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**The Paradox of the Nuclear Age**

By RONALD MCCOY*

KUALA LUMPUR (IPS) Climate change and nuclear war are the two most serious threats to human security and planetary survival.

Governments are addressing the causes of climate change and the prevention of nuclear war, but political will to reduce greenhouse gases and eradicate nuclear weapons needs to be further strengthened.

Climate change is now visible and palpable, but the threat of nuclear war remains relatively abstract and unperceived among some complacent world leaders, despite the presence of thousands of nuclear weapons in a world that still resolves conflict by going to war.

Article VI of the 1970 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) imposes a legal obligation on non-nuclear weapon states to forego nuclear weapons and on nuclear weapon states to eliminate their nuclear arsenals. (The text of article VI makes no reference to non-nuclear weapon States; it simply asks that the parties to the NPT agree to “pursue negotiations in good faith to end the arms race.”) The latter states rhetorically agree to do so, but in fact continue to rely on nuclear deterrence for their security and maintain and modernise their nuclear arsenals.

These double standards have perpetuated a system of nuclear haves and have-nots, paralysed the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva for the past fifteen years, and resulted in a stalemate in the NPT process.

Twenty-one years after the end of the Cold War, both the United States and Russia, the main nuclear protagonists, still wield more than 20,000 nuclear warheads. Both states are committed to further reductions, following the 2010 New START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty), which will reduce the number of deployed long-range nuclear weapons to 1,550 each by 2018. But domestic politics, U.S. missile defence plans, and Iran’s nuclear ambitions have raised the barriers.

As long as any state has nuclear weapons, others will seek to acquire them. As long as nuclear weapons exist, they will one day be used by decision, accident or miscalculation. The future holds three options: maintaining the status quo through counter-proliferation measures, living dangerously with nuclear proliferation, or abolishing nuclear weapons.

In 1997, activists with expertise in international law, science, medicine and disarmament confronted the fundamental underlying nuclear dilemma and explored the legal, technical and political requirements for a nuclear weapons-free world and weighed the security concerns of all states.

They asked if military security, based on militarism and nuclear deterrence, was compatible with human and planetary survival in the long term. They concluded that survival hinged on the abolition of nuclear weapons and proceeded to draft a Model Nuclear Weapons Convention, which has illuminated the feasibility of abolition, in light of treaties that have successfully been adopted for the abolition of chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction.

The United Nations has accepted the Model Nuclear Weapons Convention as an official document (UN Document A/C.1/52/7). More than 120 countries have voted in the United Nations General Assembly for negotiations towards a Nuclear Weapons Convention, which would eliminate all nuclear weapons, prohibit their production, and prevent breakout through a strong verification regime. 😊

* Ronald McCoy, a retired obstetrician and gynaecologist, is founder president of Malaysian Physicians for Social Responsibility and past co-president of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, which received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985.
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There are many obstacles to nuclear abolition, but the fundamental ones are the lack of political will and the militarisation of diplomacy. But there are signs of a shift in thinking among past and present leaders, which has generated guarded optimism that the world could be rid of nuclear weapons in the next two or three decades. Four American 'cold warriors' and members of the U.S. security establishment—Henry Kissinger, George Schultz, William Perry and Sam Nunn have called for a nuclear weapons-free world. President Barack Obama has also voiced similar sentiments.

There is a great opportunity for middle-power states to take the initiative by convening multilateral negotiations, leading to the conclusion of a Nuclear Weapons Convention. The commencement of such negotiations would stimulate global civil society to generate a groundswell of public opinion and exert irresistible pressure on nuclear weapons states to join an abolition process, similar to the Ottawa Process, which persuaded countries with landmines to give them up and adopt the Landmine Ban Treaty. Such a global endeavour to abolish nuclear weapons will require the investment of considerable political capital by middle powers such as the New Agenda Coalition, which is composed of Brazil, Egypt, Ireland, Mexico, New Zealand, South Africa and Sweden.

A Nuclear Weapons Convention would prohibit the development, production, testing, deployment, stockpiling, transfer, threat or use of nuclear weapons. In a wider sense, it would embody the universal condemnation of nuclear weapons and the codification of the norm against all weapons of mass destruction. Such a treaty would engender a wider social and political movement away from the militarisation of diplomacy and reliance on nuclear weapons. It would advance nuclear disarmament to the point of abolition and remove the existential threat of nuclear war.

The important difference between disarmament and abolition is that, while disarmament is primarily a technical process, abolition is a normative process that not only embraces disarmament but also prohibits the development, acquisition and use of nuclear weapons.

