

EDITORIAL

The abolition of nuclear weapons and achieving cultural disarmament - the hidden objectives in the fight for peace

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ICIP President



Source: Wasurerarenai Anohi

From now on, it will be impossible to recount any history as if it was the only one. There cannot be just one history, because there are numerous points of view (John Berger)

Prevent the ship from sinking while we build a ship of the new generation (Otto Neurath)

Raimon Panikkar, the most influential Catalan thinker in the history of Catalonia since Ramon Llull, died in Tavertet in late August (see the ICIP blog <<http://bloccs.gencat.cat/blocs/AppPHP/ICIP/?p=258>>). His work, like his way of life, gives us lessons and ideas that can be very helpful in the construction of peace, and very useful in the year which commemorates the 65th anniversary of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the fortieth anniversary of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which saw its

eighth Review Conference in New York in May 2010, which was preceded by an alternative conference. This is why he is the central feature of issue number 4 of Peace in Progress, with articles by Jordi Armadans, Rafael Grasa and Rebecca Johnson.

All three articles, and the theses of the leading academic experts and civil society, are in agreement: the NPT was and is essential for managing nuclear non-proliferation, but it has been insufficient for resolving the problems caused by nuclear weapons in international politics, which is an important and central issue on the agenda twenty years after the end of the Cold War. Indeed, if it was insufficient forty years ago, it is even more so today, as the three pillars of the system, non-proliferation, nuclear disarmament and the peaceful use of nuclear energy, are increasingly weak. This inescapable problem is common in the construction of international peace and order: the old system is necessary, but is insufficient; the new one has yet to be established. So how can we improve and strengthen the NPT, which is today essential, and move simultaneously towards a future that overcomes the shortcomings of NPT, beginning with a convention that abolishes nuclear weapons?

Raimon Panikkar, whose ideas were very similar to what research for peace has called conflict transformation, gave us some clues to clarify the problem. As he said on several occasions, much of his life and work focused on the subject of interculturalism and peace, and he emphasised two ideas. The first is that solving the problems of peace requires courage, thought and new types of action, as well as a comprehensive overall vision, the ability to overcome the struggle between conceptions and visions, to seek new paths. The second is that it is necessary to accept - as Berger said in the quote that begins this text - that the modern world has changed, and in fact different worlds are clashing. Panikkar talks about this subject in Peace and interculturalism, when he mentions a crisis of "cosmologies", of global approaches or paradigms that come into conflict, and to overcome the problem, it is necessary not to choose between them - while eliminating the others - depending on which one is the most truthful or useful, but instead to overcome differences, while building something new. To do so, it is necessary to open up to the other, to cultural disarmament, while accepting the material nature of interculturalism, i.e. to start from the foundations, because, to quote literally, "cultural differences are human differences and we cannot remove them or ignore them when we are dealing with human problems".

In this case, it is not a question of choosing between a focus on the NPT or on a future convention in the campaigns led by the peace movement, but rather a question of creating a programme that makes it possible to fight for both things, which enable various phases and visions, while facilitating alliances between them. And in a longer timeframe, to accept that the abolition of nuclear weapons is not incompatible with non-proliferation and managing arsenals while they still exist.

As for how to do this, perhaps it is necessary to adapt the metaphor of a little-known antimilitarist, and a member of the Vienna Circle and an advocate of positive logic, Otto Neurath, who talked about the continuous work of revising scientific knowledge as a result of the series of conjectures and rebuttals: prevent the ship from sinking, because you have to continue sailing; it has to be repaired while you are building a new ship at the same time, without having a clear plan for the end result.

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IN DEPTH

CENTRAL ARTICLES

After the NPT, green light for a Nuclear Weapons Convention

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On May 28, the Review Conference of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) adopted a 29-page final document containing principles, recommendations and 64 specific actions on: nuclear disarmament; non-proliferation and safeguards; nuclear energy, safety and security; and commitments to hold a regional conference in 2012 to make progress towards negotiating a zone free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East, as well as a review section which was meant to consider how well the treaty has operated to date.

Though intensively debated by the conference committees, the review section contained disagreements over issues such as Iran's compliance, plans by the nuclear weapon states to replace, update and modernise their current arsenals, and also the way in which past agreements (such as the 13 practical disarmament steps adopted by the 2000 Review Conference) had not been adequately implemented.

Adoption of this outcome document means that the 2010 Review Conference goes into the records as a "success". But what does it mean for those who want nuclear weapons to be abolished, not just controlled?

In terms of substance, there was a wide gap between what civil society and the vast majority of nuclear free countries proposed and argued for and the rather weak language, especially on disarmament, accepted for the sake of consensus after heavy pressure from the nuclear-weapon states. During the conference there had been serious and heated debates on proposals relating to devaluing nuclear weapons, nuclear doctrines and use, NATO's nuclear sharing arrangements, and eliminating tactical nuclear weapons, but for the sake of obtaining agreement these ended up either watered down to the level of the "13 Steps" adopted in 2000 (which, as many states complained, had been reneged on or barely addressed for most of the past decade) or left out altogether.

After Baroness Catherine Ashton had delivered a nondescript statement on behalf of the European Union, Spain was responsible for developing joint positions and statements. Brokering a common EU position was not easy, given the predominance of NATO members in the EU, with varying levels of dependence and belief in the theory and utility of nuclear deterrence, as well as Britain and France, which attempted to do all they could to remove references to a nuclear weapons convention, to prohibiting the use of the nuclear weapons, applying international humanitarian law to nuclear decision-making, de-alerting and reducing the role and value of nuclear weapons in doctrine and policy. Germany took the lead in European initiatives to reduce and eliminate tactical nuclear weapons. The strongest collective EU positions were in favour of strengthening the safeguards regime and promoting nuclear energy. Austria, however, made clear that it could not support the headlong rush to spread nuclear energy production technologies to developing countries, as pushed by the nuclear industries of a number of European countries, led by France and Britain. Other than that, the EU was not a major player in the NPT Review Conference, though specific delegations played important roles in the outcome, including Austria and Ireland.

There were two main drivers behind the successful adoption of the final document: a collective desire to support President Obama's initiatives and demonstrate that the non-proliferation regime is still relevant and important; and the breakthrough on the Middle East, in which Irish diplomats brokered a critical deal between the nuclear-weapon states and the Arab League to hold a regional conference in 2012 and establish a process to pursue the denuclearisation of the Middle East. Without these motivations, it is doubtful whether such a final document could have achieved consensus, as the commitments on nuclear disarmament and safeguards were much weaker than most states thought necessary.

Though the Middle East agreement was the media's big new story, the recognition of a nuclear weapons convention as a legitimate way forward to fulfil the NPT's main objectives and obligations will prove to be a more historic breakthrough. For the first time in an NPT context, a majority of states explicitly advocated comprehensive negotiations as well as incremental steps, citing the UN Secretary-General's 2008 Five Point Plan and its reference to a nuclear weapons convention as a way to realise President Obama's vision of security in a world without nuclear weapons. The weapon states fought hard to get all mention of a nuclear weapons convention deleted from the text, while key non-nuclear delegations strategised cleverly – and succeeded in keeping it in.

Despite these modest gains, however, the 2010 NPT conference proved incapable of dealing with the tough decisions on compliance and implementation or adopting concrete commitments to devalue nuclear weapons or make the IAEA additional protocol a verification standard, let alone to undertake multilateral negotiations on nuclear abolition. But it did make clear that preventing nuclear threats and proliferation requires not only concrete disarmament steps but the establishment of 'the necessary framework to achieve and maintain a world without nuclear weapons'. Though shorn of any target dates, time-lines or commitments to negotiate, the concept of a nuclear weapons convention is set as a framing objective in the consensus action plan on disarmament, providing an important bridge between the partial non-proliferation approach of the NPT and the comprehensive abolition objectives of a nuclear weapons convention.

Instead of just lamenting about the weak language on disarmament and inability of the NPT machinery to deal with noncompliance and to strengthen its own safeguards agreements, we have to use the 2010 NPT outcome to dismiss the oft-heard government claims that a nuclear abolition treaty is premature or incompatible with the NPT and get a real negotiating process underway to ban nuclear weapons once and for all. Our task now is to build coalitions between traditional disarmament campaigns and organisations working on international humanitarian law, human rights and environmental protection.

The NPT has done its best for forty years to contain nuclear threats, but the message from the 2010 Review Conference is that dealing with nuclear weapons dangers in the 21st century will require establishing a truly universal approach, drawing in India, Pakistan and Israel, that will comprehensively ban nuclear weapons for everyone, reinforce what is best in the nonproliferation regime and establish stronger verification and safeguards mechanisms to prevent nuclear proliferation or terrorism. From now on, governments and civil society need to forge closer links and develop effective strategies for negotiations on a nuclear weapons convention to take over from these ineffective NPT review conferences where paper exhortations take precedence over real, verifiable actions to prevent the acquisition, use and threats posed by nuclear weapons.

The future of nuclear weapons and the non-proliferation regime: the need to combine disarmament and arms control

Rafael Grasa

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The new international context and the results of the twentieth Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference- which was reasonably successful in comparative terms and when taking the internal limitations of the NPT into consideration - make it impossible to restrict analysis and an interpretation of the future of the nuclear non-proliferation regime and nuclear weapons to the New York conference, its final documents, and to the implementation of the agreements reached, such as that concerning the Middle East. To put it differently, the central thesis of this paper is that sixty-five years after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, forty years since the NPT came into force, two decades after the end of the Cold War, and nine years after 11/9, the subject of analysis - the future of nuclear weapons, and not just the state of the non-proliferation regime- must be considered in broader terms. Action must be taken to restore objectives not only in terms of arms control, but also in terms of disarmament. I will articulate this argument from three different angles.

