



**Written Statement of Seth Shelden (ICAN United Nations Liaison)  
to the New York City Council**

**In support of Int 1621-2019 and Res 976-2019**

**January 28, 2020**

I submit this statement in support of two proposed bills before the New York City (“**NYC**”) Council, Int 1621-2019 (“**Int 1621**”) and Res 976-2019 (“**Res. 976**”), the hearings for which are to be held by the Committee on Governmental Operations, jointly with the Committee on Civil Service and Labor, on January 28, 2020, at Council Chambers in City Hall.

**I. Nuclear weapons are an NYC problem; these bills are an NYC solution.**

NYC holds claim as a birthplace of nuclear weapons – the “Manhattan Project” was so named for the location where the plans originated.<sup>1</sup> It is in part for this reason that NYC has a responsibility for the origins of these indiscriminate and inhumane weapons of mass destruction. NYC also suffers, itself, from a legacy of radioactivity emanating from the development and production of nuclear weapons, which has affected and continues to affect NYC residents and communities. To date, federal taxpayers have paid more than \$85 million for environmental remediation, compensation claims, and medical bills relating to NYC locations associated with the Manhattan Project.<sup>2</sup>

But NYC has also advanced solutions and, since 1945, New Yorkers have had an inspired history opposing nuclear weapons. For example, in 1946, John Hersey’s report on the first atomic bombings, “Hiroshima,” first appeared in our hometown *The New Yorker* magazine.<sup>3</sup> In 1955, Norman Cousins brought 25 atomic bomb survivors from Japan, known as the “Hiroshima Maidens,” to Mount Sinai Hospital in Manhattan to receive reconstructive surgeries for

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<sup>1</sup> See William J. Broad, “Why They Call It the Manhattan Project,” *New York Times*, October 2007, at <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/30/science/30manh.html>.

<sup>2</sup> See Matthew Bolton, “Former Sites Involved in Nuclear Weapons Development and Production in New York City,” International Disarmament Institute News, 2019, at <http://disarmament.blogs.pace.edu/nyc-nuclear-archive/nycs-nuclear-geography/nuclear-weapons-devt-sites-ny/>.

<sup>3</sup> See Joshua Rothman, “John Hersey’s “Hiroshima,” *The New Yorker*, August 2015, at <https://www.newyorker.com/books/double-take/john-herseys-hiroshima-now-online>.

disfigurements suffered from the atomic weapons.<sup>4</sup> Decades later, in one of the largest demonstrations in United States history, the landmark 1982 Central Park protest brought over one million people to the streets to demand nuclear disarmament.<sup>5</sup>



The historic Anti-Nuclear March and Rally in Central Park, on June 12, 1982.  
Photo: NYPR Commons & Preservation.

In 2007, the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (“**ICAN**”) was launched to re-mobilize civil society around the world in furtherance of a global nuclear weapon ban treaty.<sup>6</sup> Today it is a coalition of over 500 partner organizations in over 100 countries. ICAN seeks to reframe the debate about nuclear weapons away from one focused on the security and well-being of states, and toward one focused on the security and well-being of human beings. This framing is referred to as “humanitarian disarmament” and originated with the successful negotiation and implementation of the 1997 Mine Ban Treaty.<sup>7</sup> ICAN’s efforts to shift toward humanitarian perspectives for nuclear weapons helped bring about the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (“**TPNW**”), adopted at the United Nations on July 7, 2017.<sup>8</sup> A lot of this work has been done here, in New York, by New Yorkers.

In 2017, ICAN was awarded the 2017 Nobel Peace Prize “for its work to draw attention to the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons and for its ground-

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<sup>4</sup> See republication by Hibakusha Stories, at <https://hibakushastories.org/hiroshima-maidens/>.

<sup>5</sup> See Andy Lanset, “WNYC Covers the Great Anti-Nuclear March and Rally at Central Park, June 12, 1982,” New York Public Radio, June 2015, at <https://www.wnyc.org/story/wnyc-covers-great-anti-nuclear-march-and-rally-central-park-june-12-1982/>; see also Vincent Intondi, “The Fight Continues: Reflections on the June 12, 1982 Rally for Nuclear Disarmament,” June 2018, <https://www.armscontrol.org/blog/2018-06-10/fight-continues-reflections-june-12-1982-rally-nuclear-disarmament>.

<sup>6</sup> See ICAN website, “The campaign,” at <https://www.icanw.org/>.

<sup>7</sup> See generally, Humanitarian Disarmament website, at <https://humanitariandisarmament.org/about/>.

<sup>8</sup> See Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons text, United Nations General Assembly, at <https://undocs.org/A/CONF.229/2017/8>.

breaking efforts to achieve a treaty-based prohibition of such weapons.”<sup>9</sup>

In 2018, NYC-based partners of ICAN launched the New York Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (“**NYCAN**”), calling for renewed local action on nuclear disarmament, in support of the international efforts of ICAN and its partners.

In 2019, Council Member Daniel Dromm (District 25), later with Council Members Ben Kallos (District 5) and Helen Rosenthal (District 6), introduced Res. 976 and Int. 1621. The bills represent key components of NYCAN’s initiative to keep NYC safe from nuclear weapons, divest NYC from the nuclear weapons industry, and connect NYC with worldwide calls to hasten nuclear disarmament.



NYCAN campaigners Rebecca Irby and Seth Shelden pose with initial sponsors of Res. 976 and Int. 1621, Council Members Rosenthal, Dromm, and Kallos, outside City Hall, in August 2019. Council Member Dromm holds, in one hand, ICAN’s Nobel Peace Prize medal and, in the other hand, Matthew Bolton’s policy paper, “From Manhattan Project to Nuclear Free.” Photo: NYCAN.

As of this submission, Res. 976 and Int. 1621 are sponsored by 34 and 35 Council Member, respectively.

**For the reasons outlined further below, I call upon every Council Member to vote in favor of both Res. 976 and Int. 1621.**

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<sup>9</sup> The Nobel Foundation, “The Nobel Peace Prize 2017,” <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2017/summary/>.

## II. Now is a crucial moment for NYC to re-affirm its NWFZ status.

### 1. NYC today faces risk that nuclear weapons will be brought back into the city.

Many New Yorkers may not realize that, beginning in 1954, NYC hosted nuclear weapon arsenals. A ring of 19 nuclear missile bases, eventually armed with 180 warheads – *actual* warheads, with explosive power sufficient to eradicate an entire city – surrounded NYC, including within city limits. The presence of these bases in and around our city increased NYC’s risk both of purposeful targeting from others and accidental detonation from within.