The conclusion of a Nuclear Weapons Convention would require comprehensive multilateral negotiations, within a time-bound framework, reinforced by strong political will. The process would comprise a series of bilateral and multilateral steps, culminating in a legally binding instrument or framework of instruments.

The process could take place in the Conference on Disarmament, the established but dysfunctional multilateral negotiating forum for disarmament, or through a series of specific international conferences, similar to the successful Law of the Sea conferences.

The paradox of the Nuclear Age is that the greater the striving for power and military security through nuclear weapons, the more elusive the goal of human security. For humankind to survive in an environmentally challenged and nuclear-armed world, it must learn from the mistakes of the past and forge a common, secure future. The moral challenge of our time is the unthinkable possibility of self-destruction on a global scale in a nuclear war or from climate change. The greatest priority for the future is to ensure that there will be a future. [IPS Columnist Service | March 2012]
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Seoul Summit Aims at Nuclear Safety Amidst Rising Threats

By THALIF DEEN

UNIVERSITY (IPS) - Against the backdrop of a politically-waffling, nuclear-armed North Korea as its unpredictable neighbour, South Korea is hosting a nuclear security summit later this month to be attended by over 40 heads of state and government.

As Japan still struggles to cope with its disastrous nuclear accident in Fukushima last year, the Seoul Summit will focus on specific guidelines for nuclear safety - and also measures to prevent nuclear terrorism. GERMAN

U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, a former foreign minister of South Korea, said he was looking forward to the summit, scheduled to take place in the Korean capital Mar. 26-27.

Following a meeting with visiting South Korean Foreign Minister Kim Sung-Hwan last week, Ban commended the leadership of the Korean government "in advancing the international community's efforts to prevent nuclear terrorism and strengthen the global nuclear security and safety regime."

Dr. M.V. Ramana, a physicist at the Nuclear Futures Laboratory and the Programme on Science and Global Security at Princeton University, told IPS, "I hope this summit manages to focus some attention on the urgent issues of nuclear safety and security. Unfortunately, I don't think we have any grounds for optimism."

With a few honourable exceptions, he said, the response of most governments and heads of state to the Fukushima nuclear accident following an earthquake and tsunami in March last year has been the continued pursuit of business as usual in their plans for nuclear construction and operation, with no real reflection about the broader implications of the accidents.

"The general view promulgated by nuclear establishments, and reproduced by governments is that while Japan might have had an accident, their own nuclear plants are fully immune to accidents," he said.

"This view is not conducive to either safety or security," said Dr. Ramana, author of "The Power of Promise: Examining Nuclear Energy in India" and a member of the International Panel on Fissile Materials and the Science and Security Board of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.

The first nuclear security summit was held in Washington DC in 2010, while the United Nations hosted a high-level meeting of world leaders to discuss the same subject in September 2011.

The second security summit in Seoul will take place amidst last month's announcement by North Korea that it is willing to stop nuclear tests, uranium enrichment and long-range missile launches in exchange for U.S. food aid.

But Dr. Rebecca Johnson, vice chair of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), is sceptical of the North Korean assurance.

"This is the third time in 20 years that the despotic North Korean leadership has offered nuclear restraint and access for IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) inspectors in return for food," she told IPS.

So while all should welcome the chance that has opened up, the United States and other participants (China, Japan, Russia and North and South Korea) in the Six-Party Talks are understandably cautious not to claim this as a major breakthrough. ☞
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The potential wild card this time is Kim Jong-Un, successor to his father and grandfather but an unknown political quantity, she added.

Does he have the will and authority to begin a process of change in North Korea, or is he just emulating his father in dangling inspections in order to relieve domestic pressure in his hungry, underdeveloped country? asked Johnson, who is also executive director and co-founder of the Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy.

She said North Korea is undergoing an inevitable transition following the sudden death of Kim Jong-Il.

"That offers potential for positive change or destabilisation. Only time will tell if this is the beginning of the end for North Korea's provocative nuclear programme, with its exhibitionist nuclear tests and displays of weapons-grade plutonium," she said.

If so, Johnson said, then Kim Jong-un's offer will prove to be an important first step, provided that Washington and Seoul can respond constructively.

"Even so, it is likely that this will be a wary courtship, with many missteps and jumps in the wrong direction, but with the hope that North Korea can be encouraged to keep moving towards de-nuclearisation and disarmament," she said.

