

Speech at OPANAL meeting
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The City of Hiroshima

In 2005, I was invited to serve as the voice of civil society at the First Conference of Nuclear Weapon Free Zones, which was held in Mexico City, so this is my second visit to this beautiful and grand city. It was a great honor, and I know some of you were present for the Opening Ceremony. Tomorrow, Friday, I have the honor of giving the “Call to Action” at the Closing Ceremony of the Annual UN DPI/NGO Conference “For Peace and Development---Disarm Now!”

I do not need to tell you about the pivotal role the Mexican Foreign Ministry has played in both of these meetings; but I do need to thank them for allowing me to play a small part in each.

These meetings I mentioned were convened with an eye on upcoming NPT Review Conferences. And the Second Conference of Nuclear Weapon Free Zones will be held in New York just before the 2010 Review Conference.

The 2005 Review Conference, as you well know, and I would like to put it bluntly, was a complete failure. The Obama Administration has changed the disarmament climate, and almost the entire world is now determined to prevent another failure in 2010, but unfortunately we have inherited a poisonous double standard.

India, not an adherent to the NPT and an open proliferator since 1998, for example, gets more lenient trade terms than many faithful adherents of the NPT states parties; in the Middle East, Israel, another non-adherent, is under virtually no pressure to open up its nuclear program, while Iran is under sanctions ostensibly for violations committed nearly a decade ago. North Korea has twice tested nuclear weapons. And globally, we have the persistence of the double standard for the haves and the have-nots. All of this raises serious questions about the meaning and effectiveness of the non-proliferation regime itself.

The world is deciding now whether proliferation will spread essentially unchecked, or whether proliferation will be rolled back – all the way back to the pre- 1945 era. This is the challenge the 2010 Review Conference faces. And the world, that is us, will have to rise to that challenge so we can make history by making this Review Conference a success and a most important conference, which I consider the Review Conference to be, because that is going to be the real beginning of the process of making a nuclear-weapon-free world—finally.

The members of OPANAL, all of you here, will have a historic role to play. Last April in Prague, President Obama signaled his hand as clearly as any American President could ever do. He equated the collapse of communism in the 20th century and the elimination of the nuclear threat in the 21st century. That's unprecedented and the most profoundly meaningful equation that ever came from any American politician. What he is saying is that those who would perpetuate the nuclear threat are no better than those who perpetuated totalitarianism. He did not mince words, calling them 'dangerous' and 'cowardly'. And then he went further, calling for non-violent resistance, citing the Czechs' Velvet Revolution.

I do not really know what flower, fabric or color we should adopt for our revolution against the nuclear threat – I am open to suggestions – so please think about it and please tell me what might be an appropriate symbol for this revolution. But if I may, I would like to offer my humble and personal idea to characterize this revolution.

I would like to call this revolution the COSMOS revolution, and let me offer a brief explanation why. To my surprise, I found out that the flower cosmos is not common here. Cosmos is a very common flower in Japan. Do you know what this flower is? No? OK, I'm sorry. I should have brought a powerpoint presentation to show you what it looks like, but if you give me your email address, I will send you a picture of that flower. It is quite a beautiful flower. It is one of my favorite flowers.