One such nuclear weapon missile base was located in Fort Tilden, Queens, just south of where I lived during the first 16 years of my life, in Canarsie, Brooklyn. Close calls at that site alone might have annihilated my hometown. Consider the example of the 2001 American Airlines Flight 587 crash in Belle Harbor, Queens, just over 2 miles from that former missile site.<sup>10</sup> In 2012, that same site was ravaged by Hurricane Sandy.<sup>11</sup> Those and other close calls are detailed in the 2019 background paper, authored by Dr. Matthew Bolton of the International Disarmament Institute at Pace University, entitled “From Manhattan Project to Nuclear Free: New York City’s Policy and Practice on Nuclear Weapons” (“**Bolton Paper**”).<sup>12</sup> Numerous other examples of averted nuclear catastrophe, both from potential accidental (*i.e.*, “broken arrows”) and potential intentional use, both in the United States and elsewhere, have been examined by many (although, in light of the secrecy of nuclear programs, their documentation is never exhaustive; most believe that the reality is even more disturbing).<sup>13</sup>

I shudder to think what could have been for the family, friends, and community I hold dear had the City Council not acted. If nuclear weapons were still located here, our city could have suffered a humanitarian catastrophe for which we had, and continue to have, no adequate response.

But the City Council did act, helping prevent such catastrophe. In 1983, the City Council first declared our city as a zone free of nuclear weapons by adopting Res. 364-1983, which declared NYC and its harbor a Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone (“**NWFZ**”), prohibiting “the production, transport, storage placement or deployment of nuclear weapons within the territorial limits of the City of New York.”<sup>14</sup> The Navy evidently has honored NYC’s NWFZ request,

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<sup>10</sup> See “Aircraft Accident Report NTSB/AAR-04/04,” National Transportation Safety Board, November 2001, at <https://www.nts.gov/investigations/AccidentReports/Reports/AAR0404.pdf>.

<sup>11</sup> See John Del Signore, “A Photo Tour Of The Hurricane-Hammered Beaches At Fort Tilden, Which Won’t Open This Summer,” *Gothamist*, April 2013, at <https://gothamist.com/news/a-photo-tour-of-the-hurricane-hammered-beaches-at-fort-tilden-which-wont-open-this-summer>.

<sup>12</sup> Available at <http://disarmament.blogs.pace.edu/2020/01/14/manhattan-project-to-nuclear-free/>.

<sup>13</sup> See, e.g., Union of Concerned Scientists, “Close Calls with Nuclear Weapons,” January 2015, available at <https://www.ucsusa.org/resources/close-calls-nuclear-weapons#ucs-report-downloads>; see also, Erik Schlosser, *Command and Control: Nuclear Weapons, the Damascus Accident, and the Illusion of Safety*, 2013, reported upon by NPR, “Nuclear ‘Command And Control’: A History Of False Alarms And Near Catastrophes,” 2014, at <https://www.npr.org/2014/08/11/339131421/nuclear-command-and-control-a-history-of-false-alarms-and-near-catastrophes>.

<sup>14</sup> Available at Pace International Disarmament Institute website, <https://cpb-us-w2.wpmucdn.com/blogs.pace.edu/dist/0/195/files/2018/10/Res364-1983-Nuclear-Free-Zone-1yzbytu.pdf>.

including during Fleet Weeks, and it is believed that, ever since, NYC has been free of nuclear weapons.<sup>15</sup> Even where legal authority of NWFZ declarations may depend on specific circumstances, the normative value of these actions is in any case apparent.

Still, given this federal administration’s dismantlement of nuclear arms control agreements, and given, as explained in the following section, this administration’s converse investment in new nuclear weapons, we cannot be sure that this will continue to be the case. This may be especially true to the extent that a federal administration, for example, (1) was motivated to take a position adverse to the interests of New York<sup>16</sup> or (2) chose to showcase new weapons with, for example, military parades through prominent urban centers.<sup>17</sup>



The world’s first operational nuclear-powered submarine, USS *Nautilus* (SSN-571), in New York Harbor, 1958. Photo: US Navy.

In speaking with fellow New Yorkers about the proposed legislation, I have learned that even the more “hawkish” or “realpolitik” conservatives – those few who may continue to believe in long-debunked fairy tales of nuclear deterrence – nonetheless readily concede that they do not want nuclear weapons stationed in or near their communities. In addition, when engaged, even these constituents concede to me that nuclear deterrence (or what we term “luck-based security”) cannot keep us safe perpetually, particularly once considering additional risks from use in conflicts even far away from our city. The new “realist” recognizes, as with the climate crisis,

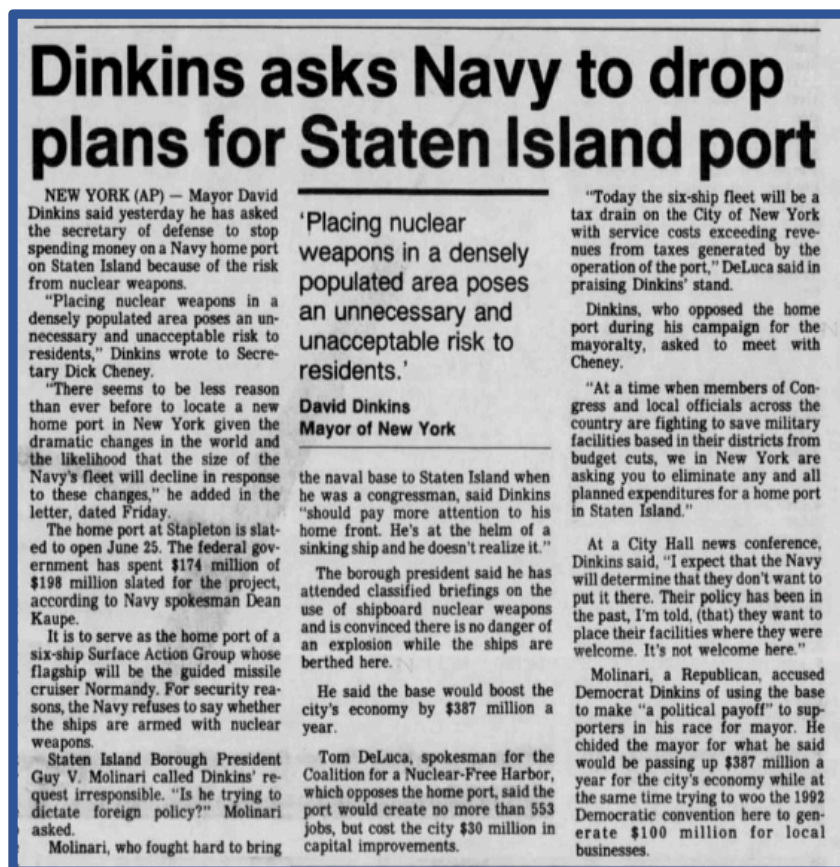
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<sup>15</sup> Andrew Gustafson, “Aircraft Carrier Visits Now a Rare Sight in NYC,” *Turnstile Tours*, 2018, at <https://turnstiletours.com/aircraft-carrier-visits-now-rare-sight-nyc/>.