Meanwhile, studies have shown that the primary drivers for states' leaders to acquire or renounce (or refrain from) nuclear weapons are domestic politics, even if the rhetoric is couched in security justifications.

Such is the voodoo power assigned to nuclear weapons for power projection and deterrence that insecure leaders will seek to develop or hang on to them regardless of the costs, said Johnson.

"For them, it's about nuclear weapons as symbols of power even if their use would be politically or militarily suicidal," she said.

Still, Johnson said South Korea also needs to make a reassuring gesture of its own now - one that would come as a huge relief to the farmers and fishing communities of Jeju Island who are desperately trying to prevent their diving grounds and the Gureombi of the iconic Haenyo women shellfish divers from being dynamited to build a new naval base for U.S. Aegis destroyers equipped with missile defences against possible attack from North Korea.

She said construction on the Gangjeong naval base should be halted immediately.

There's no point in irrevocably damaging Jeju's marine environment, and the South Korean government can present their own restraint as a confidence-building measure to encourage Kim Jong-Un to take further constructive steps, said Johnson. [IPS - March 14, 2012]

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Abolitionists Target Funds Behind Nuclear Arms Industry

By THALIF DEEN

UNITED NATIONS (IPS) - The world's nuclear weapons industry is being funded – and kept alive – by more than 300 banks, pension funds, insurance companies and asset managers in 30 countries, according to a new study.

And these institutions have substantial investments in nuclear arms producers.

Released by the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), the 180-page study says that nuclear-armed nations spend over 100 billion dollars each year assembling new warheads, modernising old ones, and building ballistic missiles, bombers and submarines to launch them.

Much of this work, the report points out, is carried out by corporations such as BAE Systems and Babcock International in the UK, Lockheed Martin and Northrop Grumman in the United States, Thales and Safran in France, and Larsen & Toubro in India.

“Financial institutions invest in these companies by providing loans and purchasing shares and bonds,” says the report, described as the first of its kind.

Titled "Don't Bank on the Bomb: The Global Financing of Nuclear Weapons Producers", the study provides details of financial transactions with 20 companies heavily involved in the manufacture, maintenance and modernisation of U.S., British, French and Indian nuclear forces.

A coordinated global campaign for nuclear weapons divestment is urgently needed, it says.

Such a movement could help put a halt to modernisation programmes, strengthen the international norm against nuclear weapons, and build momentum towards negotiations on a universal nuclear weapons ban, it adds.

“Divestment from nuclear weapons companies is an effective way for the corporate world to advance the goal of nuclear abolition.”

The study appeals to financial institutions to stop investing in the nuclear arms industry.

“Any use of nuclear weapons would violate international law and have catastrophic humanitarian consequences. By investing in nuclear weapons producers, financial institutions are in effect facilitating the build-up of nuclear forces,” it says.

In a foreword to the report, Nobel Peace Prize winner Desmond Tutu writes, “No one should be profiting from this terrible industry of death, which threatens us all.”

The South African peace activist has urged financial institutions to do the right thing and assist, rather than impede, efforts to eliminate the threat of radioactive incineration, pointing out that divestment was a vital part of the successful campaign to end apartheid in South Africa.

The same tactic can – and must – be employed to challenge man's most evil creation: the nuclear bomb, he added.
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Tim Wright, ICAN campaign director and co-author of the report, told IPS some of the financial institutions identified in the study “have already indicated to us they intend to adopt policies proscribing investments in nuclear arms makers”.

Asked how confident he was of the success of the divestment campaign, Wright said, “Our divestment campaign will probably be most successful in places where opposition to nuclear weapons is strongest, for example, Japan and Scandinavia.”

He said more and more banks are coming to accept that some kind of ethical criteria should be applied to investment decisions, and manufacturing weapons capable of destroying entire cities in an instant is clearly unethical.

Of the 322 financial institutions identified in the report, about half are based in the United States and a third in Europe.

The study also singles out Asian, Australian and Middle Eastern institutions.

However, the institutions most heavily involved in financing nuclear arms makers include Bank of America, BlackRock and JP Morgan Chase in the United States; BNP Paribas in France; Allianz and Deutsche Bank in Germany; Mitsubishi UFJ Financial in Japan; BBVA and Banco Santander in Spain; Credit Suisse and UBS in Switzerland; and Barclays, HSBC, Lloyds and Royal Bank of Scotland in Britain.

The report emphasises the humanitarian, legal and environmental arguments for divestment, noting the unique destructive potential of nuclear weapons.

Asked if it would be feasible to launch a global campaign to boycott these financial institutions, Wright told IPS, “If banks refuse to divest, customers should seek ethical alternatives.”

