or upgrading of nuclear weapons systems; and be it further

ORDERED: That the City Manager be and hereby is requested to work with the Cambridge Peace Commissioner and other appropriate City staff to organize an informational forum on possibilities for Cambridge individuals and institutions to divest their pension funds from investments in nuclear weapons contractors; and be it further

ORDERED: That the City Manager be and hereby is requested to work with the Board of the Cambridge Retirement System and other appropriate City staff to ensure divestment from all companies involved in production of nuclear weapons systems, and in entities investing in such companies, and the City Manager is requested to report back to the City Council about the implementation of said divestment in a timely manner.

8 Economic aspects of a nuclear weapons ban

"[A nuclear prohibition treaty] would prohibit not only the use of nuclear weapons, but also, inter alia, their development, production, testing, acquisition, stockpiling, transfer, deployment, and financing, as well as assistance, encouragement, or inducement of these acts."

Elements for a treaty banning nuclear weapons, Working Paper 14 submitted by Fiji, Nauru, Palau, Samoa and Tuvalu to the UN Open Ended Working Group on Taking Forward Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament Negotiations.

On August 19, 2016, the *UN Open Ended Working Group on Taking Forward Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament Negotiations*, which was established by the UN General Assembly, adopted a recommendation that the UN General Assembly hold a conference in 2017 to negotiate a legally-binding instrument to prohibit nuclear weapons, leading towards their total elimination. Given the majority support for this recommendation, such negotiations will likely commence in 2017.

The nuclear ban treaty to be adopted will most likely include prohibitions on financing of nuclear weapons. States that sign and ratify the treaty will therefore be required to implement such prohibitions in national policy and/or legislation.

International treaties banning other inhumane weapons or weapons of mass destruction (biological weapons, chemical weapons, landmines and cluster munitions) do not specifically prohibit investments in corporations making these weapons. However, they do prohibit activities which *"assist, encourage or induce anyone to engage in any activity prohibited"* under those treaties. A number of governments, encouraged by civil society, have therefore included in their implementing legislation for these treaties a prohibition on investment of public funds in corporations making such weapons. This is especially true of the landmines and cluster munitions treaties which were the ones most recently adopted.

Indeed, some countries prohibited such investments in separate legislation prior to the adoption of the treaties. Such prohibitions have helped build the norm against investments and ensured this issue was part of the treaty negotiation.

With regard to nuclear weapons, some countries have already adopted various prohibitions on investments in nuclear weapons corporations (see chapter 6 above). These could be strengthened to apply to all investments, not only those of public funds. And other countries could be encouraged to adopt similar prohibitions as the negotiations for a nuclear prohibition treaty commence.

The 2017 negotiations are likely to only attract non-nuclear States. There is considerable support for additional multilateral negotiations that would include nuclear-armed, nuclear allied and non-nuclear States. A *Model Nuclear Weapons Convention*, circulated by the UN Secretary-General as a guide for such negotiations, suggests even more comprehensive prohibitions on financing nuclear weapons. In addition to prohibiting all investments in nuclear weapons production, the *Model NWC* includes a prohibition on financing nuclear weapons research, other than research required for nuclear disarmament.

The *Model NWC* also includes a clause on economic support for disarmament – a clause that could help reduce the opposition of nuclear weapons corporations to the treaty. The clause provides a voluntary fund for nuclear disarmament tasks, the work for which could be undertaken by some of the same corporations that are currently involved in the nuclear weapons industry.

9 Resources

Action days and campaigns

COMMEMORATION DAYS

The following UN commemoration days are suitable for events and actions on nuclear disarmament, especially those relating to UN initiatives:

- **January 24:** Anniversary of the first UN General Assembly resolution which established a commission of the UN Security Council to ensure the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction.
- **July 8:** Anniversary of the International Court of Justice case on the legality of the threat or use of nuclear weapons.
- **August 29:** UN International Day Against Nuclear Tests.
- **September 21:** UN International Day for Peace.
- **September 26:** UN International Day for the Total Elimination of Nuclear Weapons.
- **October 2:** UN International Day for Nonviolence.