<sup>16</sup> Khaleda Rahman, “Donald Trump Says He Hates New York ‘Even More Than I Should’ Because of Investigations,” *Newsweek*, December 2019, at <https://www.newsweek.com/donald-trump-hate-new-york-investigating-finances-1479522>.

<sup>17</sup> Jim Sciutto and Nicole Gaouette, “Military chiefs have concerns about politicization of Trump's July 4th event,” *CNN*, July 2019, at <https://www.cnn.com/2019/07/03/politics/military-concerns-trump-july-4th-event/index.html>.

that status quo policies will spell the end of future generations. Even among those who may not fully appreciate the fallacy of deterrence – that supporting deterrence would support proliferation, and that deterrence deters disarmament most of all –most would nonetheless, I believe, support legislation aiming to keep at least *their* city free from weapons of mass destruction.



A clipping from *The Courier-News*, April 1990, reporting on opposition to a Staten Island naval base intended to host nuclear weapons. The port was closed by 1994.

## 2. The world today faces an all-time high risk of nuclear weapons catastrophe.

Merely a few days ago, this past Thursday, January 23rd, the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists – the Board of Sponsors of which lists 14 Nobel Laureate scientists – concluded that, as we begin 2020, the risk of a nuclear apocalypse suddenly is higher than it has been *ever*.<sup>18</sup> The United Nations Institute on Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) has generally concurred.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> See John Mecklin, ed., "Closer than ever: It is 100 seconds to midnight, 2020 Doomsday Clock Statement," Bulletin of Atomic the Scientists, January 2020, at <https://thebulletin.org/doomsday-clock/current-time/>.

<sup>19</sup> See Tom Miles, "Risk of nuclear war now highest since WW2, UN arms research chief says," *Reuters*, May 2019, at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-un-nuclear/risk-of-nuclear-war-now-highest-since-ww2-u-n-arms-research-chief-says-idUSKCN1SR24H>.

In part, the increased risk is due to the sheer increase in power of today's arsenals. In 1945, the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (with explosive power of approximately 15 kilotons and 21 kilotons, respectively) killed in the range of 200,000 people (of populations previously in the range of 400,000-600,000).<sup>20</sup> Those who survived (known as "hibakusha") continued to suffer from diseases associated with exposure to ionizing radiation and to experience related issues with mental health and social stigma. In comparison, modern nuclear weapons are exponentially more powerful than those early atomic bombs – some since-developed nuclear weapons have had destructive power more than 3,000 times the size of the bombs dropped over Hiroshima.<sup>21</sup>

In part, the increased risk is due also to the deterioration of arms control architecture. Undoubtedly to the satisfaction and encouragement of weapons producers, today all nuclear-armed nations are walking back decades of arms control, pursuing "modernization" programs that have spurred a new nuclear arms race.<sup>22</sup> The United States, for its part, has committed to developing, producing, and deploying new nuclear weapons as "the foundation of our strategy to preserve peace and stability."<sup>23</sup> It accordingly plans to invest between at least 1.2-1.7 trillion dollars, but possibly in excess of 2 trillion dollars, to develop new nuclear weapons and nuclear weapon facilities.<sup>24</sup> Most horrifyingly, it has newly asserted strategies for use, claiming that "[u]sing nuclear weapons could create conditions for decisive results and the restoration of strategic stability."<sup>25</sup> Indeed, earlier this month, the United States contemplated using new "low-yield" nuclear weapons in Iran.<sup>26</sup> For its part, Russia announced in 2019 it would deploy new hyper-sonic missiles, which purportedly could evade all missile defense technology.<sup>27</sup> Other

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<sup>20</sup> See ICAN, [https://www.icanw.org/hiroshima\\_and\\_nagasaki\\_bombings](https://www.icanw.org/hiroshima_and_nagasaki_bombings); see also Benjamin French, et al., "Population Density in Hiroshima and Nagasaki Before the Bombings in 1945: Its Measurement and Impact on Radiation Risk Estimates in the Life Span Study of Atomic Bomb Survivors," *American Journal of Epidemiology*, Volume 187, Issue 8, August 2018, at <https://academic.oup.com/aje/article/187/8/1623/4956379>.

<sup>21</sup> See Jay Bennett, October 2016, "Here's How Much Deadlier Today's Nukes Are Compared to WWII A-Bombs", *Popular Mechanics*, <https://www.popularmechanics.com/military/a23306/nuclear-bombs-powerful-today/>.

<sup>22</sup> See Ray Acheson, et al., *Assuring Destruction Forever: 2019 Edition*, Women's International League of Peace and Freedom, April 2019, at <http://reachingcriticalwill.org/images/documents/Publications/modernization/assuring-destruction-forever-2019.pdf>.

<sup>23</sup> See Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication 3-72: Nuclear Operations, June 2019, at [https://fas.org/irp/doddir/dod/jp3\\_72.pdf](https://fas.org/irp/doddir/dod/jp3_72.pdf); see also, Department of Defense, February 2018, Nuclear Posture Review, February 2018, at <https://media.defense.gov/2018/Feb/02/2001872886/-1/-1/2018-NUCLEAR-POSTURE-REVIEW-FINAL-REPORT.PDF>.

<sup>24</sup> See Michael T. Klare, "Making Nuclear Weapons Menacing Again: The Pentagon plan to overhaul the US nuclear arsenal is as costly as it is dangerous," March 2019, at <https://www.thenation.com/article/us-nuclear-arsenal-triad/>; see also, Steven Aftergood, Federation of American Scientists, "NNSA Moves to Expand Plutonium Pit Production," January 2020, at <https://fas.org/blogs/secrecy/2020/01/nnsa-pits/>; see also Acheson, *Assuring Destruction Forever: 2019 Edition*.

<sup>25</sup> See Joint Publication 3-72: Nuclear Operations, June 2019, at [https://fas.org/irp/doddir/dod/jp3\\_72.pdf](https://fas.org/irp/doddir/dod/jp3_72.pdf).

<sup>26</sup> See William Arkin, "With A New Weapon in Donald Trump's Hands, the Iran Crisis Risks Going Nuclear", *Newsweek*, January 2020, at <https://www.newsweek.com/trump-iran-new-nuclear-weapon-increases-risk-crisis-nuclear-1481752?fbclid=IwAR0tgZ2Yv47Yu-HxCmYB0pQ4GOLUII1LCJX6XALadF6tnAaFCNZxkRqLUNA>.