There is no shortage of banks, particularly smaller banks, that refuse to have anything to do with this industry, he noted. “If people begin to leave en masse, this will send a powerful signal to the bank that its support for nuclear weapons companies is unacceptable.”

For multinational banks, he said, a coordinated boycott campaign in several countries could be effective.

The study also quotes Setsuko Thurlow, a survivor of the U.S. atomic bombing of Hiroshima in 1945, who points out that anyone with a bank account or pension fund has the power to choose to invest his or her money ethically in a way that does not contribute to this Earth-endangering enterprise.

In addition to stating the ethical case for divestment, the report also warns of the reputational risks associated with financing nuclear arms, and highlights the positive role that financial institutions could play in the quest for a world free from such weapons. [IPS - March 5, 2012]

Original: http://ipsnews.net/2012/03/abolitionists-target-funds-behind-nuclear-arms-industry/

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'ICAN' Discloses Funders and Makers of 20,000 Nuclear Weapons

By R. NASTRANIS

BERLIN (IDN) - The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), a global grassroots organization, has thrown a virtual bombshell: In a trailblazing report, it reveals the funders and manufacturers of 20,000 nuclear weapons in the possession of nine nuke-armed nations, which have a collective destructive force equivalent to 150,000 Hiroshima-sized bombs.

Yet, undeterred by the annihilation their existing arsenal can cause, each year, the nine – the U.S., Russia, China, the UK, France, Pakistan, India, Israel and North Korea – are spending a combined total of more than US$100 billion on weapons of mass destruction by assembling new warheads, modernizing old ones, and building ballistic missiles, bombers and submarines to launch them.

Don't Bank on the Bomb: The Global Financing of Nuclear Weapons Producers is the first major global report on the financing of companies that manufacture, modernize and maintain nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles. It identifies more than 300 banks, insurance companies, pension funds and asset managers from 30 countries that invest significantly in 20 major nuclear weapons producers.

According to the 180-page study, released on March 5, 2012, much of the work is being carried out by corporations such as BAE Systems and Babcock International in the United Kingdom, Lockheed Martin and Northrop Grumman in the United States, Thales and Safran in France, and Larsen & Toubro in India.

Of the 322 financial institutions identified in the report, roughly half are based in the United States and a third in Europe. Asian, Australian and Middle Eastern institutions are also listed. The institutions most heavily involved in financing nuclear arms makers include Bank of America, BlackRock and JP Morgan Chase in the United States; BNP Paribas in France; Allianz and Deutsche Bank in Germany; Mitsubishi UFJ Financial in Japan; BBVA and Banco Santander in Spain; Credit Suisse and UBS in Switzerland; and Barclays, HSBC, Lloyds and Royal Bank of Scotland in Britain.

ICAN is appealing to financial institutions to stop investing in the nuclear arms industry. "Any use of nuclear weapons would violate international law and have catastrophic humanitarian consequences. By investing in nuclear weapons producers, financial institutions are in effect facilitating the build-up of nuclear forces. This undermines efforts to achieve a nuclear-weapon-free world and heightens the risk that one day these ultimate weapons of mass destruction will be used again," says ICAN campaigner Tim Wright, a co-author of the report.

Unethical

The report also examines selected institutions' policies on financing nuclear weapons: It points out that many financial institutions, funding nuclear weapons programmes, claim to apply ethical standards – such as the UN Principles for Responsible Investment – when deciding how to invest their funds. These standards take into account environmental, social and corporate governance factors.

Some financial institutions, in addition to maintaining general policies on ethical or sustainable investment, specifically state that they will not invest in nuclear armaments. But the report shows that "their policies on nuclear weapons investments often fall short of imposing a blanket ban on the financing of nuclear weapons companies."

For example, some banks rule out providing loans specifically for nuclear weapons projects, but they are willing to provide loans to nuclear arms makers for general purposes, says the report, adding: "Investing in companies that manufacture and modernize nuclear weapons is a grave breach of ethical investment norms, as nuclear weapons are illegal to use and cause catastrophic humanitarian and environmental harm."
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All nuclear weapons companies, listed in the ICAN study, are engaged in a diversity of enterprises, many of which are non-nuclear in nature – for example, Boeing builds commercial jetliners. These companies generally do not source direct finance from banks solely for the purpose of carrying out nuclear weapons work.

