

Keynote Address by Mr. Jayantha Dhanapala, President of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, former Adviser to the President of Sri Lanka and UN Under-Secretary in Disarmament Affairs

“Achieving the Vision of a Nuclear Weapon-Free World”

(Ninomiya Akira, Vice-president of Hiroshima University)

This year’s university seminar is coincided and cosponsored by INU, International Network of Universities so that the atmosphere of the seminar is a little different. I’m very glad that we have many participants, citizens, students, and staff members of Hiroshima University.

Now I’d like to introduce today’s speaker, Jayantha Dhanapala, President, of Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs

Mr. Jayantha Dhanapala is currently President of Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, Chairman of the United Nations University Council, member of the governing board of Stockholm International Peace Research Institute(SIPRI) and several other advisory boards of international bodies.

He is also is a former UN Under Secretary General for Disarmament Affairs and a former Ambassador of Sri Lanka to the United States of America.

I’d like you to refer to handouts for the details of his career. Now I’d like to introduce the relationship between Pugwash Conferences and Hiroshima University.

As you may know, Pugwash is a name of a small town in Canada and why this conference was named Pugwash might be explained by Mr. Dhanapala himself later. Anyway, in 1995, Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to this Pugwash Conference and in the same year in 1995, the 50th Pugwash Conference was held in Hiroshima, and in 2005, the 55th Pugwash Conference was held in Hiroshima again.

Teaching staff and members of the steering committee from Hiroshima University cooperated organization of the Conference.

From Hiroshima University, citizens from Hiroshima have been participating in the

annual Pugwash Conference held overseas.

In the Hiroshima University's library started an initiative to collect and manage documents relating to Pugwash Conference and make it open to the public usage.

Now I'd like to ask Mr. Dhanapala for his speech and I'd like to introduce today's interpreter Ms. Mineura to you.

The title of today's speech is "Achieving the Vision of a Nuclear Weapon Free World" Mr. Dhanapala, please.

Mr. Jayantha DHANAPALA "Achieving the Vision of a Nuclear Weapon Free World"

(Dhanapala)

Ohayogozaimasu. Ladies and gentlemen, may I begin by thanking the professor for his very kind introduction to me underlining not only my own personal achievements, but the achievements of the organization of which I am proud to be President today.

It is both an honor and privilege to accept an invitation to deliver this lecture on Achieving the Vision of a Nuclear Weapon Free World for specifically three reasons.

Firstly, because this takes place in the margins of the commemoration ceremony of the terrible tragedy that took place 63 years ago in Hiroshima when we witnessed a terrible crime against humanity, which we would never want repeated in human history.

Secondly, because this lecture is within the framework of INU Student Seminar co-sponsored by the Hiroshima University on Global Citizenship for Peace and it is a concept that encourages multilateral cooperation at the student level for good global citizenship honoring global norms so that we can have global solutions for global problems.

Thirdly, and finally I speak here to honor the link between Pugwash and Japan and Pugwash and Hiroshima, which goes back to the first Pugwash meeting which took place in a little fishing village in Nova Scotia, Canada in 1957 when two famous Japanese physicists from the University of Kyoto and not from the University of Hiroshima unfortunately were there amongst the Pugwash pioneers.

My subject, “Achieving the Vision of a Nuclear Weapon Free World” is a subject that is today of greater relevance and greater urgency than ever before although it is 63 years since the dawn of the nuclear age when the terrible effects of nuclear fusion was demonstrated in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

Ever since then, international relations has been haunted by the specter of the extinction of human existence by the use of this most destructive weapon ever invented by humankind, which can cause long lasting genetic defects and ecological effects that will render human existence no longer possible in this planet.

I’m proud to say that one of my predecessors presidents of Pugwash, that is Prof. Joseph Rotblat walked out of the Manhattan Project when he realized the objective of that project was to invent a bomb that could result in omnicide, and killing of so many thousands of people that we witnessed 63 years ago here in Hiroshima and later in Nagasaki.

From the first possession of the nuclear weapon by the United States of America and its actual use in 1945, we have seen the possession of the nuclear weapon proliferate to the former Soviet Union, now Russian Federation, to the United Kingdom, to France and to China. These five countries are accepted as nuclear weapon states within the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty which came into force in 1970.