<sup>27</sup> See Julian E. Barnes and David E. Sanger, "Russia Deploys Hypersonic Weapon, Potentially Renewing Arms Race," *The New York Times*, December 2019, at <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/27/us/politics/russia-hypersonic-weapon.html>.

nuclear-armed states are following suit.

As 2020 begins, it is believed that the nine nuclear-armed countries possess approximately 13,865 nuclear weapons, more than 90% of which are held by Russia and the United States.<sup>28</sup> Nearly 4,000 of these are deployed with operational forces, and nearly 2,000 of these are kept in a state of high operational alert.<sup>29</sup>

Given that the destructive capacity of nuclear weapons developed since 1945 is vastly larger than those original weapons, the pervading and perverted argument that these bombs can be leveraged in a strategic manner should offend all sentient beings. Nuclear weapons are the opposite of tactical and the epitome of indiscriminate. In almost every conceivable circumstance, they exist not to defeat enemies on a battlefield, but to murder civilians, living closely together, in cities.



Nagasaki, Japan, before and after August 9, 1945.  
Photo: Roger Williams University Archives and Special Collections/Digital Commons

3. Today, use of nuclear weapons anywhere in the world likely will harm NYC.

A nuclear detonation within NYC would result in catastrophic humanitarian consequences beyond the capacity of any of our NYC first responders to meaningfully respond. Researchers believe that detonation of a 5-megaton nuclear weapon used in NYC would result in 7.9 million casualties and incinerate Midtown.<sup>30</sup> Such an incident, whether by accident or

<sup>28</sup> See ICAN, “The World’s Nuclear Weapons,” [https://www.icanw.org/nuclear\\_arsenals](https://www.icanw.org/nuclear_arsenals), and Hans M. Kristensen and Matt Korda, “United States nuclear forces, 2020,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00963402.2019.1701286>.

<sup>29</sup> See SIPRI <https://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2019/06>.

<sup>30</sup> See Ferris Jabr, “This Is What a Nuclear Bomb Looks Like: If America is attacked, the strike probably won’t come from North Korea. And it will be even scarier than we imagine.”, *New York Magazine*, June 2018, at <https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2018/06/what-a-nuclear-attack-in-new-york-would-look-like.html>.



design, would result in monumental loss of human life and wildlife, and cultural, financial, and academic institutions, and carcinogenic and mutagenic would continue for thousands of years. Use of multiple such weapons would have far more catastrophic effects, of course.

But even use of nuclear weapons far away from NYC is likely to harm New Yorkers, and the global climate, possibly beyond repair. As the concept of “nuclear winter” has evolved, the scientific community has come to understand that climate-related risks from nuclear weapon use and testing are even greater than once perceived. Scientists estimate that a conflict employing even “limited” use of nuclear weapons would ignite massive firestorms, lofting so much smoke and soot into the atmosphere, high above the reach of precipitation, that block out the sun and cools the earth for decades.<sup>31</sup> Recent scenarios studying the use of 100 nuclear weapons in urban areas over the course of one week indicate that such use would result in worldwide famine, and that it would take up to a decade for the Earth to recover from the declines in global cooling and reduced precipitation.<sup>32</sup> For this reason, as ICAN co-founder Tilman Ruff posits, “nuclear weapons pose the greatest acute risk to Earth’s climate” known today.<sup>33</sup>

Civilization today, accordingly, faces twin existential threats: climate disruption and nuclear weapons. One compounds the each other in a mutually reinforcing cycle.<sup>34</sup> That is, climate change leads to resource insecurity, which leads to political crisis, which increases risk of armed conflict, which increases risk of nuclear weapons use, which use in turn exacerbates climate change. Both climate disruption and nuclear weapons are threats are of humanity’s own making. And both are within humanity’s power to ameliorate. But both require urgent action. Anyone concerned about climate change should be possessed with nuclear disarmament also.

4. 2020 is a key year for the City Council to reaffirm its NWFZ status.

NYC is my city. I have lived here for 33 years, having resided and worked in Brooklyn, Queens, and Manhattan. My entire family, ever since my grandparents moved to the United States, has also lived in NYC and been part of its fabric; almost all of them have worked as NYC public school teachers and/or performing artists.

I do not want nuclear weapons anywhere, and that certainly includes not wanting them within range of my family or friends, whether through stationing, transit, or development. As an NYC citizen, I want my city government to take every measure at its disposal to ensure that we may be free from nuclear weapons.

As explained in the submission to this City Council hearing from Professor Bonnie Docherty, Associate Director of Armed Conflict and Civilian Protection, at Harvard Law School’s International Human Rights Clinic, in addition to serving as strong political statements, “the declaration of nuclear weapons free zones puts pressure on nuclear powers to eliminate their

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<sup>31</sup> See Owen B. Toon, et al., “Rapidly expanding nuclear arsenals in Pakistan and India portend regional and global catastrophe,” *Science Advances*, October 2019, at <https://advances.sciencemag.org/content/5/10/eaay5478>.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> See <https://icanw.org.au/wp-content/uploads/Nuclear-weapons-and-our-climate-Sept-2019.pdf>

<sup>34</sup> See <https://www.thenation.com/article/nuclear-defense-climate-change/>

arsenals. The zones limit locations in which those countries can engage in nuclear weapon-related activities, such as use, production, and stockpiling.”

In 2020, we will see: (1) the 75th anniversary of the first atomic bombs eradicating two Japanese cities; (2) the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the United Nations, the very first resolution of which (adopted in January 1946) established a commission tasked with proposing a solution “for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons”<sup>35</sup>; and (3) the 50th anniversary of the entry into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, as well as the 10th Review Conference of the Parties to that treaty, which, as explained further below, NYC will host. As also explained below, 2020 may also be the year that the TPNW reaches fifty states parties and, subsequently, enters into force.

For these reasons, 2020 is a crucial time for NYC to re-affirm its NWFZ status, as well as a key opportunity for our city to lend its enormously powerful voice to the ongoing stigmatization of these indiscriminate and inhumane instruments of death.

**III. NYC has a timely opportunity to express its support for an historic treaty.**

Until now, nuclear weapons have been the only weapons of mass destruction not comprehensively and categorically banned by international law. With the upcoming entry into force of the TPNW, this will change.



122 nations voted to adopt the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons on July 7, 2017, at United Nations Headquarters in NYC. Photo: Seth Shelden, NYCAN.

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<sup>35</sup> Available at [https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/1\(I\)](https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/1(I)).