Instead, they raise money through corporate loans, syndicated loans, bond issues, share placements and share ownership. This money is allocated in whatever way a company sees fit. However, "whether or not the financier or investor intended the money to be used for nuclear weapons production makes little practical difference," says the report.

It argues: When nuclear weapons companies raise finance for "general corporate purposes", a proportion of the funds they raise will likely be used to produce nuclear weapons. It is important therefore that "if banks and other financial institutions wish to avoid facilitating the manufacture of nuclear, they must adopt more stringent policies that exclude the financing of nuclear weapons companies altogether." But the existing policies of some financial institutions have little if any practical effect.

Divestment

The report emphasizes the humanitarian, legal and environmental arguments for divestment, noting the unique destructive potential of nuclear weapons. Setsuko Thurlow, a survivor of the US atomic bombing of Hiroshima in 1945, writes in the report: "Anyone with a bank account or pension fund has the power to choose to invest his or her money ethically – in a way that does not contribute to this earth-endangering enterprise."

In addition to stating the ethical case for divestment, the report also warns of the reputational risks associated with financing nuclear arms, and highlights the positive role that financial institutions could play in the quest for a world free from such weapons.

South African activist and Nobel Peace Prize winner Desmond Tutu, a supporter of ICAN, contributed the foreword to the report, in which he calls on financial institutions to "do the right thing and assist, rather than impede, efforts to eliminate the threat of radioactive incineration", noting that divestment was a vital part of the successful campaign to end apartheid in South Africa.

"Today, the same tactic can – and must – be employed to challenge man’s most evil creation: the nuclear bomb. No one should be profiting from this terrible industry of death, which threatens us all," writes Tutu.

Since the present situation is not God given, with the information and arguments contained in the ICAN report, concerned citizens can put pressure on listed and other financial institutions around the world to end their support for the nuclear weapons industry.

By lending money to nuclear weapons companies, and purchasing their shares and bonds, banks and other financial institutions are indirectly facilitating the build-up and modernization of nuclear forces, thereby heightening the risk that one day these ultimate weapons of terror will be used again – with catastrophic humanitarian and environmental consequences.

According to disarmament campaigners, divestment from nuclear weapons companies is an effective way for the corporate world to advance the goal of nuclear abolition. [IDN-InDepthNews – March 05, 2012]

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Picture: Protest against nuclear weapons | Credit: dontbankonthebomb.com
France's Fuzzy Face on Nuclear Abolition

By JULIO GODOY

PARIS (IDN) – If you ask the French ministry for foreign affairs about the country's position on a Middle East free of nuclear weapons, the spokesperson will surely refer you to the statements by the French ambassadors before the UN both in New York and Geneva, and will repeat that France supports the global application of the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Indeed, France has since the mid 1990s officially supported the objectives of the resolutions adopted by the Review Conference of the Parties to the NPT, in particular those referring to the creation of a nuclear-weapons free zone (NWFZ) in the Middle East, and openly calls for the implementation of the conference’s specific resolution of 1995.

But when it comes down to the facts, this apparently solid French position turns out to be a mere lip service to the cause of a NWFZ in the Middle East, in particular if the project questions Israel's nuclear weapons policy, and asks the Jewish state to subscribe to the mentioned resolution.

The French fuzzy face on freeing the Middle East of nuclear weapons became evident as late as May 2010, when the Israeli government of Benjamin Netanyahu called the bid for a NWFZ in the region "hypocritical" and "deeply flawed". At the time, the Israeli government was reacting to endorsement by the 189 country members of the NPT of an agreement to free the Middle East of all nuclear weapons.

Israel, which has not signed the NPT, dismissed the document as "ignore(ing) the realities of the Middle East and the real threats facing the region and the entire world. Given the distorted nature of this resolution, Israel will not be able to take part in its implementation."

France, a member of the UN Security Council and itself a nuclear power, did not react to the blunt Israeli rejection.

The double-faced French strategy had been already clear since at least 2005, when Francois Rivasseau, then French permanent representative to the UN conference on disarmament in Geneva, accused Iran of triggering "the proliferation crisis" with "its clandestine programme" during that year's review conference. On the same occasion, however, Rivasseau had simply called "desirable" that the conference "through dialogue, bring(s) India, Israel and Pakistan to come as close as possible to international standards for non-proliferation and export controls."

All these three countries possess a large nuclear weapons arsenal. That such dialogue never prevented Israel to pile at least 210 nuclear warheads – more than India and Pakistan together – seems to have gone unnoticed in the French government's bureaus.