But outside the Non Nuclear Proliferation Treaty, there are other countries who have acquired nuclear weapons. There is Israel which received clandestine support from France as recorded in Seymour Hersh’s book “The Samson Option” There is India and there is Pakistan, and possibly the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea.

But there are also countries who tried to acquire nuclear weapons and either failed because they were discovered or who have voluntarily given that up; that includes South Africa which decided after it became a non-racial democracy to destroy several devices it had and to join the NPT as a non-nuclear weapon state, a model action which the international community must applaud.

After the illegal invasion of Kuwait, Iraq was discovered to also have a clandestine weapons of mass-destruction program, which the Security Council, through the IAEA and through UNSCOM were able to destroy.

Then when the Western intelligence agencies after a long and unforgivable delay blew the lid on the A. Q. Khan's Network which revealed a veritable Wal-Mart in the trading of nuclear technology and nuclear materials. We were able to see Libya giving up its own plans for weapons of mass destruction.

There are continuing concerns about the weapon program of DPRK which is the subject of Six-Nation Talks in which Japan is a party. There are concerns about the nuclear program of Iran because of its uranium enrichment. Although permissible under the NPT, have concerns because of Iran's own relations with some of its neighbors particularly with Israel.

But it is not only the proliferation of nuclear weapons to other states that is the subject of concern. But it is today a possibility that terrorist groups or non-state actors may acquire nuclear weapons that causes us even greater concern than ever before.

Here in Japan, you have the Aum-Shinri-Kyo that used chemical weapons in the Tokyo subway and we have proof that the Al-Qaeda has also sought nuclear weapon material in order to have a radiological weapon.

But the problem, my friends, is not only the danger of horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapon technology and materials to other states and non-state actors, but vertical proliferation where the existing nuclear weapon states try to refine and increase their nuclear weapon arsenals.

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty did not legitimize possession of nuclear weapons in the hands of five countries. It did not make permanent the apartheid arrangement between nuclear-haves and nuclear-have-nots.

The message of the Canberra Commission for the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons and the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission, both of which I served on as a member, was very clear with regard to the need to have the total elimination of nuclear weapons as an end result of nuclear disarmament negotiations. Let me quote the simple logic of this from the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission Report. I quote, "So long as any state has such weapons, especially nuclear arms, others will want them. So long as any such weapons remain in any state arsenal, there is a high risk that they will one day be used by design or accident. Any such use would be catastrophic." Unquote.

The advocates of nuclear deterrence of whom there are many here in Japan including in the government, argue that we have not had the use of nuclear weapons precisely because some countries have arrogated themselves to be the policemen of the world retaining nuclear weapons to be used in case there is war in the future.

But the historical record of the Cuban missile crisis in 1962 when the world came close to the edge of Armageddon and of the many instances of accidents that have taken place in all countries, developed and developing, with regard to the handling of nuclear weapons shows very clearly that we have escaped through luck and not by actual policy.

This luck is not always going to hold out. We need, therefore, to take conscious decisions to eliminate this nuclear weapon. Particularly, in the current situation, when deterrence has absolutely no relevance with regard to terrorist groups, absolutely no relevance with regard to the extremism that we see prevalent in the world today.

The nuclear weapon states are not even honest enough to tell us how many weapons they have. We have estimates that there are approximately 27,000 nuclear weapons which of course is a substantial reduction from the 50,000 or so that were held during the Cold War. But it is still 27,000 too many. Ninety five percent of those 27,000 nuclear warheads are shared by the United States and the Russian Federation. And over 10,000 of them are on ready-to-launch-warning. In other words, they can hit a target within 20 minutes of the button being pressed without any possibility of the target doing anything to avoid it.

The Nuclear weapon is a weapon of terror and it is for all these reasons that organizations like Pugwash led by distinguished scientists and philosophers like Bertrand Russel, Dorothy Hodgkins, Sir Joseph Rotblat as well as other citizens, movements like the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in the United Kingdom and other groups throughout the world including here in Japan the Hibakusha of both Hiroshima and Nagasaki have wanted to see this weapon abolished forever.

Over the years we have built a network of treaties that have helped to restrain the unbridled proliferation of nuclear weapons both horizontally and vertically. This includes the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which was signed in 1968 entered into force in 1970 and today with over 178 members it is the most widely subscribed treaty

in the world.

But the NPT which was based on the principles of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons to the countries that did not have it; for peaceful uses of nuclear energy and on disarmament is today in big trouble because the purposes of the Treaty are being subverted by the politics of the great powers.