The legal framework for nuclear weapons, to date, has been comprised of a fabric of treaty-based and customary law that, particularly with respect to possession, contains legal (and logical) gaps. Under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (the “**NPT**”), most of its 191 States Parties are obligated not to acquire nuclear weapons, apart from, most notably, the five states already possessing nuclear weapons as of 1967 (*i.e.*, Russia, the United Kingdom, France, China, and the United States).<sup>36</sup> Meanwhile, the four other nuclear-armed states (India, Pakistan, Israel, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea) today are not parties to the NPT. Pursuant to its Article VI, however, the NPT requires all parties thereto to “pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament.”<sup>37</sup>

In addition, customary international law is widely understood to prohibit using or threatening to use nuclear weapons generally. As held by the historic 1996 advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice, “the threat or use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of international law applicable in armed conflict.”<sup>38</sup> However, that decision continued, “the Court cannot conclude definitely whether the threat or use of nuclear weapons would be lawful in an extreme circumstance of self defence, in which the very survival of a State would be at stake.”<sup>39</sup> As to possession, the Court affirmed that “[t]here exists an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control.”

Further still, in certain regions, particularly throughout the Southern Hemisphere, NWFZ treaties prohibit nuclear weapons, and activities related to nuclear weapons, within their respective regions.<sup>40</sup> However, as illustrated above, a prohibition in one region of the world does not ensure safety from use of nuclear weapons elsewhere. Indeed, more than one NWFZ is immediately adjacent to a nuclear-armed state.

Many have argued that this fabric of treaty-based and customary law left a legal gap as to the legality of possession and even use of nuclear weapons.<sup>41</sup> Or, at least, that it left a compliance gap as to the obligation of States to pursue disarmament under the NPT’s Article VI.<sup>42</sup> Regardless, there certainly has been a logical gap: if the world has come to agree that there should exist a comprehensive and categorical treaty-based prohibition on all other weapons of mass destruction – chemical, biological, land mines, and cluster munitions – it stands to reason that we have an imperative to conclude a similar agreement for the most destructive.

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<sup>36</sup> United Nations Office on Disarmament Affairs, “Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,” at <http://disarmament.un.org/treaties/t/npt/text>.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> International Court of Justice, *Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons*, 1. C.J. Reports 1996, p. 226, at <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/95/095-19960708-ADV-01-00-EN.pdf>.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

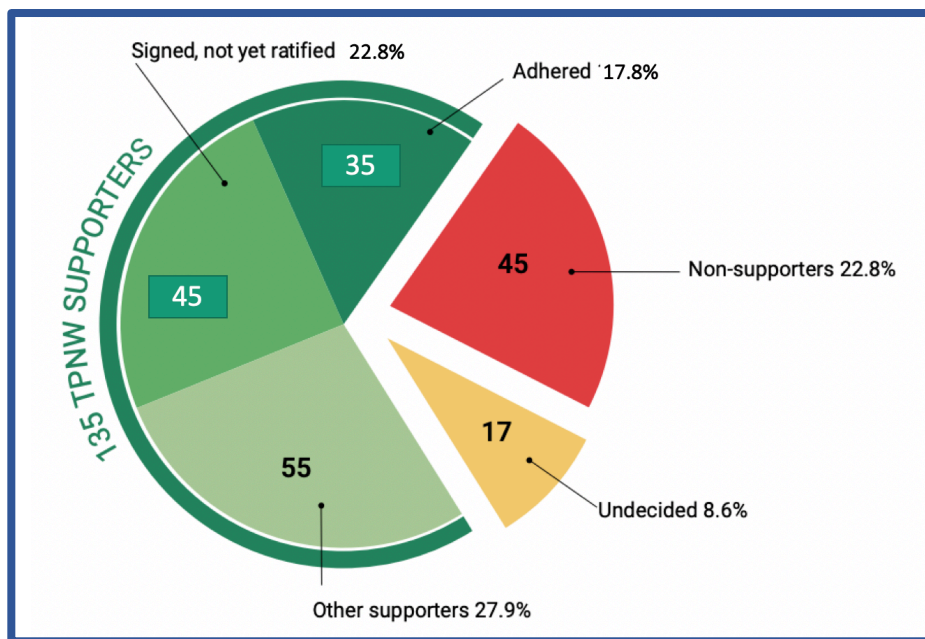
<sup>40</sup> See United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, “Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones,” at <https://www.un.org/disarmament/wmd/nuclear/nwzf/>.

<sup>41</sup> Gro Nystuen and Kjølsv Egeland, “A ‘Legal Gap’? Nuclear Weapons Under International Law,” Arms Control Association, March 2016, [https://www.armscontrol.org/ACT/2016\\_03/Features/A-Legal-Gap-Nuclear-Weapons-Under-International-Law#note4](https://www.armscontrol.org/ACT/2016_03/Features/A-Legal-Gap-Nuclear-Weapons-Under-International-Law#note4).

<sup>42</sup> John Burroughs and Peter Weiss, “Legal Gap or Compliance Gap?”, Arms Control Association, October 2015, [https://www.armscontrol.org/ACT/2016\\_03/Features/A-Legal-Gap-Nuclear-Weapons-Under-International-Law](https://www.armscontrol.org/ACT/2016_03/Features/A-Legal-Gap-Nuclear-Weapons-Under-International-Law).

And thus, on July 7, 2017, at the United Nations Headquarters here in NYC, 122 governments sought to fulfill their NPT Article VI obligations, and cure any and all gaps, by voting to adopt a treaty that will finally bring nuclear weapons in line with other weapons of mass destruction. The TPNW comprehensively and categorically prohibits all activities relating to nuclear weapons: use, threat of use, development, production, manufacture, testing, acquisition, possession, stockpiling, transfer, stationing, or installation of nuclear weapons, as well as assistance or encouragement with respect to any such activity.<sup>43</sup> In so doing, the TPNW complements and reinforces the commitments of parties under the NPT, including their Article VI obligation to pursue effective measures on disarmament, as well as other arms control infrastructure, such as the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.<sup>44</sup>

As of January 2020, the TPNW has the support of 135 countries, the vast majority of the world's nations.<sup>45</sup> Eighty countries have already signed the treaty, and 35 have ratified it (Paraguay deposited the 35<sup>th</sup> ratification last Thursday).<sup>46</sup> With 15 more ratifications required for the treaty to enter into force, and a good number of countries promising imminent ratifications, it is generally believed that the treaty will enter into force in rapid time, likely, even, in 2020.



Support for the TPNW.

Source: *Nuclear Weapons Ban Monitor 2019* (as modified for post-publication updates).

<sup>43</sup> See Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons text, at <https://undocs.org/A/CONF.229/2017/8>.

<sup>44</sup> International Committee of the Red Cross, "Statement by the ICRC to the United Nations General Assembly, 73rd Session, First Committee," 2018, at <https://www.icrc.org/en/document/general-debate-all-disarmament-and-international-security-agenda-items#gs.ryauat>.