It is then no surprise to find no French contribution worth a mention to the present debate on the Middle East, other than repeating the condemnations of the alleged Iranian nuclear weapons programme. On November 9, 2011 foreign minister Alain Juppé said that the allegations formulated then by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) "increases France's deep concern with regard to Iran's nuclear programme."

Picture: French nuclear-powered aircraft carrier Charles de Gaulle and the American nuclear-powered carrier USS Enterprise (left), each of which carry nuclear-capable fighter aircraft. Credit: Wikimedia Commons
In-Depth Reports

Juppé added: "We must move to the next level with regard to increasing diplomatic pressure on Iran. If Iran refuses to meet the requests of the international community, and refuses all serious cooperation, we are ready to adopt, with the support of the international community, sanctions of an unprecedented scale."

Juppé never criticised the Israeli nuclear weapons policy or the Israeli rejection of a global summit on the NWFZ in the Middle East.

This double standard, which is typical for most of the European Union, has led foreign relations experts to question the wisdom and the honesty of the French policy on the matter.

As Jean-Marie Collin, director of the French bureau of Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (PNND) says, "contrary to what (the government in) France would like us to believe, the agenda and debates on nuclear disarmament did not stop on May 2010, with the last reunion of the (review conference of the) NPT."

Collin recalled that both the UN and the civil society organisations "continue to carry forward their duties to reach a world free of nuclear weapons." Among other developments, Collin underlined the campaign for the Middle East, and in particular "the nomination of the Finnish mediator Jaakko Laajava, deputy minister of foreign affairs."

However, Collin pointed out that, for all its government’s words, "France remains an outsider in the politics of nuclear disarmament."

While the government in Paris does not stand up to its words, French civil society groups show real concern of the likely proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, in particular of nuclear warheads, in the Middle East. The National Federation of former Deported, Prisoners of war, Members of the Resistance, and Patriots (FNDIRP, for its French name), a pacifist group, released this January a communiqué denouncing the Israeli preparations of war against Iran.

On the one hand, the FNDIRP recalled that Iran is signatory member of the NPT, and that it has repeatedly vowed to use nuclear technology for civil purposes alone. On the other hand, the group argued that an Israeli military intervention against Iran would trigger a war of "unforeseeable consequences" in the whole region. Additionally, the group also called attention upon "the uncertain efficacy of such an attack" to stop the Iranian nuclear research programmes.

The FNDIRP also insisted on the need to fully implement the NPT in the Middle East and called the debates within the framework of the United Nations "a most useful enterprise." It urged Israel, Iran, and all other countries of the region "to implement, within the UN framework, the measures necessary … contributing to(ward) create(ing) a denuclearised zone in the Middle East, which would bring about peace and security for all the countries of the region."

Such appeals are likely to remain wishful thinking, prognosticate French and Swiss foreign affairs experts.

Analysts at the Centre for Security Studies (CSS) of the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich are of the view that "structural factors render any prospect for (Middle East nuclear) disarmament premature."
In a paper programmatically titled "Nuclear Weapons in the Middle East: Here to stay", CSS expert Liviu Horovitz pointed out that "for Israel, the abolition of nuclear weapons appears neither necessary nor desirable." On the other hand, Horovitz said, "resolving Iran's nuclear file remains paramount, but a solution is not in sight." For these two reasons, and considering other existing dynamics in the Middle East, Horovitz foresees that "the most plausible future regional developments are unlikely to encourage disarmament steps."

"More probable," Horovitz added, "holding the existing state of affairs will prove challenging enough."

In the paper, Horovitz recalls that the concept of NWFZs goes back to a Polish plan in the 1950s focused on Central Europe. "While this initiative was never finalised, five other zones have by now been negotiated," Horovitz said. "Within the Middle East, after Israel's acquisition of nuclear weapons during the 1960s, regional actors led by Egypt and Iran endeavoured to increase their diplomatic leverage by calling for a NWFZ."

The present momentum for the creation of the NWFZ in the Middle East was given by the so-called Action Plan adopted in 2010 by the review conference of the NPT. In this plan, the member states agreed to mandate the United Nations, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States to consult with countries in the region and convene a meeting in 2012 "on the establishment of a Middle East zone free of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction."

Horovitz added that the present political schedule is bound to undermine the meeting, to take place in Finland. "Washington, concerned with this year’s domestic presidential election, wants a short meeting involving the participation of all countries of the Middle East, comprising a broad exchange of views, and requiring consensus decisions, especially in regard to any follow-up actions," Horovitz cautioned.