First. Twenty years after the end of the Cold War, when examining the three distinguishing features of the modern international system - the primacy of politics, bipolarity and nuclear weapons- nuclear weapons, unlike the other two, continue to play a very significant role in the international system and remain on the agendas of the great powers, both respect to domestic politics and in affecting the relations between them. It is helpful to consider a few examples which illustrate the truth of this statement. The first example is the central role played by nuclear weapons on the Moscow-Washington agenda. The strategic arms and the ratification process of the new START treaty is now underway, and the future of the anti-missile systems, result of the Bush administration's withdrawal from the ABM treaty and the legacy of "Star Wars, is of increasingly great import. Second is the current concern being given to proliferation, both vertical and horizontal, with the case of Iran being of particular interest in this respect. And, lastly, the growing concern for the security of nuclear material, and the risk of leakage of fissionable material in particular (the Washington Summit); and the increasing number of doubts among NATO countries regarding the North American tactical nuclear weapons deployed on European territory, a delicate issue included on the agenda for NATO's upcoming meeting this autumn.

In domestic terms, there are also problems and doubts in the United Kingdom and France regarding the renewal of part of their nuclear arsenals (submarines and missiles); the explicit concern expressed by many countries regarding the delay in the implementation of the comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty (CTBT); a growing interest in the establishment of areas free of nuclear weapons (almost half the planet currently has this status); and, last but not least, the concern regarding nuclear issues shown by the emerging powers and their incipient global diplomacy- as seen in the initiative by Turkey and Brazil on Iran- or demonstrated by the clear support given to the increasing demands for "security guarantees" and for an explicit declaration by nuclear states for a "no first use policy". In simple terms, nuclear weapons have reassumed a position of central import on the international agenda, and I believe this role will not change over the next decade. This central role will not simply be expressed through concerns regarding nuclear proliferation, but will also take the form of logical multilateral growth, in contrast to the bilateral treatment of nuclear issues that prevailed during the Cold War.

Second, the main component of the nuclear non-proliferation regime- the NPT- is obsolete and clearly insufficient for the modern world, albeit of essential importance to the international system. The NPT's main success has been to contain horizontal proliferation. Only nine countries are currently nuclear states, including the five permanent members of the Security Council and signers of the NPT, three states that were never party to the Treaty (India, Pakistan and Israel) and one that withdrew from the NPT (North Korea). This is true in spite of the forecasts made forty years ago which suggested that there would be between 15 and 50 nuclear states in our modern day. The Nuclear Proliferation Treaty has clearly been a success among industrialised countries, with Japan, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, Canada, Australia and Brazil eschewing nuclear weapons. However, the original agreement, which was written according to the international logic and order dominant during the Cold War, has been looked at critically for some time. The original treaty involves acceptance of the existence of five nuclear states, and a simultaneous commitment to non-proliferation based on three pillars or axes: non-proliferation (horizontal); nuclear disarmament (vertical non-proliferation of nuclear powers) and the promotion - or at least non-prevention - of the peaceful use of nuclear energy. This is currently problematic in three respects. Even the peaceful use of nuclear energy- historically the least significant cause for concern- is resulting in apprehension due to the lack of strict controls that would affect all countries in the global nuclear fuel cycle equally, and the renewed interest in civil nuclear energy resulting from the energy and climate crisis, and the strategies used by nuclear companies. In simple terms, two components of the nuclear fuel cycle- uranium enrichment and the reprocessing of used fuel- are two critical processes for producing highly enriched uranium or plutonium. These are the essential ingredients used in building nuclear weapons. As a result, the development of new nuclear technologies- very well known among Western countries- is creating problems that are impossible to solve within the current context or framework, while also making it difficult to reconcile with article IV of the NPT. There is nothing in the treaty that can be interpreted as affecting the inalienable right of all countries to carry out research, produce, and use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. This right is being claimed by a numerous group of member states (especially those in the non-aligned group) and the opportunities that these technologies entail include an increased risk in terms of proliferation. In other words, without changing the context (new treaties and legal measures and new policies)

and without adding new instruments, it is impossible to harmoniously maintain the objectives of the three pillars upheld during the Cold War. Non-proliferation, Nuclear disarmament and the non-prevention of the peaceful use of nuclear energy are currently mutually contradictory, as demonstrated in the results of the conference. Furthermore, the NPT is not attractive to new nuclear states such as India, Pakistan, and Israel. To become parties to the treaty, they would have to follow in the footsteps of South Africa and renounce their nuclear weapons, and the withdrawal of North Korea could be repeated by other states in the future, such as Iran. In short, the NPT is an essential tool, but could still be developed further. It is currently completely inadequate in that it now forms part of the problem. A new convention on nuclear weapons (which includes non-proliferation) is necessary; a convention which would enable the revocation of the present treaty upon entering into force, and a convention that could be applied almost universally.

And, lastly, the path to follow is therefore towards disarmament, especially in the current multilateral context. Arms control- an instrument used a great deal during the Cold War due to the pragmatism implied in seeking partial objectives instead of the total and permanent elimination of broad weapons categories- is not sufficient, and even less so in a multilateral context. Arms control is and will be useful, but does not enable the context to be changed, or the creation of conditions that would promote new instruments and the formation of new policies to take place. If the context of nuclear weapons and nuclear non-proliferation is not changed from a bi-lateral to a multi-lateral dynamic, nuclear non-proliferation will become a dead end, in which inertia has a greater impact than the desire for change. This situation is already exemplified by the observed difficulty in finding ambitious control instruments, such as a total test ban, or the extension of a nuclear-free status to regions.

Nuclear disarmament's return to the center of the international agenda, done within the context of the disarmament of weapons of mass destruction, is essential and non-state actors must set the agenda for doing so. So far, we have failed to be sufficiently concerned with this issue and, when fighting, have too often used old and well-worn tools in our battle, without learning from recent successful disarmament campaigns in the human security field. Initiatives such as Global Zero, led by influential people (some, however, like Kissinger being advocates of the role of nuclear weapons for decades) are not enough. A new discourse and a new means of implementing nuclear disarmament must be produced. It can no longer be argued, as done by E.P. Thompson in the 1980s, that we are living in an era on the verge of extermination. Instead, we must conceive that we are on the horizon of a more peaceful, fairer and freer world, and this world depends on placing nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation at the centre of the multilateral agenda.

Civil society calls for the abolition of nuclear weapons

Jordi Armadans

Director, Fundació per la Pau



The International Conference For a Nuclear Free, Peaceful, Just and Sustainable World, a type of Alternative Conference for civil society before the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference (NPT), was held between 30 April and 2 May in New York. The Conference was convened by a long list of NGOs, networks and campaigns (ranging from North America's Peace Action and Nuclear Age Peace Foundation to the long-standing networks Abolition 2000 and the IPB, Britain's CND, the French Mouvement de la Paix and Japan's Gensuikyo, among others), and aimed to draw attention to the idea, often proclaimed and never implemented, of eliminating nuclear weapons.

The Conference was undoubtedly affected by the general climate of expectation surrounding the 8th NPT Review Conference. On one hand, the disappointment of the 7th Conference (which was held in 2005 and ended without any agreement) was fresh in the memory of those attending. Meanwhile, and on the other hand, was the new global climate created by the new presidency of the United States (which emphasises the creation of consensus, a multilateral perspective and the search for areas of trust between the various countries and powers) and the message from Obama in favour of a world without nuclear weapons. All in all, the NPT summit was seen as a very important opportunity to create some progress, albeit minimal. Apart from his messages, Obama had 'prepared' the NPT Summit by spelling out some of his visions: organising a Nuclear Security Summit (dealing with the possible transfer of nuclear weapons to terrorist groups) and transforming its defence doctrine by reducing the importance and influence of nuclear weapons.

All these factors therefore gave the NPT Review Conference a dimension of dynamism and expectation that provided encouragement for the Alternative Conference.

In fact, simply holding a Conference for civil society was a clear reflection of all the above. The presence of civil society – which is always possible in some way at the NPT Review Conferences - should not be confused with the strength to convene and organise an alternative Conference for civil society, apart from the Official one. An alternative Conference has not always been convened at the same time as an NPT Conference. This was therefore a sign of the resurgence of anti-nuclear feeling.

The high turnout by the public was another factor which showed the success of the initiative, and the organisers' forecasts

were easily exceeded. Almost 1,000 people from all over the world came together at the Riverside Church (an imposing church in Harlem, on the banks of the Hudson River, which has hosted numerous events focusing on peace and social justice). Despite the size of the Church facilities, there was not enough room for everyone who had registered to attend.

Finally, another factor when assessing the success of the event was the decision by Ban Ki-moon to participate in the Conference's closing ceremony. The decision, which was received with great pleasure by the organisers and many of the participants, was indeed very significant: first, because it showed that the Alternative Conference had sufficient momentum and credibility for a UN General Secretary to decide to become personally involved. Second, because it highlighted Ban Ki-moon's long-standing commitment to the demand for a world without nuclear weapons.

The Conference, which ended with a large demonstration by 15,000 people through the streets of the centre of New York, mainly involved people from the traditional peace movement of the nuclear powers. Among them was an enormous Japanese delegation which gave the entire event a highly symbolic dimension. Your correspondent was the only participant from Catalonia and Spain.

There were many workshops, experiences, debates created and thoughts expressed, strategies shared and opinions gathered, as is usually the case at an event like this (including groups undertaking civil disobedience against military installations, experts on influencing members of parliament and governmental officers, and all sorts of analysts and activists), but one idea was a constant theme at the Conference.

The peace movement has always had a difficult relationship with the NPT: on the one hand, it has been recognized as being an important tool for containing nuclear proliferation; -but, on the other, it is still seen as an instrument that reaffirms the hierarchy of the nuclear powers and has not moved the issue of nuclear disarmament forward.

In this context, the Conference consolidated one of the key commitments that the peace movement has made in recent years to overcoming this ambiguity at the NPT. Despite this approach not being new, the experience and progress made in recent years in disarmament (the Mine Ban Convention of 1997 and the Convention against cluster bombs of 2008) has made the peace movement into a consolidated possible and necessary alternative: all right, we will use the NPT but we will work creating a new framework, such as a Convention for the prohibition of nuclear weapons. This proposal has already achieved broad consensus within civil society, is gaining ground in the academic world and, at state level, is attracting increasing support.

Hibakusha Statement: 'Humans Cannot Coexist with Nuclear Weapons'

Sumiteru Taniguchi

Japan Confederation of A- and H-Bomb Sufferers Organizations (Nihon Hidankyo)



I am Taniguchi Sumiteru, a Nagasaki Hibakusha. Thank you very much for giving me the honor of speaking before you on behalf of the 230,000 Japanese A-bomb survivors, and peace-loving NGOs of the world.