Secondly, the Cosmos is the world we live in, and that is exactly what we are trying to protect from nuclear destruction. Thirdly, it is the name of the well known book – I'm sure some of you have already read it – by Dr. Carl Sagan in which for the first time he pointed out the danger of a nuclear winter if nuclear weapons should ever be used. Finally and most importantly, COSMOS is an acronym. It stands for the Committee to Send the Meaning of Survival. That was a committee of young volunteers formed back in the 1980s, and I was a part of it. Groups existed in Hiroshima and Boston, and they translated a chronicle of the 35-year history of Hiroshima and its *hibakusha*. *Hibakusha* is the Japanese word for the survivors of the atomic bombing. They not only translated this chronicle, but printed and sent copies to the rest of the world. The actual physical manifestation of this gift was in book-form, but the important thing is that these young people sent the struggle, messages, triumphs, and of course, sufferings of the *hibakusha*, that is, the meaning of survival, to the rest of the world. I hope this tradition will be continued by younger generation of today, so the acronym, COSMOS, Committee to Send the Meaning of Survival, is an appropriate name for this revolution. And that is why I am proposing that this name be adopted as characterizing this revolution, but again as I said, this is only my humble idea, so perhaps a better term will be brought in. President Obama knows we need a revolution – that's why he invited it. In this light, I am glad to report to you that a revolution has been already spreading among the cities of the world, as the Secretary-General has kindly mentioned. Since the last NPT Review, over 2000 cities have joined Mayors for Peace. Now, we have 3,104, and the number is increasing by about two or three cities per day. That is how rapidly

this organization is growing, and today, we are fortunate that the Mayor of Mexico City will join the organization. That will make the number 3,105 by this evening, and that adds another 18 million people to our organization.

The number of our cities is over 3000, but when it comes to population, that amounts to 600 million people. But at the same time, we have created an even greater goal during our General Conference held in Nagasaki this past August. The General Conference of Mayors for Peace is held every four years, and this time it was held in Nagasaki. We have decided, by May of next year, which is the time of the Review Conference of the NPT, that we would like to have 5,000 city members. That will amount to one billion people. But actually, we represent more than that. The largest organization of cities in the world, called UCLG (United Cities and Local Governments), has endorsed our 2020 Vision Program, which aims at eliminating of all nuclear weapons by 2020. If we count the membership of the UCLG, based on the fact that more than half of the people live in cities, we represent the majority voice of individual citizens around the world. That is where we stand in terms of the majority. And democracy finally comes down to the numbers. If more than half of the people in the world want nuclear weapons gone, I think it is a strong basis for us to demand even more vigorously and more strongly of the rest of the world that the majority will be respected. And after all, that is how, for example, President Obama was elected in the United States, and it is how many leaders, and certainly mayors are chosen. If that is the basis of democracy, why not apply it to the question of the survival of human race? That is one point that I really would like to emphasize.

In order to make that even clearer, we need more members, and that's where your help will come in. That is where Latin America will have to play a larger role, because you are the leaders of all efforts to create a nuclear-weapon-free world by establishing, for the first time, an intentional nuclear free zone. There are nuclear free zones by default, though of course they might be attacked by nuclear weapon states. We know there are also areas where they don't have to worry about the nuclear weapons issue. But you have intentionally, purposely, to show your attitude to future generations, created this nuclear weapon free zone. And that is where you stand, and that is where the responsibility lies. You have to continue to lead the world. If the world sees that as leaders you created a nuclear weapon free zone, but then, you just became completely satisfied with it, so you leave the rest of the world to other people, then other people will say, "Oh, hey, look at this nuclear weapon free zone. It is the first one intentionally done, but it is not playing a role. Maybe it is not important to create nuclear weapon free zones any more, or even a nuclear weapon free world." But if you keep insisting that this is an important issue not only for Latin America and the Caribbean, but for the entire world, and you say why, that voice will be heard because it is not just words. You have done it, in the form of a treaty. And that action speaks much louder than people who are simply saying that this is an important issue, but then sit back on their chairs and do nothing. You have the power of persuasion. You do have the ability to convince even the

diehard skeptics that this is doable, and that is what we need now more than anything to make the next Review Conference a success.

To do that, I would like to ask you to approach your mayors, which is much important than approaching the foreign minister or prime minister to convince them to come to your side. I know that all of you live in cities, and you know city councilors and mayors. Please approach them on behalf of Mayors for Peace. I really would like to ask you to do so. Use my name if necessary, but try personally to convince your mayors to join this organization.