Furthermore, Horovitz recalled that the next NPT review conference, due to take place in 2015 is not far away: it can give "spoilers, like Iran or Syria, a strong incentive and a unique opportunity to divert attention from their own NPT compliance issues. Thus, the best possible outcome appears to be a well-managed but inconsequential diplomatic event that successfully avoids additional hardening of positions and thus long-term harm to the broader regime."

Thus, Horovitz concluded, "it is safe to say that the expectations (for a NWFZ) are very low."

[IDN-InDepthNews – March 01, 2012]

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North Korea's Pivot

By JOHN FEFFER

WASHINGTON (IPS) - After three years of frozen relations between North Korea and the United States, the two longstanding adversaries are on the verge of a thaw.

In what has been called the "leap day deal", North Korea has pledged to stop uranium enrichment and suspend nuclear and missile tests. The United States, meanwhile, will deliver 240,000 metric tonnes of food to the country’s malnourished population.

The Barack Obama administration has maintained a policy of "strategic patience" toward North Korea, which amounted to a wait-and-see approach while Washington was preoccupied with other foreign policy issues. Obama administration officials portray the leap day deal as a modest first step in reengaging the North.

"After the really tough sanctions that were put in place by the U.N. Security Council and the North Koreans announced that they wanted to return to Six-Party Talks, talks that they had previously abandoned, we and our allies made clear that North Korea needed to take a number of steps that would demonstrate their seriousness of purpose," said a senior U.S. official at a background briefing on Feb. 29.

"We were firm that we were only interested in credible negotiations leading to the denuclearisation of the Korean Peninsula."

The death of North Korean leader Kim Jong Il in late 2011 interrupted the preparatory steps toward this deal. Although the country remains officially in its 100-day mourning period, the leader’s youngest son and successor, Kim Jong Un, has continued key elements of his father’s policies. Foremost among these is the more energetic diplomacy North Korea has conducted over the last year.

As the Obama administration attempts a "Pacific pivot" to refocus its geopolitical energies from the Middle East to Asia, North Korea has been executing a pivot of its own. The centennial of the birth of the country’s founder Kim Il Sung, 2012 is also the year that North Korea has pledged to achieve the status of kangsong taeguk: an economically prosperous and militarily strong country.

To attract the economic investment necessary to achieve this goal, North Korea has reached out to friend and foe alike.

North Korea has been negotiating with Russia, for instance, over a natural gas pipeline that would extend down the peninsula to customers in South Korea and possibly Japan. Extensive deals with China have been concluded over access to minerals and ports. Even inter-Korean relations, which bottomed out over the last several years as a result of low-level military clashes and high-level belligerent rhetoric, promise to improve as both ruling party and opposition party leaders in the South lean toward a more conciliatory policy.

Meanwhile, the industrial zone at Kaesong, run by 123 South Korean firms on North Korean territory, has expanded to employ more than 50,000 North Korean workers.

But the focus of the North Korean negotiating strategy has been the United States, with whom it has frequently insisted on bilateral discussions.

"The North Koreans have been interested in reaching some accommodation with the United States for a while now," observed Joel Wit, a former State Department official and currently a visiting fellow at the U.S.-Korea Institute at Johns Hopkins University’s School of Advanced International Studies.

"It's been a year now that they've been sending signals that they're interested in talking and taking some limited steps forward. The Obama administration didn’t take them up on it because the South Koreans were against it. But South Korea's position changed last summer," he said. ☞
In-Depth Reports

Another reason for the North Korean pivot is its perennial push-pull relationship with China.

"The North Koreans feel that they've become very close to China over the past few years because of the U.S. policy of 'strategic patience,' which has forced them into the Chinese arms," Wit continued. "But the North Koreans aren't comfortable with that. They're trying to create some distance with the Chinese, using the United States as a balancer."

U.S. reaction to the leap day deal has ranged from relief at North Korea's moratorium on testing and missile launches to scepticism that the deal represents anything new.

"North Korea's promise to suspend certain nuclear activities can't be taken at face value, given the almost certain existence of several undeclared nuclear facilities," said U.S. Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, chairwoman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, in a press statement. "Pyongyang will likely continue its clandestine nuclear weapons program right under our noses. We have bought this bridge several times before."

North Korea, meanwhile, seems to interpret the agreement somewhat differently from the United States. A Korean Central News Agency article reported that the Six-Party Talks would prioritise "the lifting of sanctions on the DPRK and provision of light water reactors", neither of which are mentioned in U.S. government statements.