In 1945, I was 16 years old. On the morning of August 9, I was riding my bicycle 1.8 kilometers north of what was to become the epicenter of the explosion of the atomic bomb. When the bomb exploded, I was burned on my entire back by the intense heat rays of 3,000 to 4,000 degrees Celsius, and also exposed to invisible radiation. The next moment, together with my bike I was blown about 4 meters and smashed to the ground by the bomb blast.

When the blast ended, I looked up and found that the buildings around me had been smashed down and those children who had been playing around me were blown away and scattered nearby. But I kept telling myself that I must not die like this.

When the commotion seemed to be over, I raised myself and found my entire left arm had been burnt with the skin hanging from it like a tattered rag. I reached for my back and found that it too had been burnt. Something slimy and black stuck on my fingers.

My bike was bent and twisted completely out of shape - the body, the wheels and all. Houses were all flattened. Fires were breaking out from these houses and from the trees on the hillside. The children that had been blown away were all dead: some were burnt black, while others seemed uninjured.

There was a woman whose hair was all burned and lost. Her face was so swollen that she could not open her eyes. She

was injured from head to toe and groaning in pain. I still recall the scene as if I saw it only yesterday. I deeply regret even today that I could not do anything for those who were suffering and desperately calling for help. Many Hibakusha were severely burnt and died calling for water.

I wandered around like a sleepwalker and reached a nearby factory set up in a hillside tunnel. I asked a woman to tear off the burnt skin dangling from my arms. She tore a piece of cloth out of what was left of my shirt, put machine oil to it and wiped my arms. Together with other people, I was told to evacuate somewhere else from the tunnel before another possible strike. I tried with all my strength but I couldn't even get up, let alone walk. A man carried me on his back to the top of a mountain and laid me down under a tree. Many people around me, before they breathed their last, asked other people there to remember their names and home addresses to their family members. They died one after another, crying, "Water, give me water...". When the night came, U.S. aircraft flew over and attacked us. Some stray bullets hit the rock next to me and fell on the grass.

At night there was a drizzling rain. I sucked the water dripping from the leaves and spent the night. When the morning came, I found all who were around me were already dead. I spent another night there and in the morning of the third day was rescued and taken to the neighboring city 27 kilometers from Nagasaki. By that time, the city's hospitals were all full of victims, so I was taken to an elementary school, which had been turned into a makeshift clinic.

Three days later (the 6th day from the bombing) my wounds started to bleed heavily and with it, gradually I started to feel the pain. For more than a month I could not receive any proper medical treatment. All they could do to me was to burn newspapers, blend their ash with oil and apply it to my wound. In early September the Nagasaki University hospital managed to restart its operation at an elementary school in Nagasaki City, though the school building had no windows due to the bomb blast. I was sent there and for the first time I received what could be called medical treatment. First, doctors tried to give me a blood transfusion. But the blood wouldn't go into my vessels, probably because my internal organs were badly damaged. I suffered serious anemia and the burnt flesh started to rot. The rotten flesh would drain out of my body and puddle underneath. Nurses placed rugs underneath my body to collect the filthy discharges and replaced them many times a day.

Generally those Hibakusha who suffered burns or injuries were infested with maggots on their flesh. Those tiny worms got into their bodies from the wounds and ate their flesh. But for me this did not happen until one year later. It was so unbearable painful when they bit my wounds.

I could not stir an inch. Helplessly lying on my stomach in excruciating pain and agony I was crying, "Kill me!" No one believed that I would survive another day. Every morning, I would hear doctors and nurses whisper at my bedside, "He's still alive." Later I learned that my family was all prepared for my funeral.

Because I could not move myself, my chest suffered severe bedsores even to the bones. As a result my chest now looks like it has been deeply scooped, and even today you can clearly see my heart beating against the skin between the ribs.

It took one year and 9 months before I was finally able to move, and after 3 years and 7 months I was discharged from the hospital, though I was not completely cured. I went in and out of the hospital many times and continued having treatment until 1960. Around 1982 tumors started to develop on the keloid scars on my back and they had to be removed by surgery. Since then a rock-hard tumor was formed again and again, the cause of which even doctors are unable to explain. More than half a century has passed since that day. The painful experiences of the past seem to be lost from people's memory. But I fear the oblivion. I fear that forgotten memories might lead us to a renewed affirmation of atomic bombs.

There is a color film on the atomic bombings that contains the footage of myself as one of numerous victims. Whenever I see it I relive the pain and feel the hatred for war growing inside me again.

I am not a guinea pig nor am I an exhibit. But those of you who are here today, please don't turn your eyes away from me. Please look at me again. I have survived miraculously, but for me, to "live" was to "endure the agony." The atomic bomb survivors, who reached the maximum number of 380,000 at one time, have now decreased to 230,000. Bearing the cursed scars of the atomic bomb all over our bodies, we the Hibakusha continue to live in pain.

Nuclear weapons are weapons of extinction that cannot coexist with humans. They should never, ever be used for any reason whatsoever. Possession of nuclear weapons, or even an intention to acquire them, is against humanity. Having gone through the first hell of nuclear war in August 65 years ago, we learned the horror of nuclear weapons instinctively. There is no defense against nuclear attacks, and there can be no "retaliation" against them. If a nuclear weapon is to be used for the third time, it would immediately lead to the annihilation of human beings and the end of all life on planet earth. Humans must survive - in peace and prosperity.

So friends, let all of us unite and gather our strength to create a world without nuclear weapons. For humans to live as humans, not even one nuclear weapon should be allowed to exist on earth.

I cannot die in peace until I witness the last nuclear warhead eliminated from this world.

Nagasaki must remain the last victim city of the atomic bomb.

And let me be the last victim of the atomic bomb.

Let us spread our call for the abolition of nuclear weapons all over the world.

No More Hiroshimas!

No More Nagasakis!

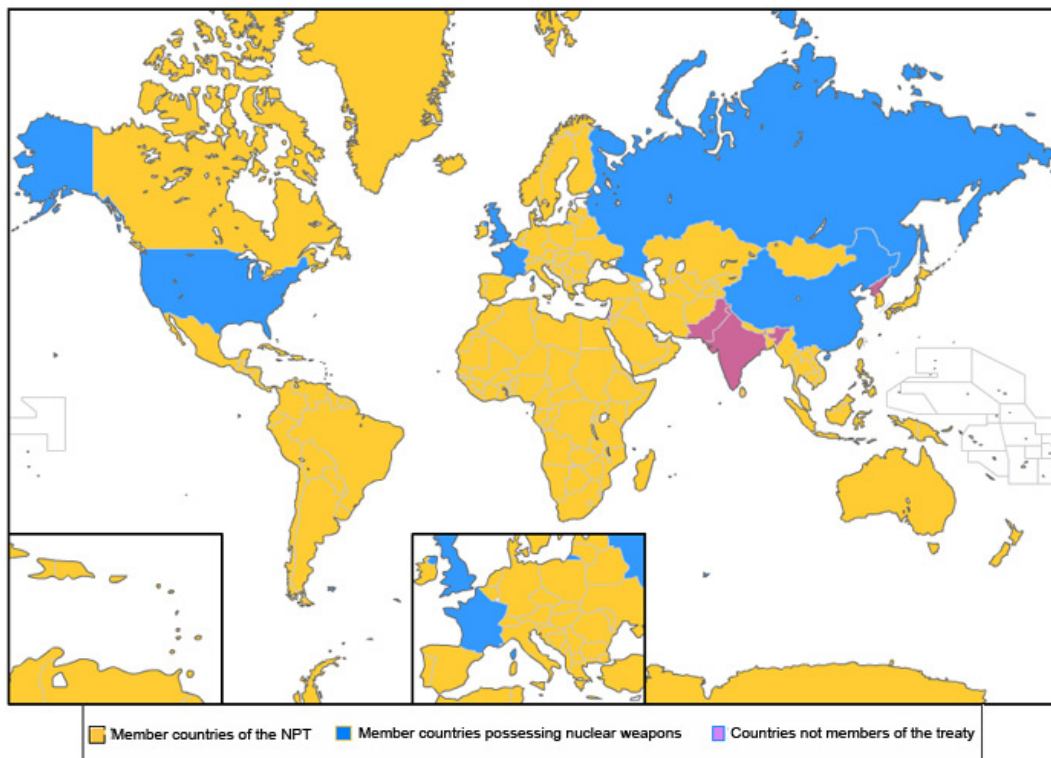
No More Hibakusha!

FINDING OUT MORE

About nuclear armament

On this occasion we offer three types of materials that we feel may be of use in learning more about subjects related to nuclear armament.

First, a map with the member countries of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), distinguishing between those possessing nuclear weapons and those that do not. It also shows the four states (North Korea, Pakistan and Israel) that are not members of the treaty.



Second, a collection of resources - books, websites and organisations - which analyse nuclear weapons.

Finally, for the first time in Catalan, we offer the complete text of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Books:

Perry, J. William, Scowcroft Brent & Charles D. Fergusen. *U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy. Council on Foreign Relations, Independent Task Force Report. No. 62, USA 2009*

The Council on Foreign Relations is a think tank - an independent non-party organisation which is also a publisher, which aims to inform citizens of the state of the global system and the foreign policy options of the United States and other countries. The Council sponsors the Independent Task Forces, which include members of civil society and government representatives, among other members. These Task Forces are designed to focus public debate on foreign policy issues.

U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy is a report by the Independent Task Force which makes recommendations for US policy and assesses the current state of nuclear weapons in the post-Cold War world. The main focus of the report is how to eliminate nuclear weapons, and sets out an agenda which is the responsibility of the Obama Administration. This agenda is based on the need to establish preventive programmes in order to reduce and protect existing nuclear arsenals, and prevent the creation of new arsenals to ensure that even in a hostile geopolitical atmosphere, nuclear weapons will never be used. According to the report, the Obama Administration must assume a position of leadership by ensuring that steps to reduce the danger of nuclear proliferation are taken in the next four years. The chapters of the Report are: The Need for a New Policy Assessment (Chapter 1); The New Security Environment (Chapter 2); US-Russia Relations (Chapter 3); US-China Relations (Chapter 4); Preventing Proliferation (Chapter 5); Security Practices and the Future of the U.S. Nuclear Weapons Complex (Chapter 6) and a series of recommendations and proposals for US policy. These recommendations include measures to move towards the achievement of important objectives: preventing nuclear terrorism and reinforcing a nuclear non-proliferation regime.