Now, how does more cities joining this organization help the cause? Let me give you one example, Belgium, where one of our strongest organizers, Pol D'Huyvetter, comes from. He will soon be working out of Rio de Janeiro, by the way. But in Belgium, more than half of the cities, the majority of the cities in that country, belong to Mayors for Peace. And in Europe, it is quite an unprecedented place where mayors double as parliamentarians. So if the majority of the cities join this organization and are battling for a nuclear weapon free world, the national government will have to listen to these people because when election time comes, they have to depend on these people, these leaders in the cities, in towns and everywhere, to pitch in for their campaign program. And that strength certainly will influence national level decisions.

It is the same all over the world, but some large regions such as your nuclear weapon free zone will have to be an example so that people will be convinced in other areas, especially in nuclear weapon countries, that this is doable, this is effective, this is something that all humanity will be considering. And that is why I would like to ask your help in approaching your mayors, approaching town managers, approaching city councilors to show their commitment to the cause. There is a famous admonition which was directed by a high-ranking governmental official of the United States to the Japanese Foreign Minister at some point and which was used quite effectively, and I would like to use it in creating peace. You know, show your color. That is, please stand up and be counted as a member of Mayors for Peace. That way, your commitment will be much clearer. That's one reference you can use with your mayors.

Now, actually there is another example I would like to tell you about, which is the US Conference of Mayors. It is an organization of mayors in the United States from cities with populations larger than 30,000. I believe the present membership has exceeded 1200, so most American cities have joined this organization. This organization has in the past endorsed the 2020 Vision Campaign five or six times with unanimous votes. Even during the Bush years, the American mayors, the American grassroots organizations, American citizens were thinking differently from the federal government, and when you look at American social change history, it is not necessarily the president alone that really effected the change. It is mayoral efforts across the board within the United States. And the US Conference of Mayors, as the leaders of those efforts, has created social challenge, and this

organization has endorsed the 2020 Vision Campaign. In the latest annual meeting of this conference held in Providence, Rhode Island in June, they again passed a resolution unanimously calling on President Obama to appear at next year's Review Conference and invite all the nations to start multilateral negotiations toward the abolition of nuclear weapons by 2020. This is where American mayors stand. This is what American citizens will be involved in. And certainly, as representatives of the first nuclear weapon free zone treaty signatories, I think you should complete in a friendly way to lead the world, ahead of the United States ... and as nations, as national representatives, you know, you will have more influence.

Now what I am talking about is, we have a good plan to effect this revolution. We can come to a conclusion regarding procedural matters that will create a nuclear weapon free world. Please listen to Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon's 5-point plan. You have already heard it. But one thing that is lacking in his plan is a timeline, a timeframe, by when a nuclear weapon free world should be established, or when certain steps leading to that world ought to be done. That is where Mayors for Peace comes in. We have prepared a document called the Hiroshima-Nagasaki Protocol. We have prepared a version that could be adopted as a decision within the NPT Review Conference next year. What this is all about is a roadmap to 2020. The first step of this is that all nations, including nuclear weapon states, must stop any preparations related to nuclear production, use, and deployment. If you were active in the 80's, you know what the "freeze" was about. So the first step is to create a freeze for the entire world. Simultaneously, this Protocol calls for the beginning of multilateral negotiations toward a nuclear weapons convention and to establish a nuclear weapon free world by 2020. We aim at the year 2015 as the time for creating the nuclear weapons convention, and a model nuclear weapons convention is ready now. If you have a chance to examine it, please do. It is a carefully written, precise, terrific, and almost perfect convention for this purpose. We are ready to adopt it. All we need is the political will. And that is where you come in. We would like to have this Protocol, or perhaps Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's 5-point plan with a deadline attached, submitted as a formal resolution during the General Assembly this fall. Or, although the agenda has been tentatively set for the Review Conference next year, perhaps the group of you, world leaders in this field, could submit a new agenda item adopting Ban Ki-moon's 5-point plan plus the deadline of 2020 as a working document, a working roadmap for 2020. That is where your ability, your role really comes in.