In the 1995 conference which I presided over, we agreed to extend the treaty indefinitely, but on condition that certain fundamental principles and objectives were honored. In 2000 at the review conference, we also adopted 13 steps which we wanted the nuclear weapon states to honor. But all that has been violated.

The advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice ruled that the threat of use of nuclear weapons was contrary to the international principles of humanitarian law and also asserted that Article 6 of the NPT required nuclear weapon states to negotiate to the conclusion of a nuclear disarmament world where we eliminate nuclear weapons and have a nuclear weapon free world.

In 2005, the NPT Review Conference, under the Bush Administration, was unable to have a final document because of fundamental disagreements. And today we have had a further blow to NPT principles with India and the United States forging a nuclear cooperation deal which violates all that is good in the NPT.

So as we approach the NPT Review Conference of 2010, I am full of grave misgivings as to whether that will succeed unless there is a fundamental rethinking on the part of the nuclear weapon states, particularly, the United States of America.

There is another treaty that is of significance and that is the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty that was finally achieved as a consequence of the agitation of civil society and Nonaligned countries of the world, when we decided to ban nuclear weapon testing in all environments in all times. So that means there will no longer be even underground testing.

But unfortunately, that treaty has not entered into force because 90 countries have either not signed it or not ratified it. The United States is the principal treaty partner who signed it, but has not ratified it.

So again we must hope that there will be a change of policy in the United States of America which can see this important treaty enter into force acting as a permanent brake on the refinement and development of new generations of nuclear weapons and a stop to the pollution caused by nuclear testing in the world.

But apart from these multilateral treaties, there are also bilateral treaties between the two major nuclear weapon states, the United States and Russia, and these have helped to control and cap the nuclear arms race, especially during the period of the Cold War.

Unfortunately, one of those treaties the 1972 Antiballistic Missile Treaty between the US and the old Soviet Union was scrapped by the Bush Administration and two more are about to expire one in December 2009, the other in 2012.

Here too, it is vital that both the United States and the Russian Federation should begin to negotiate fresh treaties to replace these treaties in order to make deep cuts in their nuclear arsenals so that the rest of the world can be a safer place. This must begin now whether or not we have elections for a new President of the United States with different policies from that of the Bush-Cheney Administration.

Another reason why there is urgency for us to achieve the nuclear weapon free world is the fact that we have entered what is called a “Second Nuclear Age,” or a “Nuclear Renaissance” as a reaction to the reports that we have about irreversible climate change; reports that are scientifically validated by the IPCC internationally, by the Stern Report by the United Kingdom and by all the scientists throughout the world with regard to the cost that we are paying today for carbon emissions generated through the economic use of these fossil fuels for so many decades.

There is a knee jerk reaction and an assumption which I personally do not agree that nuclear energy represents a safer and cleaner source of energy for the world in contrast to fossil fuels. As a consequence you have a large number of countries queuing up for nuclear reactors not only in the Gulf countries, but all over the world who think that this is the answer to the current problem with regard to high fuel prices and the threat of climate change.

While countries are indeed free to adopt the energy choices that they want to, and

indeed, the Article 4 of the NPT, right to peaceful uses of nuclear energy is described as an inalienable right, there must also be credible fire wall erected between the peaceful use of nuclear energy and rightly diversion of nuclear materials and technology to non-peaceful purposes and the development of nuclear weapons.

Japan has, I believe, approximately 30% of its energy supplied by nuclear sources, but nobody doubts that Japan has any bad intentions of acquiring nuclear weapons because it has subjected its nuclear facilities to safeguard under the IAEA and has also signed the additional protocol which enhances the confidence of the international community that those countries will in fact be genuinely using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

So how do we reconcile this problem of having nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and the threat of proliferation of nuclear weapons? A number of suggestions have been made by the Director-General of the IAEA and by many countries.

I'm afraid none of those solutions from whatever source they emerge is going to satisfy the entire international community. And the only solution, therefore, is to eliminate nuclear weapons. We are therefore witnessing today the ironies of history.

Schopenhauer, the German philosopher once said that all truth passes through three stages. First, it is ridiculed; second, it is violently opposed; third, it is accepted as being self-evident truth.