Two other important international dates, while not official UN observance days, are **6 and 9 August**, the anniversaries of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombings in 1945.

UNFOLD ZERO

UNFOLD ZERO (www.unfoldzero.org) is a global platform promoting United Nations initiatives for nuclear disarmament. *UNFOLD ZERO* also highlights UN processes for resolving conflicts and achieving security without relying on nuclear deterrence or the threat or use of force. The platform promotes nuclear disarmament initiatives in the UN General Assembly, UN Security Council, International Court of Justice, other UN bodies and those of the UN Secretary-General.

UNFOLD ZERO is a joint project of *Aotearoa Lawyers for Peace*, *Basel Peace Office*, *Global Security Institute*, *Mayors for Peace*, *Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament* and *PragueVision Institute for Sustainable Security*.

Campaigns have included *Open the Door to a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World*, in support of the *UN Open Ended Working Group on Nuclear Disarmament*, and *Chain Reaction*, a series of civil society actions and events around the world from 8 July until 2 October 2016.

UNFOLD ZERO also organizes actions and events for UN days relating to nuclear disarmament (see Commemoration Days on the left).

GLOBAL CAMPAIGN ON MILITARY SPENDING

The *Global Campaign on Military Spending* (www.demilitarize.org) was launched on 10 December 2014 by the *International Peace Bureau (IPB)* to tackle the worldwide issue of excessive military spending. The campaign builds on over a decade of work done by IPB and others around the theme of *Disarmament for Sustainable Development*. It incorporates the *Global Day of Action on Military Spending (GDAMS)* – now in its 5th year.

GDAMS is arranged to coincide with the release of the annual world military expenditure figures by SIPRI. It also coincides with Tax Day in the US, when Americans pay their taxes and debate their use. Many types of activities are organised, from physical actions (flashmobs, street theatre/demonstrations, banner displays, seminars, signature collections or concerts) to social media campaigns (Thunderclap, selfies or groupies on Facebook, Instagram or Pinterest, video productions on Youtube).

IPB proposes that the money released from the military budget could be made available to five broad alternative areas: peace, sustainable development, climate change and biodiversity loss, public services/ green job-creation and humanitarian programmes to support the most vulnerable groups. These are all part of a wider global transformation towards a culture of peace.

Move the Money

Move the Money (www.peace-action.org/issues/move-the-money) is a US campaign that is part of the *Global Campaign on Military Spending*. It is coordinated by *Peace Action* in liaison with the *National Priorities Project*.

Peace Action points out that the U.S. spends nearly as much on its military as all other countries combined -- at a time when critical domestic needs continue to be cut. The US Budget Control Act caps (aka "Sequestration") since 2011 have deeply cut federal support for education, food programs, housing, transportation, and green energy. Reductions in the bloated military budget could free up federal funds for these human and social needs.

Three key demands made by the current *Move the Money* campaign are: 1) Flush the Slush Fund – Overseas Contingency Operations (OCO); 2) Cut the F-35 "Budget Buster", and 3) Reduce Nuclear Weapons and Delivery Systems.

Don't Bank on the Bomb

Don't Bank on the Bomb (www.dontbankonthebomb.com) is a campaign organised by PAX (Netherlands) which encourages individuals and organisations to hold their bank accounts only in banks that do not invest in nuclear weapons. The campaign produces a *Don't Bank on the Bomb Report*, which identifies both financial institutions that invest heavily in companies involved in nuclear weapon programmes, and those that have policies limiting or prohibiting such investments.