Dokos, P. Thanos. *Countering the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction: NATO and EU options in the Mediterranean and the Middle East*. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2008.

According to Dokos, the most significant geostrategic phenomenon of the post-cold war period is the acquisition of dangerous weapon manufacturing capabilities by developing states in the South. These states have increased their arsenals in response to regional conflicts, military aid from the superpowers, and a shared belief that military power confers some degree of status within the international system. In the post-war world, developing states have become regional powers and have ambitions which often bring them into conflict with developed states. For these developing states, obtaining a Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD) means that they have achieved regional power status, and can thereby challenge the domination of the international system by Northern states. Regional instability has led to nuclear use, development and proliferation becoming a very important issue on the strategic agendas of developing states. In June 1994, NATO considered this problem with its document "Policy Framework on Weapons of Mass Destruction", which since then has been included in all the alliance documents published by the organisation, and the EU has also made non-proliferation a key issue, as shown by the documents "European Security Strategy" and "EU Strategy Against Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction" (2003). Weapons of mass destruction have also been a central issue in US national security policy. Dokos agrees that actions against proliferation need to be considered carefully, and feels that they will continue to play an important role in this century. This book, which is based on existing literature, is an assessment of the threat that weapons of mass destruction pose to Western security. It does so from various perspectives, which are explored in detail in all the chapters. These are: The emerging security environment in the Mediterranean and the Middle East (Chapter 1); Recent developments in arms control and non-proliferation (Chapter 2); Assessing the proliferation threat (Chapter 3); WMD terrorism (Chapter 4); WMD capabilities of selected countries in the Mediterranean and Middle East (Chapter 5); WMD proliferation: threats and challenges to Western security and NATO's response (Chapter 6); Basic principles of US counter-proliferation strategy (Chapter 7) and the EU's response to WMD proliferation (Chapter 8).

Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission, final report, *Weapons of Terror: Freeing the World of Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Arms*, Stockholm, Sweden, 1 June 2006

Weapons of mass destruction commission

www.wmdcommission.org

The Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission is an organisation that is mainly financed by the Swedish government. It is a response to the need to create an independent international committee dedicated to non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament of weapons of mass destruction. The Commission's final report, 'Weapons of Terror: Freeing the World of Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Arms' (2006) follows on from the tradition of the other three reports financed by the Swedish government in the same area: Common Security (Sweden, 1982), the Report of the Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapon (Australia, 1996) and the Report of the Tokyo Forum for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament (Japan, 1998). The latest report looks at the current state of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, and is a practical agenda for the prevention of proliferation and the promotion of global disarmament of weapons of mass des-

truction. It does so by emphasising the need for a cooperative approach to collective security, while stressing the important role played by the United States in defining the actions to be taken. The report covers two main questions: Why action is necessary and What must be done. The chapters include: Reviving disarmament (Chapter 1); Weapons of terror: threats and responses (Chapter 2); Nuclear, biological and chemical weapons (Chapters 3, 4 and 5); Delivery means, missile defences, and weapons in space (Chapter 6); Export controls, international assistance, and non-governmental actors (Chapter 7); Compliance, verification, enforcement and the role of the United Nations (Chapter 8), followed by a series of recommendations by the Commission and an overview of its work since it was founded in 2003. This is all done with the ultimate objective of "Working towards the outlawing of all weapons of mass destruction once and for all".

Allison T. Graham, Coté R. Owen, Flakenrathe A. Richard, & Steven E. Miller. *Avoiding Nuclear Anarchy: Containing the Threat of Loose Russian Nuclear Weapons and Fissile Material*. CSIA Studies in International Security No. 12. The MIT Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1996

This book analyses the potential consequences of 'nuclear leakage' and the proliferation of weapons in the ex-Soviet Union could have for US national security. The authors say that while the threat of nuclear weapons being sold on the international black market and/or smuggled by a "rogue state" or a terrorist group is high, the United States has no reliable defence mechanism against these dangers. Based on information from government officials in both the west and the ex-Soviet Union, the book lists these new nuclear threats and sets out how US national policy must be redefined to deal with them. The study has three objectives: a) to draw attention to the most serious direct threat to US interests: nuclear leakage; b) to define the threat of nuclear leakage in detail, considering the potential consequences, in order to guide US foreign policy towards preventing this threat from becoming a reality; and c) to deal with this threat as a priority in order to resolve it as a matter of urgency, which requires cooperation with the Russian government (which has been lacking, according to the authors). These objectives are considered in the four chapters of the book. These are: Risks of nuclear leakage (Chapter 1) Stakes: nuclear leakage as a threat to the interests of the USA (Chapter 2); Response: inadequacies of American policy (Chapter 3); The Challenge: A Response Commensurate With The Stakes (Chapter 4). According to authors, the threat of a nuclear weapon exploding in the USA, Russia, Europe or the Middle East has increased since the fall of the Berlin Wall. The biggest challenge associated with the Soviet nuclear legacy is therefore to enhance security and protection from nuclear weapons and nuclear materials located in Russia, in order to prevent nuclear weapons from falling into new hands. This book is a good example of how the possibility of nuclear war was considered during the Cold War. It can be used as a reference work for examining the geopolitical climate of the 1980s, when the end of the Cold War was not foreseeable in the near future. The book was written for policymakers, citizens, nuclear weapons and international security experts, and students. The book is a continuation of *Living with Nuclear Weapons* (1983) and aims to engage the reader in the debate on "the most important issue of our time: How to prevent a nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union?" It does so by examining the acquisition of nuclear weapons, use and no-use policies, diplomatic initiatives and arms control, and their effects on the likelihood of nuclear war. According to the authors, the main objective of the USA should be to protect and defend American values and interests while avoiding a nuclear war with the Soviet Union. While the "construction/destruction" of weapons is what receives most attention, the authors highlight the key role played by other areas when assessing the likelihood of war. These include errors made by machines, individuals and organisations, all of which received little attention within the debate on nuclear war. The aim of *Hawks, Doves and Owls* is to create a conceptual structure to assess the risks of nuclear war, and to identify actions that reduce the likelihood of it occurring. The book is divided into 3 sections: The shape of the problem; Paths to nuclear war; and Conclusions, including an "Agenda for Action".

Carnesdale, Albert, Doty, Paul, and Stanley Hoffman et al. *Living with Nuclear Weapons*. The Harvard Nuclear Study Group. Harvard University Press. London. 1983

This book was written by six Harvard scholars working together to give various perspectives on nuclear issues. It is a valuable document as it can be taken as an analysis of the prevailing trends on nuclear weapons in the early 1980s. The book is designed to present all the perspectives of the nuclear debate and engage the reader, by considering that the international community faces the "nuclear dilemma". The central subject is: "Can mankind continue to live with nuclear weapons?" It tries to answer this question by examining the history of nuclear arsenals and contemporary weapons; it highlights the potential scenarios that could lead to a nuclear war; it analyses the measures that could be considered to promote arms control and disarmament; it studies the dangers of nuclear proliferation; it analyses nuclear strategies; and does all the above with a view to generating informed public opinion and encouraging people to become aware of nuclear weapons. The authors believe that individual thought and the development of personal beliefs are necessary for a mobilisation of civil society on nuclear issues, and at a time when the media are responsible for disseminating news, institutions like universities must assume their responsibility for providing the public with an objective and non-partisan perspective on global affairs. This must be done by giving civil society a participative role in political decision-making. *Living with Nuclear Weapons* is written in response to this need, and is divided into three sections: The nuclear paradox; the current situation; and what can be done? It is written in a clear and concise language to be accessible to all types of readers.

Institutions:

The Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy

<http://www.acronym.org.uk>

This institute has been working since 1995 to promote effective approaches to international security, disarmament and arms control. The Acronym Institute engages with governments and civil society, providing information, analysis and strategic thought on a wide range of issues relating to peace and security, with particular emphasis on multilateral treaties and initiatives.

The Acronym Institute works with policymakers and non-governmental organisations to promote non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament, disseminate information and maximise opportunities for negotiation in all possible forums. When arms control measures are blocked, as is currently the case with the ratification of the treaty and proposed ban on production of fissionable materials, the Acronym Institute works to foster a constructive dialogue and alternative approaches.

The Acronym Institute aims to:

- Provide highly reliable information, undertake high quality monitoring of negotiations at the UN, the Disarmament Conference, and the NPT review process. Its publications include the ACRONYM Reports on the CTBT negotiations and the NPT review process. The Acronym Institute Blog provides coverage and commentary on key international conferences.
- Promote other ratifications and the full application of arms control treaties;
- Foster dialogue between states with nuclear weapons and identify specific actions to make progress in transparency, arms control and confidence building measures, focusing on unilateral initiatives, joint agreements and declarations, and multilateral negotiations;
- Exchange information on weapons and issues related with non-proliferation between diplomats, parliamentarians and civil servants, with a view to more effective participation, especially in states located in regions with high tension or a risk of proliferation.

United Nations Office for Disarmament

The Office for Disarmament was established in 1998 as part of the Secretary General's programme for UN reform. Subsequently, in 2007, it became the United Nations Office for Disarmament (UNODA).

The Office works towards the objective of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation and the strengthening of the various disarmament regimes. It also promotes disarmament work in the sphere of conventional weapons.

UNODA provides material and organisational support for the General Assembly and its First Committee, the Disarmament Commission, the Conference on Disarmament and other bodies related to disarmament at the United Nations.