<sup>45</sup> Norwegian People's Aid, "Two Year Status," *Nuclear Weapons Ban Monitor 2019*, at <https://banmonitor.org/two-year-status>.

<sup>46</sup> United Nations Treaty Collection, Office of Legal Affairs, "Status of Treaties," at [https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg\\_no=XXVI-9&chapter=26&clang=en](https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XXVI-9&chapter=26&clang=en).

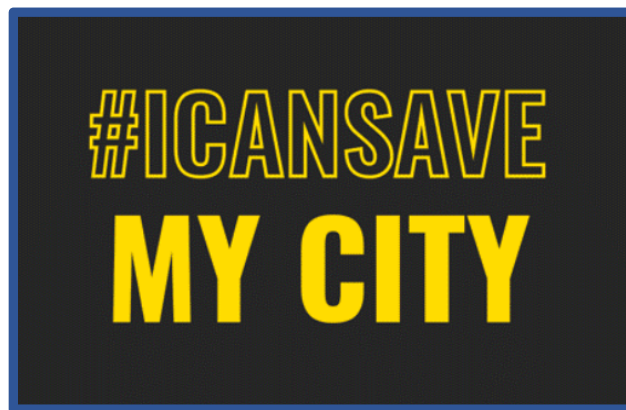
The NPT frequently is characterized as the “cornerstone” of the global nuclear order.<sup>47</sup> But, to extend this metaphor, no one lives in a house consisting of only a cornerstone – we must build the rest of the house. If the NPT is the cornerstone of the global nuclear infrastructure, the TPNW stands poised to be the capstone. Today, by articulating its support for the TPNW, NYC has an opportunity to build a meaningful support beam for this global nuclear order.

The 10th Review Conference of the Parties to the NPT will be held in NYC from April 27, 2020 to May 22, 2020. By adopting Res. 976 prior to the start of this historic meeting, with NYC as the host, NYC can voice its support for the TPNW at a most crucial time.

**IV. The ICAN Cities Appeal will connect NYC to a global network of support for the TPNW from within nuclear-armed and nuclear umbrella countries.**

ICAN launched the ICAN Cities Appeal to mobilize local governments to express support for nuclear disarmament and to call on national governments to join and support the TPNW, in light of the fact, especially, that urban centers are likely to suffer most from nuclear catastrophe.<sup>48</sup>

In the United States, some of the cities that have endorsed the ICAN Cities Appeal already include Washington D.C., Los Angeles, Baltimore, Portland, Salt Lake City, and Honolulu.<sup>49</sup> The States of New Jersey, California, and Oregon have also passed resolutions endorsing the TPNW on behalf of the state; legislation to similar effect is now being introduced in New York State.



Source: ICAN, <http://nuclearban.org/cities>.

At the federal level, United States Representative Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC) has introduced congressional legislation (H.R.2419) calling on the United States to “provide leadership by signing and ratifying the United Nations Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear

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<sup>47</sup> See, e.g., Dr. Tytti Erästö, “Fifty years of the NPT—cause for celebration or commemoration?”, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, May 2019, at <https://www.sipri.org/commentary/blog/2019/fifty-years-npt-cause-celebration-or-commemoration>.

<sup>48</sup> ICAN, <http://nuclearban.org/cities>.

<sup>49</sup> ICAN, <http://nuclearban.org/cities/getinvolved#cities-list>.

Weapons.”<sup>50</sup> and Representative Jim McGovern (D-MA) has introduced legislation (H. Res. 302) calling on “the President to embrace the goals and provisions of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and make nuclear disarmament the centerpiece of the national security policy.”<sup>51</sup>

Internationally, some of the many cities endorsing the ICAN Cities Appeal include Hiroshima, Japan; Nagasaki, Japan; Toronto, Canada; Paris, France; Berlin, Germany; Sydney, Australia; Manchester, United Kingdom; Oslo, Norway; and Geneva, Switzerland.<sup>52</sup>

Support extends to other groups as well. Faith communities supporting ICAN and the TPNW include the Catholic Church, World Council of Churches, World Evangelical Alliance, Buddhist Council of New York, Islamic Society of North America, and the Dalai Lama.<sup>53</sup>

As ICAN’s United Nations Liaison, I work closely with governments evaluating their country’s positions and plans regarding the TPNW. While one may not immediately perceive how a local government, such as NYC, can advance an international treaty, I can testify to the fact that NYC’s endorsement of the ICAN Cities Appeal would support universalization of the TPNW and norms of nuclear abolition in at least two key respects:

1. Countering the argument from our own government that we endorse nuclear weapons: Nuclear-armed governments, including the United States, frequently argue that nuclear weapons protect and are supported by their citizens. The ICAN Cities Appeal provides a meaningful rebuttal of this fallacy. When NYC joins cities such as Washington, D.C. and Los Angeles in expressing their support for the TPNW, we can point to the real truth that, in fact, significant American populations oppose nuclear weapons and support disarmament. The same is the case in other democratic nuclear-armed states.

On July 7, 2017, the day that the TPNW was adopted at the United Nations General Assembly by 122 countries, the United States, United Kingdom, and France issued a joint statement claiming that “[w]e do not intend to sign, ratify or ever become party to it.”<sup>54</sup> All NYC citizens should take offense to this assertion, contrary to all democratic values, that this administration can speak not only for all of us New Yorkers, but even for generations of American yet unborn.

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<sup>50</sup> Available at <https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/2419/text>.

<sup>51</sup> Available at <https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-resolution/302/text?r=3&s=10>.

<sup>52</sup> ICAN, <http://nuclearban.org/cities/getinvolved#cities-list>.

<sup>53</sup> See “Public Statement to the Third Session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2020 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons: Faith Communities Concerned about Nuclear Weapons,” delivered by Emily Welty, May 2019, available at [http://reachingcriticalwill.org/images/documents/Disarmament-fora/npt/prepcom19/statements/1May\\_FaithCommunities.pdf](http://reachingcriticalwill.org/images/documents/Disarmament-fora/npt/prepcom19/statements/1May_FaithCommunities.pdf); see also ICAN, 2008, “The Dalai Lama declares support for ICAN,” at [https://www.icanw.org/the\\_dalai\\_lama\\_declares\\_support\\_for\\_ican](https://www.icanw.org/the_dalai_lama_declares_support_for_ican).

<sup>54</sup> See UN News, “UN conference adopts treaty banning nuclear weapons”, July 2017, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2017/07/561122-un-conference-adopts-treaty-banning-nuclear-weapons>.

2. Countering the lament from non-nuclear governments that we support nuclear weapons: Non-nuclear weapons states, for their part, sometimes ask why they must bear the burden of leading on disarmament while nuclear-armed states remain uninspired to pursue abolition themselves. When NYC joins major cities in other nuclear-armed states in endorsing the ICAN Cities Appeal, we can demonstrate to those governments that, in fact, support is growing within nuclear-armed states and their allies.