And so on 4th of January 2007, when the Wall Street, journal one of the most conservative newspapers in the United States, published an opinion piece by George Shultz, William Perry, Henry Kissinger and Sam Nunn, four stalwarts who had argued for the retention and development of nuclear weapons in the past, calling for a world free of nuclear weapons; it was a major landmark event.

They say in the English language that one swallow does not make a summer. Indeed there have been previous advocates of nuclear weapons like Robert McNamara and General Lee Butler who had renounced nuclear weapons not so long ago.

But what is distinctive about the initiative of Shultz, Perry, Kissinger and Nunn is that it has been repeated again this year; another article on the Wall Street Journal. And it is supported by the Hoover Institute of Stanford University with a large body of expertise. And a large group of other politicians including Madeline Albright a former Secretary

of State is supporting this initiative.

Let me quote from the Op-ed piece by these four gentlemen. It says, “Deterrence continues to be a relevant consideration for many states with regard to threats from other states. But reliance on nuclear weapons for this purpose is becoming increasingly hazardous and decreasingly effective.”

So they call on the leaders of the world to form a joint enterprise so that we have a world without nuclear weapons where we eliminate the weapons that already exist. We cut down the size of nuclear forces, eliminate short-range nuclear weapons and finally move to a state where we have total elimination of all nuclear weapons.

Again what is significant about this initiative in contrast to earlier efforts to achieve the vision of the nuclear weapon free world is that it has had contagion. And we have seen it influence the Presidential campaigns of both Senator Barack Obama, which is of course predictable as well as that of Senator John McCain.

Statements have been made by both Presidential contenders. That indicates there will be a major change in their nuclear weapon policies if they come into office. But not only that these statements have had an impact also in other countries especially in the United Kingdom where Douglas Hurd and Malcolm Rifkind, David Owen and George Robertson coming from both the Conservative Party and the Labour Party have also echoed a call for a nuclear weapon free world.

I would appeal to you, coming from different countries to use your own influence as members of civil society in your countries to ensure that a minimum of four influential politicians retired or currently in work should also write editorials in influential newspapers calling for a nuclear weapon free world.

A road map for the achievement of a nuclear weapon free world has already been laid out by numerous reports including the Weapons of Mass Destruction Weapons Commission Report chaired by Dr. Hans Blix of Sweden.

We know that the verification of a nuclear weapon free world is achievable because we have the scientific expertise to do that. We have already demonstrated that through the CTBT Organization in Vienna, which has state-of-the-art technology that can detect any kind of weapon test anywhere in the world and we have the same technology in the

IAEA through the additional protocol, which can detect nuclear proliferation.

We have had a generational change of political leaders throughout the world. In Moscow we have Medvedev succeeding Putin. In France we have had Sarkozy replacing Chirac and in many other countries there has been change, or there is going to be change. But most difficult change in the superpower in Washington D.C. on the 4th of November this year will be a significant change that can have an impact on global policy because of the leadership role that the United States has as the only surviving superpower in the world.

But there is that other superpower in the world, that is, civil society whose potential has not been seen to the full. And we can if we mobilize global public opinion; we can effect the change that Obama is calling for in the United States of America. We can have that change on a global basis by pressuring the governments of the world to abandon the policy of nuclear deterrence and to save humankind from the threat of extinction and an ecological destruction by abolishing nuclear weapons.

The former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, and others of her kind have dismissed cause for nuclear abolition as “pie in the sky” and unrealistic demands for something that cannot be disinvented. They say the nuclear genie cannot be put back into the bottle.

But we are not asking for the disinvention of the nuclear weapon. We are asking for it to be outlawed. We outlawed biological weapons through the 1972 Biological Weapon Convention. We need not disinvent biological weapons. Similarly we outlawed chemical weapons through the 1996 Chemical Weapon Convention and that is an organization in the Hague, which is implementing that Convention through stringent verification procedures. We are calling, therefore, for the one remaining weapon of mass destruction to be similarly outlawed, delegitimized and put into a situation where anyone whether state or group, having nuclear weapons, would suffer the penalties of the Security Council procedures that are there in the UN Charter and so what we seek is a realistic answer to the problems of the world today.

So let me conclude by saying that we are on the path of exciting and positive change in the global community and it is your responsibility as individual global citizen, as members of civil society to exert your influence in order to try to ensure that that change is achieved and as the words of the Russell Einstein Manifesto conclude, let me remind

you that we must all remember our humanity and forget the rest. Thank you.