UNODA supports the development and application of disarmament measures after conflict, such as disarming and demobilising ex-combatants and helping them to reintegrate into civil society. It also publishes various publications:

- **The United Nations Disarmament Yearbook**
A source rich in historical details of the developments, trends and milestones achieved in multilateral disarmament over more than thirty years. The first part contains an annual compilation of texts and statistics of the resolutions and decisions on disarmament taken by the General Assembly. The second part presents the main areas from a multilateral perspective over the year and a timeline of the subjects covered. Available on the UNODA website.
- **UNODA Update**
A quarterly electronic bulletin that provides important information on disarmament as well as on the activities of the UNODA. Available on the UNODA website.
- **ODA Occasional Papers**
A biannual publication with presentations made at international events, symposiums, seminars and workshops organised by the UNODA or its regional offices in Lima, Lomé and Kathmandu. Available on the UNODA website.
- **UNODA website. <http://www.un.org/disarmament>**
A comprehensive website on all issues related to disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control, including a database with a search engine for resolutions on disarmament and decisions dating back to the fifty-second session (1997); a United Nations register of conventional weapons; databases with the text and status of treaties; educational resources; etc...

Material produced by Hannah Mccurdy

TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Signed at Washington, London, and Moscow July 1, 1968

Ratification advised by U.S. Senate March 13, 1969

Ratified by U.S. President November 24, 1969

U.S. ratification deposited at Washington, London, and Moscow March 5, 1970

Proclaimed by U.S. President March 5, 1970

Entered into force March 5, 1970

The States concluding this Treaty, hereinafter referred to as the "Parties to the Treaty",

Considering the devastation that would be visited upon all mankind by a nuclear war and the consequent need to make every effort to avert the danger of such a war and to take measures to safeguard the security of peoples,

Believing that the proliferation of nuclear weapons would seriously enhance the danger of nuclear war,

In conformity with resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly calling for the conclusion of an agreement on the prevention of wider dissemination of nuclear weapons,

Undertaking to cooperate in facilitating the application of International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards on peaceful nuclear activities,

Expressing their support for research, development and other efforts to further the application, within the framework of the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards system, of the principle of safeguarding effectively the flow of source and special fissionable materials by use of instruments and other techniques at certain strategic points,

Affirming the principle that the benefits of peaceful applications of nuclear technology, including any technological by-products which may be derived by nuclear-weapon States from the development of nuclear explosive devices, should be available for peaceful purposes to all Parties of the Treaty, whether nuclear-weapon or non-nuclear weapon States,

Convinced that, in furtherance of this principle, all Parties to the Treaty are entitled to participate in the fullest possible exchange of scientific information for, and to contribute alone or in cooperation with other States to, the further development of the applications of atomic energy for peaceful purposes,

Declaring their intention to achieve at the earliest possible date the cessation of the nuclear arms race and to undertake effective measures in the direction of nuclear disarmament,

Urging the cooperation of all States in the attainment of this objective,

Recalling the determination expressed by the Parties to the 1963 Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water in its Preamble to seek to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time and to continue negotiations to this end,

Desiring to further the easing of international tension and the strengthening of trust between States in order to facilitate the cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, the liquidation of all their existing stockpiles, and the elimination from national arsenals of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery pursuant to a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control,

Recalling that, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, States must refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations, and that the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security are to be promoted with the least diversion for armaments of the worlds human and economic resources,

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

Each nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to transfer to any recipient whatsoever nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; and not in any way to assist, encourage, or induce any non-nuclear weapon State to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, or control over such weapons or explosive devices.

ARTICLE II

Each non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to receive the transfer from any transferor whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices; and not to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

ARTICLE III

1. Each non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes to accept safeguards, as set forth in an agreement to be negotiated and concluded with the International Atomic Energy Agency in accordance with the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Agency's safeguards system, for the exclusive purpose of verification of the fulfillment of its obligations assumed under this Treaty with a view to preventing diversion of nuclear energy from peaceful uses to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. Procedures for the safeguards required by this article shall be followed with respect to source or special fissionable material whether it is being produced, processed or used in any principal nuclear facility or is outside any such facility. The safeguards required by this article shall be applied to all source or special fissionable material in all peaceful nuclear activities within the territory of such State, under its jurisdiction, or carried out under its control anywhere.
2. Each State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to provide:
 - source or special fissionable material, or
 - equipment or material especially designed or prepared for the processing, use or production of special fissionable material, to any non-nuclear-weapon State for peaceful purposes, unless the source or special fissionable material shall be subject to the safeguards required by this article.
3. The safeguards required by this article shall be implemented in a manner designed to comply with article IV of this Treaty, and to avoid hampering the economic or technological development of the Parties or international cooperation in the field of peaceful nuclear activities, including the international exchange of nuclear material and equipment for the processing, use or production of nuclear material for peaceful purposes in accordance with the provisions of this article and the principle of safeguarding set forth in the Preamble of the Treaty.
4. Non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty shall conclude agreements with the International Atomic Energy Agency to meet the requirements of this article either individually or together with other States in accordance with the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Negotiation of such agreements shall commence within 180 days from the original entry into force of this Treaty. For States depositing their instruments of ratification or accession after the 180-day period, negotiation of such agreements shall commence not later than the date of such deposit. Such agreements shall enter into force not later than eighteen months after the date of initiation of negotiations.

ARTICLE IV

1. Nothing in this Treaty shall be interpreted as affecting the inalienable right of all the Parties to the Treaty to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination and in conformity with articles I and II of this Treaty.
1. All the Parties to the Treaty undertake to facilitate, and have the right to participate in, the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Parties to the Treaty in a position to do so shall also cooperate in contributing alone or together with other States or international organizations to the further development of the applications of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, especially in the territories of non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty, with due consideration for the needs of the developing areas of the world.

ARTICLE V

Each party to the Treaty undertakes to take appropriate measures to ensure that, in accordance with this Treaty, under appropriate international observation and through appropriate international procedures, potential benefits from any peaceful applications of nuclear explosions will be made available to non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty on a nondiscriminatory basis and that the charge to such Parties for the explosive devices used will be as low as possible and exclude any charge for research and development. Non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty shall be able to obtain such benefits, pursuant to a special international agreement or agreements, through an appropriate international body with adequate representation of non-nuclear-weapon States. Negotiations on this subject shall commence as soon as possible after the Treaty enters into force. Non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty so desiring may also obtain such benefits pursuant to bilateral agreements.

ARTICLE VI

Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

ARTICLE VII

Nothing in this Treaty affects the right of any group of States to conclude regional treaties in order to assure the total absence of nuclear weapons in their respective territories.

ARTICLE VIII

1. Any Party to the Treaty may propose amendments to this Treaty. The text of any proposed amendment shall be submitted to the Depositary Governments which shall circulate it to all Parties to the Treaty. Thereupon, if requested to do so by one-third or more of the Parties to the Treaty, the Depositary Governments shall convene a conference, to which they shall invite all the Parties to the Treaty, to consider such an amendment.
2. Any amendment to this Treaty must be approved by a majority of the votes of all the Parties to the Treaty, including the votes of all nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty and all other Parties which, on the date the amendment is circulated, are members of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The amendment shall enter into force for each Party that deposits its instrument of ratification of the amendment upon the deposit of such instruments of ratification by a majority of all the Parties, including the instruments of ratification of all nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty and all other Parties which, on the date the amendment is circulated, are members of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Thereafter, it shall enter into force for any other Party upon the deposit of its instrument of ratification of the amendment.
3. Five years after the entry into force of this Treaty, a conference of Parties to the Treaty shall be held in Geneva, Switzerland, in order to review the operation of this Treaty with a view to assuring that the purposes of the Preamble and the provisions of the Treaty are being realized. At intervals of five years thereafter, a majority of the Parties to the Treaty may obtain, by submitting a proposal to this effect to the Depositary Governments, the convening of further conferences with the same objective of reviewing the operation of the Treaty.

ARTICLE IX

1. This Treaty shall be open to all States for signature. Any State which does not sign the Treaty before its entry into force in accordance with paragraph 3 of this article may accede to it at any time.
2. This Treaty shall be subject to ratification by signatory States. Instruments of ratification and instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which are hereby designated the Depositary Governments.
3. This Treaty shall enter into force after its ratification by the States, the Governments of which are designated Depositaries of the Treaty, and forty other States signatory to this Treaty and the deposit of their instruments of ratification. For the purposes of this Treaty, a nuclear-weapon State is one which has manufactured and exploded a nuclear weapon or other nuclear explosive device prior to January 1, 1967.
4. For States whose instruments of ratification or accession are deposited subsequent to the entry into force of this Treaty, it shall enter into force on the date of the deposit of their instruments of ratification or accession.
5. The Depositary Governments shall promptly inform all signatory and acceding States of the date of each signature, the date of deposit of each instrument of ratification or of accession, the date of the entry into force of this Treaty, and the date of receipt of any requests for convening a conference or other notices.
6. This Treaty shall be registered by the Depositary Governments pursuant to article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

ARTICLE X

1. Each Party shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from the Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events, related to the subject matter of this Treaty, have jeopardized the supreme interests of its country. It shall give notice of such withdrawal to all other Parties to the Treaty and to the United Nations Security Council three months in advance. Such notice shall include a statement of the extraordinary events it regards as having jeopardized its supreme interests.
2. Twenty-five years after the entry into force of the Treaty, a conference shall be convened to decide whether the Treaty shall continue in force indefinitely, or shall be extended for an additional fixed period or periods. This decision shall be taken by a majority of the Parties to the Treaty.

ARTICLE XI

This Treaty, the English, Russian, French, Spanish and Chinese texts of which are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Depositary Governments. Duly certified copies of this Treaty shall be transmitted by the Depositary Governments to the Governments of the signatory and acceding States.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed this Treaty.

DONE in triplicate, at the cities of Washington, London and Moscow, this first day of July one thousand nine hundred sixty-eight.

INTERVIEW

Interview with Lilia Yusupova and Elena Vilenskaya

Maëlle Savidan
Ricardo Almanza



Lilia Yusupova is a member of the “Memorial” organisation in Chechnya, and Elena Vilenskaya represents the “House of Peace and Non-violence” organisation and the “Mothers of Saint Petersburg soldiers”. Both activists work for Human Rights, against war, injustice and impunity in Russia and Chechnya. On the International Women’s Day for Peace and Disarmament, the two activists were invited to Barcelona by the organisation “Dones x Dones” [“Women x Women”] with the support of the “League for Peoples’ Rights” as part of the project “Together for a peace of our own”.

LILIA YUSUPOVA “Memorial” Organisation

Can you tell us a little about your professional career?