NYCAN campaigners conduct educational program with Hudson River Sloop Clearwater, Upper West Side, May 19, 2017. Photo: Robert Croonquist, NYCAN.

The TPNW asserts that nuclear disarmament is an “ethical imperative,” framing nuclear weapons as “abhorrent to the principles of humanity,” contrary to international humanitarian law, as well as a threat to human rights, the environment, and global economy. It notes the disproportionate impact of nuclear weapon use and testing on women and girls, as well as indigenous peoples. Most of the world has agreed to pursue this norm.

By endorsing the ICAN Cities Appeal in Res. 976, NYC has an opportunity to join the vast majority of the world, and to claim a rightful role as a progressive leader in this country.

**V. Given the legacy of harm from the nuclear weapons industry, NYC has special reason to support the “positive obligations” under the TPNW.**

New Yorkers continue to be concerned about ongoing harms, both in NYC and elsewhere, from the nuclear weapons industry that began here.

Throughout the five boroughs, nuclear materials were handled at over a dozen locations. One such location is near where I live today (and have lived for 17 years) in the West Village. Adjacent to the High Line, the Baker and Williams Warehouses in Chelsea stored approximately 150 tons of uranium; it has taken decades to remediate environmental harms there.<sup>55</sup>

Even today, there continue to be reports of ongoing radioactive contamination from several former Manhattan Project locations.<sup>56</sup> Consider, for example, the former site of Wolff-Alport Chemical Corp., in Ridgewood, Queens – the company that at that site had manufactured thorium, intended for nuclear weapons, buried and dumped radioactive waste into NYC sewers, exposing generations to contamination from ionizing radiation; today it is a Superfund site.<sup>57</sup> As noted above, the federal government has spent over \$85 million on environmental remediation, compensation claims, and medical bills for NYC sites associated with the Manhattan Project.

Outside of NYC, the legacy of the nuclear weapon industry conceived in NYC is far greater. In terms of nuclear weapons testing, for example, “physicians project that some 2.4 million people worldwide will eventually die from cancers due to atmospheric nuclear tests conducted between 1945 and 1980,” including of course in the United States.<sup>58</sup>

The TPNW, in addition to its core prohibitions, also has provisions that require its parties to provide financial or other assistance to victims of, and remediate environments contaminated from, the use and testing of nuclear weapons. Sometimes referred to as “positive obligations,” the TPNW provides, specifically, that:

Each State Party shall, with respect to individuals under its jurisdiction who are affected by the use or testing of nuclear weapons, in accordance with applicable international humanitarian and human rights law, adequately provide age- and gender-sensitive assistance, without discrimination, including medical care, rehabilitation and psychological support, as well as provide for their social and economic inclusion.

Article 6, Section 1.

Each State Party, with respect to areas under its jurisdiction or control contaminated as a result of activities related to the testing or use of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, shall take necessary and appropriate measures towards the environmental remediation of areas so contaminated.

Article 6, Section 2

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<sup>55</sup> See Bolton Paper, pp. 18-19.

<sup>56</sup> See generally, Bolton Paper, pp. 17-20.

<sup>57</sup> See Nate Lavey, May 2014, “The Most Radioactive Place in New York City Is Now a Superfund Site”, *The New Yorker*, at <https://www.newyorker.com/tech/annals-of-technology/the-most-radioactive-place-in-new-york-city-is-now-a-superfund-site>; see also Bolton Paper, pp. 18, 20.

<sup>58</sup> ICAN, [https://www.icanw.org/the\\_legacy\\_of\\_nuclear\\_testing](https://www.icanw.org/the_legacy_of_nuclear_testing).



Each State Party in a position to do so shall provide technical, material and financial assistance to States Parties affected by nuclear-weapons use or testing, to further the implementation of this Treaty.

Article 7, Section 3

Each State Party in a position to do so shall provide assistance for the victims of the use or testing of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

Article 7, Section 4<sup>59</sup>

Accordingly, the TPNW acknowledges and aims to assist individuals and communities affected by nuclear weapons use and testing, much like those in NYC affected by nuclear weapons development.

NYC can do its part to recognize these victims, as the harms emanating from this catastrophic industry are not limited by borders, and not limited to detonations. Appropriately, Res. 976 recognizes that “New York City has a special responsibility, as a site of Manhattan Project activities and a nexus for financing of nuclear weapons, to express solidarity with all victims and communities harmed by nuclear weapons use, testing and related activities.”

**VI. Nuclear weapons are a risky business, and Res. 976’s call to divest NYC’s finances helps ensure our city’s long-term security, both physically and financially.**

I am a professor of law at the City University of New York (“CUNY”) School of Law. In fact, nearly every member of my family has attended or taught at CUNY or at a NYC Board of Education school (in some cases, both). Every teacher in my family, every teacher I know, and every public servant with whom I have spoken, is horrified to learn how much of their public pension money, and how much of NYC’s finances, are invested in the nuclear weapons industry.

NYCAN estimates that approximately 475 million dollars of retirement funds of our NYC police officers, firefighters, teachers, and other public employees are invested in the production or maintenance of nuclear weapons.<sup>60</sup>

Res. 976 responds to this problem by acknowledging that “[t]he pension system for the City of New York retirees has significant investments in . . . companies involved in producing key components for and maintaining nuclear weapons through equity holdings, bond holdings, and other assets,” and then calling “upon the New York City Comptroller to instruct the pension funds of public employees in New York City to divest from and avoid any financial exposure to companies involved in the production and maintenance of nuclear weapons.”

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<sup>59</sup> See Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons text, at <https://undocs.org/A/CONF.229/2017/8>.

<sup>60</sup> See Dr. Matthew Bolton, *Risky Business*, 2020, at <http://disarmament.blogs.pace.edu/2020/01/14/risky-business/>.

The call for divestment in Res. 976 is consistent with the demands of at least the majority of the City Council. In September 2018, 27 New York City Council Members co-signed a letter from Daniel Dromm, Chair of the Finance Committee, to Comptroller Scott Stringer, requesting that he “align our city’s financial power with our progressive values” and direct New York City’s pension funds to divest from investments in companies profiting from nuclear weapons.



NYCAN campaigners Anthony Donovan, Mitchie Takeuchi, Seth Shelden, Matthew Bolton, Brendan Fay, Robert Croonquist, Kathleen Sullivan, and Rebecca Irby advocating at City Hall for NYC to divest from nuclear weapons, 2019. Photo: NYCAN.