Fortunately, your group has great stature. You have experience. You are respected by the rest of the diplomatic corps around the world. You have a network. You have the ability to engage your prime ministers, your foreign ministers, even the diehard skeptics in your legislatures. I would like to ask you to utilize that ability to accomplish one important objective not only for the present generation, but for future generations to come.

We really would like to make next year's Review Conference a moment that will be recorded in history, one that will be taught to children in future history textbooks as the Conference that made the difference, the one that saved the world. If we should fail, there will not be any textbooks written because, perhaps, the entire world will perish as a result. Our responsibility is that great. And I would really like to tell you how terrible nuclear weapons are, but all you have to do is to visit Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the Peace Memorial Museums. Or I can make an arrangement so that you can listen directly to the testimonies of the survivors, *hibakusha*. Perhaps that will be enough. But there are also recent studies of darkness that will result if nuclear weapons are used, as Dr. Carl Sagan predicted, a nuclear winter. There would be darkness that would last decades. As a result, the poorest millions or hundreds of millions would die within a year or so. But within ten years, billions of people will perish. Even if your own city is not a direct target of that nuclear exchange, the entire world will be affected by it, and that is where your contributions come in.

Let me point out why 2020 is important. You may know this, but in case you don't, the US and Russia are disassembling 2500 nuclear weapons per year. If they continue at that rate, by 2020, all nuclear weapons will be disassembled.

The unfortunate fact is that they are not only disassembling old nuclear weapons, but they re-assemble the disassembled nuclear weapons, or manufacture new ones. All they have to do is to stop re-assembling the disassembled nuclear weapons. So technically, 2020 is a feasible year to end nuclear weapons. When somebody says that 2020 is unrealistic, my answer is, why slow down the process that is already there. All the nuclear weapon states have to do is to continue at the present pace. You don't have to slow it down.

Cities are sick and tired of nuclear MADness, as in Mutually Assured Destruction, because it means that cities are always being held hostage. No one really thinks about it, but taking cities hostage is immoral and inhumane. Please think of it. Would you allow your family members to be taken hostage in the name of national politics? That is ridiculous. But that has continued too long. And cities are finally standing up to the occasion. So again I would like to ask you to stand up as leaders, individuals and as countries, in the struggle for creating a nuclear-weapon-free Earth, and let's make this COSMOS revolution, which I tentatively proposed, succeed this year and during the 8th Review Conference of the NPT.

One last thing I would like to say is that we are talking about approximately 10 years, 2010 to 2020. Mayors for Peace, based on our experiences and histories of citizens being killed in many different struggles, has concluded that cities do not want this kind of situation to continue. Whether it is done by nuclear weapons or other means, whether it is done by national government parties or terrorists or other non-governmental-parties, we do not want our citizens being killed, being tortured in inhumane ways any more. And certainly, the nuclear weapon is the top of this. We want it to stop. That is the consensus of more than 3000 cities of the world. But the United Nations, independently, has come up with the same

idea. They declared in 2006 that the decade from 2010 to 2020 will be the decade of disarmament. And I believe that their real intention was focused on nuclear weapons. Although it is couched in the broader term “decade of disarmament,” we, Mayors for Peace, believe it will be THE Decisive Decade for nuclear disarmament. At the United Nations, diplomats use more elegant and abstract words, but their real intention was that this decade ought to be utilized to get rid of nuclear weapons and create a nuclear-weapon-free world. And I think that understanding the true intent of the United Nations, the most august body in the world, we should really trust the good sense behind that intent of the United Nations together with grassroots organizations. I believe that there is a chance that together we can lead our leaders into the future. And for that, your role is pivotal. Your role will decide that together we have done a magnificent thing for future generations. And I pledge that the commitment of the cities all around the world, in Mayors for Peace 3000, but more than that, perhaps 5000, but more likely, practically all of the cities in the world will join us and support you so that through your governments, through the UN, and through other diplomatic mechanisms, you are actually working for future generations, not only for our generation, but for the future, for the children of the future generations. To borrow Barack Obama’s words, together we can do it, yes, we can. Thank you very much.