I was a history teacher, and because of the changes that Perestroika brought about, I focused on topics on the history of the Chechen Republic, ethics, my country’s traditions, etc. Then I was invited to work in the Ministry of Social Affairs, and with the help of my husband, who was a journalist, I started work as a secretary at the “Memorial” NGO. That job involved sacrifices for me, such as giving up being the principal at the school where I worked. In 2001 I was made head of the office in Gudermés, in Chechnya. The deep-rooted hate of Russia made the work very difficult, so I didn’t limit my work to human rights aspects, which the “Memorial” organisation focused on, but instead I also worked for peace, such as cultural, educational and social activities in which the Russian military was invited to take part, to try and break down the stereotypes that existed between Russia and Chechnya.

What are the main difficulties that the Memorial organisation faces?

We have various problems. First, there is the lack of all types of media (newspapers, television, radio, etc.) For example, Internet access is now just beginning in Chechnya, although it is very difficult. We also suffer from a lack of financing, limits many projects, as well as the difficulties in raising the profile of our activities and projects. That is why the creation and dissemination of communication spaces is very important.

But our main difficulty is the social fear caused by the various reprisals by the Chechen government, such as the many disappearances, torture in extra-legal prisons, psychological torture, etc.

How does the Memorial organisation keep going?

The various offices of the Memorial organisation remain open thanks to the Refugee Commission. We also receive help from many countries, like the Embassy of the United Kingdom, and from organisations and foundations institutions that support us, such as the “Open Society Institute”.

What are the main programmes that the Memorial organisation has designed?

There are situations when people are falsely incriminated in criminal cases. In these situations of injustice, we have legal consultancy programmes for the public. Another area in which we work is our “Legal Initiative” programme, which focuses on cases that have been closed by the Europe Court of Human Rights, and gathers details of disappeared people. We also have programmes to provide medical help that are mainly for the displaced population and refugees.

What effect did the sad death of Natasha Estevirova, a member of the Memorial organisation, have?

The organisation was not willing to continue risking the lives of its activists, as according to figures from human rights organisations in Ireland, twenty-four activists were murdered in the world last year. Three of them were murdered in Russia and three more in Chechnya.

The terrible murder of our friend Natasha was a very hard blow. As a consequence, we did not work in Chechnya officially for six months, and we announced that it was impossible for human rights activists to do our job. Finally, we decided to leave Chechnya, which led to many activists being exiled abroad, and facing constant direct threats by the Chechen government. Fortunately, we are supported by various Russian organisations, which provide us with mobile squads of lawyers, to give us legal support to clear up the case.

ELENA VILENSKAIA

“Mothers of Saint Petersburg Soldiers” Organisation
“House of Peace and Non-violence” Organisation

Can you tell us about your career?

I started working when I joined the Popular Front which started in the Baltic republics, and was founded to change the political situation. In 1991, with another woman, who was also in the Popular Front, we founded the organisation for the Mothers of Saint Petersburg Soldiers and I worked for it for three years. Later, 6 years ago, we founded the House of Peace and Non-violence because of the intrinsic relationship between human rights and non-violence.

How does the Mothers of Saint Petersburg Soldiers organisation work and what areas does it focus on?

Our organisation is mainly made up of women and we are supported by other organisations like the “Women in Black”. Our objective is to raise awareness using narrative of the consequences of war and armed conflicts, focusing on education and the construction of peace.

In the education area, we organise workshops for primary and secondary school students, university students and teachers.

In the construction of peace area, we are involved in various “reconciliation” projects which mainly involve women and children who have suffered from the consequences of war and regional conflicts. In these projects, the participants share the difficult experiences they have lived through. An example is the literary competition “War in my life”, sponsored and financed by the Government of Catalonia through the “Dones x Dones” organisation.

Our mission is to end the xenophobic and racist stereotypes that have been constructed and created in much of Russian society, which are often produced in schools.

Thanks to the help of tax objectors, we are also involved in the struggle to shed light on punitive armed violence, such as the events of 5 February 2000, when Special Police Units from Saint Petersburg killed at least 56 innocent civilians in the town of Aldi.

What media help you in raising the profile of your organisation’s events?

We have a radio station in Saint Petersburg, which is more or less free, and we work with them sometimes. We also advertise in Novaia Gazet, which enables us to receive financial support from people who sympathise with our cause.

PLATFORM

The Barcelona Declaration on the Human Right to Peace

Carlos Villán Durán

President of the Spanish Society for the Development and Application of International Human Rights Law (AEDIDH)



On 2 June 2010, the International Drafting Committee - consisting of 10 specialists from the world's five regions - approved the Barcelona Declaration on the Human Right to Peace in the Catalan Parliament (available at www.aedidh.org). The meeting had been organised by the AEDIDH and the ICIP, under the auspices of the Catalan institutions. It was the culmination of a legislative initiative by international civil society that had begun on 30 October 2006 with the adoption of the Luarca Declaration on the Human Right to Peace by 15 Spanish specialists, which was in turn reviewed by the Bilbao Declaration on the Human Right to Peace, approved on 24 February 2010 by a Committee of Drafting Experts consisting of 14 Spanish specialists. The Bilbao text was the basis for the written work that was completed in Barcelona.

The Barcelona Declaration will in turn be submitted for endorsement by international civil society, which will meet in Santiago de Compostela (Spain) as part of the International Congress on the Human Right to Peace on 9-10 December 2010, during the Forum 2010 or

the World Social Forum on Education for Peace.

As well as approving the Santiago Declaration on the Human Right to Peace, the Congress will debate the statutes of the future International Observatory of the Human Right to Peace, which will be established at AEDIDH and will have a double role: to foster application of the Santiago Declaration all over the world, and to ensure that its articles are taken into account during the official codification of the human right to peace.

The three approved Declarations (Luarca, Bilbao and Barcelona) show that it is possible to take the universal value of peace from the moral or philosophical sphere towards legal classification as a human right. They are written in accordance with the legal technique used in international instruments, and the preambles set out a holistic approach to peace, which is not only negative - the absence of armed conflicts - but also positive, and considered in three dimensions. First, satisfying the basic needs of all human beings, in order to eradicate the structural violence produced by economic and social inequalities in the world. Second, eliminating all types of cultural violence (gender, family, school, work, etc.). Third, providing effective respect for all human rights and the basic freedoms of all people.

The three Declarations therefore emphasise the need to establish a new international economic order to end inequalities, exclusion and poverty. This must also be based on respect for the environment and be rounded off with an education that fosters identities that are not linked, in order to unlearn war; general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control; elimination of gender-based inequality; and the eradication of all forms of intolerance and discrimination based on racial, ethnic or religious grounds.

The three Declarations are the main milestones during the international campaign in favour of the human right to peace by the AEDIDH over four years (2007-2010), which was based on two areas: first, sharing the Luarca Declaration with specialists and representatives of civil society at 20 meetings held in the five regions of the world. Contributions were gathered from the various international cultural sensibilities, in seven regional Declarations which were inspired by the Luarca Declaration and ratified its universal scope. They were approved between 2008 and 2010 in the cities of La Plata, Yaoundé, Johannesburg, Bangkok, Sarajevo, Alexandria and Havana (available at www.aedidh.org) and led to the review of the Luarca Declaration which led to the Declarations approved subsequently in Bilbao and Barcelona. These cover aspects such as the prohibition on discrimination in exercising the human right to peace; mechanisms for compensation for victims of human rights violations; the scope of the right to resistance against oppression and totalitarianism; reinforcement of the gender approach; and groups in situations of vulnerability.

The international community is also kept informed of the progress of the campaign, by means of active participation by the AEDIDH and associated NGOs (now more than 500) in the periods when sessions are held at the United Nations Human Rights Council and other relevant bodies, organising parallel meetings of experts and formulating joint written and oral declarations (14). These cover the most controversial aspects relating to the contents and scope of the human right to peace, and advocate the holistic view of peace demanded by international civil society.

The progress made in recent months by the international campaign for the human right to peace could not be considered satisfactory, as two strategic objectives have been reached. First, to articulate the contents and

scope of the human right to peace in a Declaration that does justice to the aspirations of international civil society, recognising that peace is a universal human right. Second, to persuade other member States of the Human Rights Council to begin the international codification of the human right to peace. This was achieved on 17 June 2010 when the Human Rights Council, acknowledging the importance of the contribution by organisations in civil society to the codification and development of the right to peace, decided to ask its Advisory Committee to prepare a draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace.

The AEDIDH will continue to work with the Advisory Committee and the Human Rights Council so that the announced draft declaration also includes the individual dimension of the right to peace, the gender perspective and care for people belonging to groups in situations of vulnerability. We hope that the United Nations General Assembly approves the Universal Declaration of the Human Right to Peace, which will facilitate the adaptation of international human rights law to the real needs of international civil society, making it possible to think of human relations within the framework of a culture of peace in other terms.

Civil Peace Service: a European commitment to non-violent conflict resolution

Rubén Campos

Expert in the construction of peace and non-violence. Assistant to the Programs Director, Club of Madrid



Ideas for the creation of a Civil Peace Service (CPS) with the support of government bodies have emerged in the European Union and in various states since the 1990s. The idea has been developed with some variations in various European countries, but it has always had the common goal of improving civil society's ability to intervene in violent international conflicts and construct opportunities for peace.

The CPS are the heirs to the new paradigm of the policy of non-violence that Gandhi developed in India and South Africa in the early 20th century, which created the possibility of building a new repertoire of action for mass social and political action. Its spread across the movements for change in the entire world, from the second half of the 20th century onwards, has placed the policy of non-violence in humanity's collective cultural memory.

The origins of intervention by civilians in violent conflicts can be found in the development from the mid-19th century onwards of the humanitarian dimension of international law, with the creation of international regulations and organisations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross <<http://www.icrc.org/spa>> (CICR) in Geneva in 1863.

In this same area, in 1919, a group of European Christian pacifists led by Pierre Ceresole promoted the creation of a civil service instead of compulsory military service, which led to the creation of the International Civil Service <<http://www.ongsci.org/es/index.php>>, which aimed to achieve participation by volunteers from all over the world in reconstruction work in areas devastated by war or humanitarian disasters.