Resolutions and declarations

INTER-PARLIAMENTARY BODIES

Inter Parliamentary Union
www.ipu.org

- **Advancing nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament and supporting the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty: The Role of Parliaments.** Resolution adopted by consensus by the 120th IPU Assembly on 10 April 2009. Supports a range of non-proliferation and disarmament measures including the CTBT, negotiations for a fissile material treaty, and the UN Secretary-General's *Five Point Proposal for Nuclear Disarmament*. www.ipu.org/conf-e/120/120-1.htm

- **Toward a Nuclear Weapon Free World: The Contribution of Parliaments.** Resolution adopted by consensus by the 130th IPU Assembly on 20 March 2014. Commits member parliaments to work with their governments to eliminate the role of nuclear weapons in security doctrines, commence multilateral negotiations on a nuclear weapons convention or package of agreements, and build public awareness about nuclear weapons and disarmament including through the *International Day for the Total Elimination of Nuclear Weapons*. www.ipu.org/conf-e/130/Res-1.htm

OSCE Parliamentary Assembly
www.oscepa.org

- **Helsinki Declaration.** Adopted by consensus by the *OSCE Parliamentary Assembly* on 9 July 2015. Welcomes the *Humanitarian Pledge* (on nuclear disarmament), supports the re-establishment of the *UN Open Ended Working Group on Nuclear Disarmament*, and 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.

- **Tbilisi Declaration.** Adopted by consensus by the *OSCE Parliamentary Assembly* on 5 July 2016.

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 OSCE States to join multilateral negotiations in 2017 on nuclear disarmament.

UNITED NATIONS

UN Security Council

- **UN Security Council statement on military spending and development.** Adopted on 19 November 2008, at a session chaired by Costa Rica. Supports national, bilateral, regional and multilateral measures aimed at reducing military expenditures. Urges all States to devote as many resources as possible to economic and social development, in particular in the fight against poverty and the achievement of the *Millennium Development Goals*. www.un.org/press/en/2008/sc9501.doc.htm

UN General Assembly

- **Final Document of the UN International Conference on Disarmament for Development.** New York, 24 August – 11 September 1987. Adopted an action plan on ways to reduce military spending in order to fund social and economic goals.

- **Relationship between Disarmament and Development.** Annual UNGA resolution. See, for example A/RES/70/32, adopted by consensus on 7 December 2015. Urges the international community to devote part of the resources made available by the implementation of disarmament and arms limitation agreements to economic and social development. Calls for further implementation of the Action Plan from the 1987 International Conference on Disarmament for Development.

UN Secretary-General

- **Contagious Doctrine of Deterrence.** 24 October 2008. Speech of UNSG Ban Ki-moon releasing his *Five Point Proposal for Nuclear Disarmament*. In the speech, the UNSG notes the huge cost of nuclear weapons and the productive uses that these funds could instead be directed towards. www.un.org/press/en/2008/sgsm11881.doc.htm

- **The World is Over-Armed and Peace is Underfunded.** 20 August 2012. Article by UNSG Ban Ki-moon published in numerous media sources around the world. www.un.org/disarmament/update/20120830

LEGISLATORS AND CIVIL SOCIETY

- **A Nuclear-Weapon-Free World: Our Common Good.** A joint statement of legislators and religious leaders calling upon world leaders to commit to nuclear abolition, replace nuclear deterrence with shared security approaches to conflicts, and use the 100 billion dollars spent annually on nuclear weapons to be directed instead to reverse climate change, eliminate poverty and address other social and economic needs. www.unfoldzero.org/26-september-2015/#statement

Documents

- **The Opportunity Cost of World Military Spending**, Dr Sam Perlo-Freeman, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 5 April 2016.

- **Military Expenditure Database**, published annually by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. www.sipri.org/databases/milex

- **Kazakh President Outlines MDG Successes, Calls for Portions of Defence Budgets to be diverted to Development**, Astana Times, 30 September 2015. www.astanatimes.com

- **Demilitarization for Deep Decarbonization: Reducing Militarism and Military Expenditures to Invest in the UN Green Climate Fund and to Create Low-Carbon Economies and Resilient Communities**, Tamara Lorincz, International Peace Bureau, September 2014.