Divestment also is consistent with international law as soon to enter into force. Article 1(e) of the TPNW prohibits anyone from assisting others with the activities prohibited under its Article 1(a)-(d). As explained further in the submission to this hearing of Susi Snyder, of PAX, the Article 1(e) prohibition on assistance includes a prohibiting providing assistance “through financial resources . . . to anyone who is resolved to engage in such prohibited activity,” where “anyone” could “not only be a State, irrespective of whether or not it is a Party to the Convention, but also an organization, an enterprise, a person, or a group of persons, regardless of Citizenship.”<sup>61</sup> As a result, Ms. Snyder goes on to explain, the TPNW’s prohibition on assistance is increasingly understood in the financial sector to also prohibit investments in private companies producing nuclear weapons.

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<sup>61</sup> See also, *The Chemical Weapons Convention: A Commentary*, Edited By: Walter Krutzsch, Eric Myjer, Ralf Trapp, August 2014, Oxford Commentaries on International Law.

Motivated by the legal and ethical imperative to not support nuclear weapon industries, as newly codified in the TPNW, there is growing momentum around the world to divest from nuclear weapons, with some of the world's largest financial institutions, including the Norwegian Government Pension Fund and Deutsche Bank, helping lead the way.<sup>62</sup> The *Don't Bank on the Bomb* report, published by PAX and co-authored by Ms. Snyder, provides information about the private companies involved in the production of key components of nuclear weapons and their specifically-designed delivery systems, as well as the financial institutions and others seeking to profit from these producers, while then profiling those that limit financial engagement with such producers.<sup>63</sup> Since the adoption of the TPNW, according to PAX, over 100 financial institutions previously known to invest in companies associated with the production of nuclear weapons have ended their financial relationships, often citing the TPNW as justification for doing so.<sup>64</sup> These investments, already ethically and physically risky, are now increasingly risky from a fiscal perspective.

Indeed, NYCAN's research demonstrates that there is no reason to believe that investments in nuclear weapons perform better than more socially responsible investments.<sup>65</sup> For example, NYC teachers' socially responsible pension fund (which attempts to exclude weapons investments) outperforms other investments in the teachers' retirement system.<sup>66</sup> Financial analysis suggests instead that investments in nuclear weapon producers may underperform the market. They also, of course, face regulatory, reputational, and environmental legacy risks, which will increasingly become the case as the laws and norms of the TPNW increasingly universalizes. Comprehensive divestment from nuclear weapons is consistent with sound economic risk management.

Divestment from nuclear weapons also stands to be far less complicated than divestment from other industries, such as fossil fuels. Unlike fossil fuels, for example, where indeed investments are spread among a great number of industries, in the case of nuclear weapons the investments at issue stem mainly from a mere 28 companies. In addition, according to available pension fund reports, NYC's investments in such nuclear weapons producers only comprise about 0.25% of NYC's total pension fund portfolios.<sup>67</sup> Divesting from nuclear weapons is feasible.

And divestment is desired. NYC's constituents do not want their public retirement funds, nor their city's finances, invested in the manufacturing and maintenance of these inhumane and indiscriminate weapons of mass destruction.

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<sup>62</sup> See Maaiké Beenes, "Beyond the Bomb: these investors are rejecting nuclear weapons," October 2019, at <https://www.dontbankonthebomb.com/beyond-the-bomb-these-investors-are-rejecting-nuclear-weapons/>.

<sup>63</sup> See generally, <https://www.dontbankonthebomb.com/>.

<sup>64</sup> Available at [https://www.dontbankonthebomb.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/2019\\_Producers-Report-FINAL.pdf](https://www.dontbankonthebomb.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/2019_Producers-Report-FINAL.pdf).

<sup>65</sup> See Dr. Matthew Bolton, *Risky Business*, 2020, at <http://disarmament.blogs.pace.edu/2020/01/14/risky-business/>.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*



NYC activists in Brighton Beach campaigning for divestment, 2018. Photo: Robert Croonquist, NYCAN.

Today, while the federal government plans to invest up between 1.2 trillion dollars and over 2 trillion dollars toward new nuclear weapons and nuclear weapon facilities, Res. 976 would call on NYC to put this money to better use, demanding divestment at a most crucial time.

In a profit-driven world, divestment is a tool that can assist to make nuclear weapons not only illegal, but irrelevant.

**VII. Int. 1621's nuclear disarmament and NWFZ advisory committee offers an opportunity for NYC to ensure the long-term safety of our city and citizens.**

As a born and bred New Yorker who attended solely NYC public schools, I was taught in school that our government's use of atomic weapons in Japan (75 years ago this year) was necessary and saved lives, notwithstanding the hundreds of thousands of civilians who were killed. Millions of us, New Yorkers educated in NYC schools, had been taught the same. I pursued the question on my own, and learned that the use of such weapons, particularly against non-military targets, was unjustifiable, and proceeded to study policy and law related to nuclear weapon while in college. But it was not until many years later still, while I was fulfilling a Fulbright Fellowship as a Visiting Professor of Law at Toyo University, that I visited the museums in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and was inspired to re-commit my efforts toward issues of nuclear disarmament.<sup>68</sup> I returned to the United States and joined ICAN and its partners as treaty negotiations began.

Not everyone has the opportunity or inclination to pursue this topic solely of their own initiative, however. The advisory committee created pursuant to Int. 1621 would help bring these lessons to New Yorkers by empowering the committee to "host discussions, public programs and other educational initiatives." These provisions of Int. 1621 reinforce the goals and provisions of

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<sup>68</sup> See "Core Values," Fulbright Japan, <https://www.fulbright.jp/scholarship/story/17.html>.

the TPNW, given that the preamble of the TPNW recognizes “also the importance of peace and disarmament education in all its aspects and of raising awareness of the risks and consequences of nuclear weapons for current and future generations, and committed to the dissemination of the principles and norms of this Treaty.”<sup>69</sup>

The committee established under Int. 1621 shall also have a mandate to “examine nuclear disarmament and issues related to recognizing and reaffirming New York City as a nuclear weapons-free zone.” In this connection, the committee would “conduct a comprehensive review of New York City’s current stance on nuclear weapons,” and submit an annual report for five years presenting “findings and conclusions and any recommendations for policy or legislation.”

Int. 1621 presents a meaningful opportunity for New Yorkers to learn more about nuclear weapons and NYC’s role in supporting, but also opposing, them. Moreover, by tasking the committee with policy recommendations, it provides NYC a meaningful opportunity to help ensure a nuclear weapons-free city, as well as a nuclear weapons-free world.

If we can make it here, we can make it anywhere.

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**In conclusion, I call upon every Council Member to vote in favor of both Res. 976 and Int. 1621.**

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<sup>69</sup> Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons text, at <https://undocs.org/A/CONF.229/2017/8>.