A major step forward in the need to become more directly involved in conflict resolution work, and not only in humanitarian intervention in them, was Gandhi's proposal to create a Shanti Sena (Peace Army), a body of volunteers using the same non-violent techniques that he was developing for the struggle for independence in work on construction of peace in conflicts.

The example of the Shanti Sena has been subsequently followed and reproduced by organisations in civil society all over the world. Some outstanding examples of this type of initiative are the International Peace

Brigades <<http://www.peacebrigades.org/>> and the Non-violent Peace Forces <<http://www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org/>>.

At country level, this civilian and non-violent aspect of the construction of peace started to become more important in the 1990s, with the emergence of a new vision of human security and the prevention of conflicts, featuring non-military dimensions of security and a more active role for civilians. For example, in Europe, crisis management within the European Security and Defence Policy <http://europa.eu/pol/cfsp/index_es.htm> now includes the call for greater influence by civilians.

At the same time as this redefinition of security policies and plans for the creation of international civil bodies for peace, the CPS, as developed in various European countries, are defined as initiatives for intervention in long-term conflicts headed by civil society and supported and coordinated by public authorities, which work on the transformation of conflicts using non-violent means, and the objective of which is to reduce violence.

Social organisations and other governmental bodies working to train and send unarmed civilians to intervene in violent conflicts have existed for some time, and have accumulated extensive experience and recognised effectiveness, and their work has been facilitated with the creation of a policy instrument of this type.

Networks of organisations in European civil society involved in the construction of peace such as the European Network for Civil Peace Services <<http://www.en-cps.org/>> or the European Peace Liaison Office <<http://www.eplo.org/>> have been established to defend the need to create these CPS institutionally at a European level, which in their opinion would lead to an improvement of the image and the inefficiency of the EU as a global agent for the construction of peace.

The idea has been developed with some variations in various European countries, but it has always had the common goal of improving civil society's capacity to intervene and construct opportunities for peace in violent international conflicts. The Civil Service for Peace in Germany (*Ziviler Friedensdienst* <<http://www.ziviler-friedensdienst.org/Ziviler-Friedensdienst.23.0.html?&L=1>>), has become the leading model in this field.

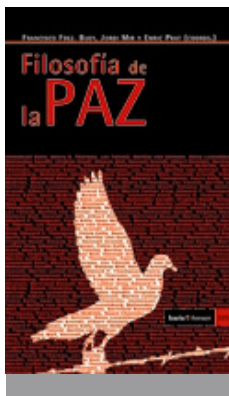
The projects of the German CPS are planned and executed as long-term interventions in the context of violent, active or latent conflicts between social groups in a country or region or in the form of a contribution to the prevention of those conflicts. The projects are undertaken in each of the three phases of a conflict, i.e. in prevention, transformation and post-conflict activities.

Their general objective is to reduce or prevent violence, promote understanding and contribute to a lasting and just peace, in cooperation and with the leadership of counterpart local organisations. The German CPS has received 116.8 million euros in the last ten years. More than 200 consultants are currently working on projects in 50 countries, with support from around 300 local professionals.

There are plans to implement CPS in many states and regions all over Europe, using the model and the results and in fact achieved in Germany. The idea of a Catalan Civil Peace Service, promoted by organisations in civil society and which is supported by part of the Catalan political class, will have a pioneering role in the development of this aspect of the construction of peace.

The Catalan tradition of managing diversity based on peaceful resolution of conflicts and the establishment of a culture of peace make Catalonia a privileged space to implement this initiative, which continues to build on the old dream of generations of workers for peace of a world in which conflicts can be solved with no need to resort to violence.

RECOMMENDATIONS



Philosophy of Peace

Francisco Fernández Buey, Jordi Mir and Enric Prat (eds.). *Filosofía de la Paz*, Barcelona: Icaria, 2010.

The book *Philosophy of Peace* presents the thought of sixteen authors who have reflected on war and peace in a timeframe between the XVIII century and the modern day. The book includes texts by the following authors specialising in thought and practice: Immanuel Kant, Henry D. Thoreau, Lev Tolstoy, Bertha von Suttner, Rosa Luxemburg, Mohandas Gandhi, Virginia Woolf, Simone Weil, Hannah Arendt, Albert Einstein, Bertrand Russell, Martin Luther King, E. P. Thompson, Petra Kelly, Sean Mac Bride and Noam Chomsky.

The articles are preceded by an introduction by Paco Fernández Buey on the philosophy of peace in history and the afterword, written by Tica Font, considers the challenges for today's peace movement.

The book's origins lie in the eponymous course that was held at Pompeu Fabra University between September and December 2008. The wide range of those attending highlighted the gap in this knowledge area and the willingness of many people to study it in more depth. The book is therefore a contribution to knowledge of the philosophy of peace, based on the ideas and proposals of the authors mentioned above, which is aimed at both academic readers and individuals committed to the construction of peace and justice in the modern world. (E.G.)



Against the kingdom of the beast: E.P. Thompson, the critical conscience of the cold war

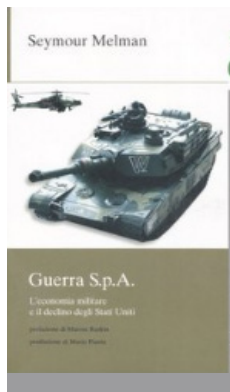
José Ángel Ruiz Jiménez. *Contra el reino de la bestia: E.P. Thomson, la conciencia crítica de la guerra fría*. Universidad de Granada, 2009.

The world's most frequently quoted historian in the twentieth century is still little-known in Spain, and his work as an activist for peace is even less so. That is why reading this book on Edward Palmer Thompson is worthwhile. At a time when models and extraordinary individuals are lacking, we can find inspiration in the man who was probably one of the most lucid and influential critical consciences of the Cold War.

Despite analysis of Thompson's pacifist and political thought being a complex task due to his prolific historiographical output, José Ángel Ruiz Jiménez succeeds in the undertaking. Over 400 pages of quotes, figures and analysis, we learn about the thoughts of the author of *The Making of the English Working Class* and his ideas for a political transition to socialism, how to respond to the threats to civil rights and liberties, the need for a nuclear-free Europe, etc. These subjects tie in with many modern debates on security and peace, such as the role of the military-industrial complex, the (non-)existence of the clash of civilisations, the resistance to pensée unique and star wars and the anti-missile shield as an (in)effective means of collective security.

In 2010, when negotiations for nuclear disarmament are once again in the news, it is worth remembering the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, European Nuclear Disarmament and their demand for a Europe free of nuclear weapons from Poland to Portugal. This British lecturer and activist participated in the Spanish campaign for the NATO referendum, leaving his mark on many of the people and institutions that today make up the fabric of the Catalan peace movement.

Intellectual life and the desire to participate in the creation of a better world are not mutually exclusive. E.P. Thompson was well aware of that, and put it into practice. José Ángel Ruiz Jiménez explains this clearly and in detail, with great care and thoroughness, and with affection. In my opinion, we are indebted to both men. The good news is that we are able to repay them by reading this book. (J.A.)



Wars, Ltd.: The Rise and Fall of America's Permanent War Economy

Seymour Melman. *Guerra S.p.A. L'economia militare e il declino degli Stati Uniti*. Roma: Citta Aperta, 2006.

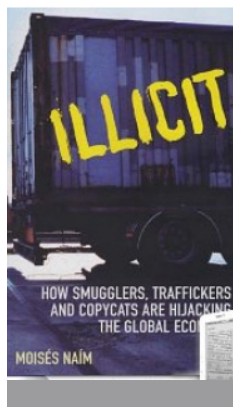
The final posthumous book by Seymour Melman reconstructs the origins of the military economy of the USA from the Second World War to the present day, showing to what extent the increase in its expenditure is linked to the expansion of military production and research. For Melman, the fact that the USA is responsible for half the world's military spending points to an economic model that has had very significant costs.

First, North American citizens have had to suffer the deindustrialisation of their economy and the decline in its productive capacity, with an unprecedented centralisation of decision-making power. Second, the economic results point to a record deficit in foreign trade accounts and the Federal budget, an increasingly weak dollar and increasingly wide social inequality. The alternative proposed by the author is a drastic policy of disarmament and conversion, a "re-industrialisation" of the economy and the renewal of infrastructures and public services, providing new areas of work for businesses and workers that now work in

the military sector. It is also an important lesson for movements in civil society working towards global justice, which in recent years have opposed "infinite war" and neoliberal globalisation.

Seymour Melman, an expert on military economics and industrial conversion to civil production, has examined the paths towards a disarmament policy and an economy of peace for over 50 years. On 20 December 2004, Ralph Nader wrote an article about his friends, in which he said: "before he passed away this month, Seymour Melman had completed a concise book manuscript titled, "Wars, Ltd.: The Rise and Fall of America's Permanent War Economy in an attempt to condense all the wisdom acquired over decades of analysis and research committed to peace and disarmament.".

(J.A.)



Illicit

Moisés Naím. *Illicit*. London: Arrow Books, 2007.

Among the positive aspects of this thought-provoking book are the abundance of figures and connections between unknown and terrible worlds (such as the organ trafficking market) in which the central figures are more powerful than governments. These industries include the trafficking of weapons, people, drugs, fake goods, species on the verge of extinction, stolen works of art, as well as money-laundering and many other businesses. These trades have benefited from the technological revolution of the 1990s, which was accompanied by political, social, cultural and especially economic measures aimed at facilitating the free market. An important conclusion is that the frontiers between legal and illegal trade are increasingly blurred. The reader will find many examples of this idea linked to geopolitical black holes located in the most varied corners of the planet, and the method is shared by all the illegal trades analysed; who benefits from them and who pays the costs, the rules of the game, the incentives for the status quo to continue, and what we can do to change it.

Analysis of society's responses shows the limits of police and governmental action (especially in the absence of international cooperation) and the potentialities and diversity of citizen's initiatives. Based on the need to focus on the problem from the economic perspective - 'they are all businesses seeking profits - Moisés Naím's proposal deliberately refrains from moral considerations. From this perspective, it is necessary to fight the problem from the perspective of demand as well as supply, i.e. among clients, buyers and users. Focusing on this part of the transaction means reducing the earnings that traffickers can obtain and therefore reducing their incentives to continue with their activities, as well as their negative impact on society. The most interesting part of the book begins probably in page 251, when the author acknowledges that some of these illicit trades need to be legal. The reasoning - 'because there are not enough resources to fight them all' is more dubious. In any event, it considers the real possibility of using decriminalisation, deregulation and legalisation strategies to make the focus more sophisticated. Perhaps if it had started at this point, the book would have been able to consider these questions in more depth.