- **NATO Nuclear Weapons Security Costs Expected to Double**, Hans Kristensen, Federation of American Scientists, March 2014. https://fas.org/blogs/security/2014/03/nato-nuclear-costs/

- **Handbook for Parliamentarians on Supporting Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament**. Published by PNND and IPU, 2013. Incudes a section on nuclear weapons budgets and the role of parliamentarians.

- **Monthly French PNND Bulletin**. This newsletter in French is a source of specific and regular information on topics related to nuclear weapons (budget, MP actions, resolutions…). www.pnnd.org/fr

- **Realign Military Spending, Convert Infrastructure to Produce Funding For Civilian Needs (Economic Conversion)**. Beyond War, 2015. www.worldbeyondwar.org

- **Opportunity Costs: Military Spending and the UN Development Agenda**, IPB 2012 Report.

- **Global Zero Report on Nuclear Weapons Spending**, June 2011. Examines the nuclear weapons budgets of the nine states producing nuclear weapons. www.globalzero.org/files/gz_nuclear_weapons_cost_study.pdf

- **Nuclear Weapons: At What Cost?**, Ben Cramer, published by IPB 2009. A survey of the costs of the nuclear weapons programmes of all the relevant states.

- **Report of the Group of Governmental Experts on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development**, UNIDIR, 2004. www.unidir.ch

- **Atomic Audit: The Costs and Consequences of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Since 1940**, Stephen I. Schwartz, Brookings Institute, 1998. www.brookings.edu/book/atomic-audit/

About the publishers

INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU

The International Peace Bureau is dedicated to the vision of a world without War. Our current main programme centres on Disarmament for Sustainable Development and within this, our focus is mainly on the reallocation of military expenditure. We support a range of disarmament campaigns and supply data on the economic dimensions of weapons and conflicts. Our 300 member organisations in 70 countries, together with individual members, form a global network, bringing together knowledge and campaigning experience in a common cause. We link experts and advocates working on similar issues in order to build strong civil society movements.

The *Making Peace* photo exhibition (www.making-peace.org) has been visited by an estimated 1.2 million people since it was first presented in Geneva in 2010. The show was produced by the IPB and curated by Ashley Woods. Contact us if you'd like to bring the show to your city.

IPB has had Consultative Status with the UN's Economic and Social Council since 1977. IPB plays a central role in the Geneva-based NGO Committee for Disarmament. There are sister committees in New York and Vienna. Together we follow various disarmament negotiations, within and outside the UN. We are a Nobel Peace Laureate (1910); in addition, 13 of our officers have over the years been recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize.

www.ipb.org

PARLIAMENTARIANS FOR NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION AND DISARMAMENT

Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (PNND) is a non-partisan forum for parliamentarians nationally and internationally to engage in nuclear risk reduction, nonproliferation and disarmament issues. We organize forums, build links between civil society and their elected representatives, and assists parliamentarians to engage in international disarmament processes.

Our membership of over 700 legislators includes current and former prime ministers, presidents, foreign ministers, speakers/presidents of parliaments, heads of foreign affairs and defence committees, heads of inter-parliamentary bodies and others.

www.pnnd.org

WORLD FUTURE COUNCIL

The World Future Council (WFC) consists of 50 eminent global change-makers from governments, parliaments, civil society, academia, the arts and business who have already successfully created change.

We make politicians aware that they have an ethical responsibility to assess every decision-making process on the basis of how it will affect future generations. In close collaboration with civil society groups, members of parliament, governments, businesses and international organisations we research future just policies and legislation. We then advise political decision-makers, offer them tried and tested courses of action and support them in the concrete implementation of new policies.

www.worldfuturecouncil.org

“The world is over-armed and peace is under-funded.”

UN Secretary-General **Ban Ki-moon**