(J.A.)

NEWS

ICIP NEWS

Seminar on the consolidation of peace in Côte d'Ivoire

Experts from international organisations including the UNDP, UNESCO and the World Bank, university researchers and local authorities will analyse the outlook for the consolidation of peace in Côte d'Ivoire over three days, from 27 to 29 September, in a seminar organised by the ICIP in the country's capital, Abidjan. The President of the ICIP, Rafael Grasa, will open and close the seminar, and will participate in various sessions.

After gaining independence from France, Côte d'Ivoire became model for stability in West Africa for over three decades. However, a coup d'état in 1999 led to the outbreak of a civil war that claimed thousands of victims and divided country between the north, controlled by the rebels, and with a Muslim majority, and the south, in government hands. The current peace process under the auspices of the UN began in 2003.

Among the issues to be analysed at the seminar are the role of elections in peace consolidation processes, property rights and inter-community relations as root of the conflict, and the deployment of State institutions and the fight against corruption.

In 2009, the ICIP participated in an identification mission to Côte d'Ivoire linked to the upcoming presidential elections

New book collections

In order to promote the culture of peace and foster education and raising awareness among the public, the ICIP has created four collections of books to stimulate research, dissemination and action on topics related to peace and security in Spain.

The *Peace and Non-violence Classics* collection, published jointly with Angle Editorial, aims to make the authors considered classics thought on peace and non-violence accessible to the general public. *Tools for Peace, Security and Justice* is a collection designed to provide tools for reflection and work to people committed to the construction of peace and justice, and is published jointly with Icaria Editorial. *Peace and Security*, which aims to provide access for academic and specialised readers to contemporary topics considered from the perspective of a commitment to research for peace is published with Edicions Bellaterra.

Finally, the collection *Non-violence and the Struggle for Peace* is published with Pagès editors, and aims to raise awareness of non-violence as a philosophy and important tool for achieving peace in the twenty-first century.

International Day of Peace at the ICIP

21 September, the International Day of Peace, is an annual public event for the ICIP for making assessments and commitments for action, on its return to work after the summer. For this reason, the ICIP will make an Institutional Declaration which will include a general assessment of the situation of peace in the world, an overview of the work done by the ICIP in 2009-10 and a commitment to work for 2010-11.

As well as the institutional declaration, various published materials and the first books in the ICIP collections, *Peace and Non-violence Classics* and *Tools for Peace, Security and Justice* will be published.

There will be an exhibition in front of the ICIP offices between 20 and 26 September, featuring photographs by Dani Lagartofernández. The exhibition presents thirteen words, thirteen stories of thirteen women committed to the construction of peace in the Middle East. This exhibition also aims to raise awareness of the United Nations Security Council's resolution 1325, which highlights the role of women as agents for peace, and calls for guarantees for the presence of women in decision-making spaces and within mechanisms for conflict prevention, management and resolution.

Approval of the Declaration of Barcelona

International experts debated for three days until they approved the Declaration of Barcelona on the Human Right to Peace. This activity was jointly organised by the ICIP and the Spanish Association for International Human Rights Law (AEDIDH) and was supported by the Parliament of Catalonia.

As ICIP President Rafael Grasa explained at the presentation, it is a declaration which contains specific rights on the ideal of the right to peace, and also confers obligations on the institutions. It is also important in that it links peace, development and human rights, a formula in which all the ingredients are essential, but which are rarely included together in any other international legal document.

From this point on, the situation of the text will be less certain, but more exciting at the same time. The aim is for the declaration to be legally recognised by the United Nations General Assembly.

Link of the PDF of the Declaration <http://www.gencat.cat/icip/pdf/DeclaraciolICIP_010610_ang.pdf>

Participation in the biannual conference of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA)

The ICIP participated in the Biannual Conference of the International Peace Research Association, which was held in Sydney (Australia) from 6 to 10 July. The event brings together representatives from the world's leading research centres for peace as well as leading figures in research for peace and human rights, such as Johan Galtung and Irene Khan, survivors of the Hiroshima atomic bomb and representatives of Australian aboriginal communities, among others.

Two works by ICIP members were presented: "*New developments of peace research: the impact of recent campaigns on disarmament and human security*" by Rafael Grasa and Xavier Alcalde; and "*Successes and failures of international campaigns on disarmament and human security*" by Xavier Alcalde.

Israeli soldiers participate in a talk at the ICIP

A talk with Simcha Levental and Yehuda Shaul, members of the Israeli NGO "Breaking the Silence," took place on 4 June. The two men explained the position of their organisation, which is a firm defender of Israel, from which it demands a greater commitment to peace and human rights. The men behind "Breaking the silence" subsequently began a tour of several Spanish cities and had a significant media impact.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Two leading lights in research for peace, Elise Boulding and John W. Burton, pass away

Two of the great names of the first generation of research died in June; John Burton (23 June) and Elise Boulding (24 June). These two losses are very significant, and they were sorely missed at the recent IPRA meeting in Sydney (see The ICIP blog <<http://blocs.gencat.cat/blocs/AppPHP/ICIP/?p=253>>). We will look at both of them in greater depth in the next issue.

For the moment, let us briefly review their contributions to the field. Elise Boulding, a Quaker from a Norwegian background but brought up in the United States, made enormous contributions to research for peace over the course of decades. She based her research on a holistic and pluridimensional conception of peace, emphasising the reinvention of the idea of “global civic culture,” education for peace, and made great contributions in emphasizing the role of women and families in peace processes. Even today, her book published in 1976, *The Underside of History: A View of Women through Time*, remains a compulsory benchmark and an example of how to restore the role of women as actors and subjects in the history of humanity. This link provides access to an interesting interview granted to *Beyond Intractability* in 2003: http://www.beyondintractability.org/audio/elise_boulding/?nid=2413

John Burton was an Australian civil servant and diplomat, who had a long and varied academic career in the international relations field after settling in the United Kingdom. His contribution to the study of what he called “world society” and his dedication to the study, analysis and resolution of conflicts was very important and inspiring, to the point where he is considered to be one of the leading lights in what is known as the “interactive approach”. He made many important contributions to the field of peace studies and research for peace, beginning with his 1962 book, *Peace Theory: Preconditions of Disarmament*, which had a major impact. The following is a link to an article that assesses his radical and heterodox contributions to international relations: http://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/jips/vol6_1/Dunn.htm

We would like to thank Elise and John for their work, their example and their commitment.
(R.G.)

International Criminal Court Review Conference

The first Review Conference of the International Criminal Court’s Statute of Rome took place between 31 May and 11 June. The meeting was held in Kampala (Uganda) and feelings at the end were mixed. The pressure exerted by civil society, aimed at strengthening the international criminal law regime as much as possible, did not achieve the desired results, largely due to the desire that all agreements be reached by consensus. Finally, after last-minute negotiations, a small extension to article 8 was approved, referring to the Court’s jurisdiction for war crimes. Article 124, which enables exclusion of a state party from the Court’s jurisdiction of war crimes for 7 years after the ratification of the Court’s statute by that state, was retained. Finally, the inclusion of the crime of aggression with reservations, and the possibility that it may not be applied to states that wish to be exempt of its application, waters down the final approved text.

More information at Coalition for the International Criminal Court review conference website <<http://www.iccnw.org/?mod=review>>.

Violence in Kyrgyzstan

A few years ago, there was what could metaphorically be called an island in the heart of Asia. This island was Kyrgyzstan, which unlike its neighbours in the region, enjoyed some degree of stability and a plural political system that respected democratic norms. Unfortunately, the situation has gradually deteriorated since the promising rise to power of Kurmanbek Bakiyev, who was forced to resign from the presidency last April. An interim government headed by Roza Otunbayeva has run the country since then, and aims to approve a new constitution and hold presidential elections within six months. However, violent clashes took place in May between supporters of ex-president Bakiyev and those of the interim government. In addition to these clashes, ethnic tensions arose due to the southern-based opposition being mostly Uzbek, while the supporters of the interim government are from the Kyrgyz majority.

The outlook could be less uncertain, but the powers with interests in the region do not consider the consolidation of democracy a priority, either because they do not use that political system themselves (China, Russia and Iran), or because they are more concerned with stability, albeit at the expense of freedom (USA, European Union). The country's multi-ethnic composition should not in itself be a source of instability, but can be a central factor in destabilising the government, even if this is by means of the use of force.

More information at: Link to the special feature on Kyrgyzstan at the Cidob website <http://www.cidob.org/es/temas_regiones/asia/especials/kirguizstan/especial_kirguizstan>

Death of Raimon Pannikar

Raimon Panikkar passed away in Tavertet on the 26th of August, 2010. Unfortunately, this news had been anticipated for some time, as Raimon himself notified us that he was retiring from public life in a letter written at the beginning of the year, which received a great deal of media attention. In spite of the fact that he died during the summer, recognition for his work since his death has been overwhelming. Much has been said about the consistency between his thoughts and actions, his struggle for interculturalism and dialogue, and the cultural and theological bridge that his encyclopaedic work - published in Catalan - signifies between the East and West. It has also been said repeatedly and deservedly that we have lost the most well-known Catalan thinker in the world, along with Ramon Llull, with whom he shared an interest and the practice of interculturalism. Fortunately, Raimon left his theoretical work behind, and has given us the example of his life, including the path begun by his Foundation.

It is certain that the immense legacy of Raimon Panikkar will guide us for a long time in following the path with which we can, to quote him directly, continue "contributing to solve the problem of peace. This problem should not overcome us, or inspire fear in us. Quite the opposite."

You can read an entry on Panikkar, his relationship with the ICIP and his thoughts on peace in the ICIP blog, entitled Raimon Panikkar: the fight for peace and the ICIP. The complete text is available at: <http://blocs.gencat.cat/blocs/AppPHP/ICIP/?p=258#more-258>.

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