The humanitarian community has reacted with unambiguous support for the resumption of food aid, which will consist of nutritional supplements designed particularly for children and pregnant women.

"There have been over six nutritional assessments, most everything done on our own dime, to verify that there is a need for food," says Robert Springs, the head of Global Resource Services, one of the five NGOs involved in the last round of U.S. food aid distribution. "We welcome this nutritional assistance. It's responding to a need. It should have been done a long time ago."

A new round of multilateral negotiations through the Six-Party Talks has not yet been announced. North Korea must first make arrangements for International Atomic Energy Agency inspectors to return to the country after being expelled in 2009. Monitoring protocols for the U.S. food aid deliveries must also be negotiated.

U.S. officials remain upbeat. "They're doing it within the 100-day mourning period that's self-declared in North Korea," says a senior administration official. "So it shows that they're interested with some alacrity to reach out, to get back to the table, and begin to try to make diplomatic progress, and I think that's a positive sign." [IPS - March 1, 2012]

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Iran and a Nuclear Weapons Ban

Viewpoint by FREDERICK N. MATTIS*

ANAPOLIS, USA (IDN) - The potential for catastrophe regarding Iran is great. It is Israel, obviously, which most feels and asserts the "threat" of an incipient nuclear-armed Iran. Iran, though, with its animosity toward Israel, is mostly to blame for Israeli alarm at Iran's potential to build nuclear weapons.

Iran denies it aspires to nuclear weapons, and Iran's "supreme leader," Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, has recently denounced their possession as a "big sin" (Washington Post, February 23, 2012 p. A-8). At various international forums, including the 2010 nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty [NPT] Review Conference, Iran has called for a world without nuclear weapons. On the other hand, Iran has not subscribed to the stricter (and voluntary) inspection protocol that, among other aspects, would give International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] inspectors greater access to "undeclared" sites.

Iran is a non-nuclear weapon NPT member and therefore must and has submitted its fissionable material to IAEA "safeguards" for monitoring and accountancy. The much-publicized main geopolitical problem is that Iran is continuing to enrich, and does not deny it, uranium – purportedly for peaceful use such as electricity and medical isotope production. But if enrichment (in isotope uranium-235), which is technically challenging, successfully produces about 100 pounds of 90 percent-enriched uranium, then a state could easily (even without a test explosion) construct a dependable, relatively simple "gun" nuclear weapon, the type detonated over Hiroshima.

Iran seemingly did, at least according to a 2007 U.S. intelligence report, have an active research program on nuclear weapons that was shut down in 2003. However, many skeptics would argue that Iran is at least "keeping its options open," which if turned concertedly to weapons could escalate rapidly into Iranian possession of a bomb – contingent, of course, for a "simple" gun weapon on Iranian attainment of sufficient weapons-grade highly enriched uranium. (Israel, for its part, has an unacknowledged arsenal estimated at 100-300 modern nuclear warheads.) Regarding its uranium enrichment, Iran correctly avers that the NPT does not prohibit such activity, even to easily weapons-usable levels such as 90 percent. To date, Iran has refrained from enriching uranium to 20 percent, the recognized demarcation beyond which weapons-usability begins to take hold and grow – although for a relatively simple, no test-explosion-needed "gun" weapon, enrichment to 80-90 percent would be required, plus attainment of the relatively large amount of about 100 pounds for just one bomb.

Not only the USA, Israel, Britain, and France oppose the prospect of a nuclear-armed Iran, but fellow predominantly Muslim states too, such as Saudi Arabia and Turkey – which may seek nuclear weapons if Iran attains them. But Iran insists that it is not developing nuclear weapons, and that it is simply exercising its sovereign and NPT-permitted right to develop nuclear fuel (enriched uranium) for peaceful use such as in power and research reactors. Certainly, any attack against Iranian nuclear facilities would be widely condemned as foolhardy and unnecessary so long as Iran continues to restrict enrichment to under 20 percent. ☼
What Others Say

The hope at present is that Iran will cease, or perhaps just drastically curtail, further uranium enrichment, plus clear up some other questions, and continue as a non-nuclear weapon member of the NPT (which stipulates IAEA safeguards on fissionable material) – and be rewarded by easing or lifting of sanctions. But even if this occurred, would it necessarily be durable? Assuming, though, that Iran continues its enrichment of uranium, there are no good options to stop it, with military strikes at least holding these dangers: having just temporary effect, uniting Iranians against the "foe(s)," roiling the oil market, depressing the world economy, and spurring Iranian or Iranian-proxy assaults on Israelis and others. The only enduring solution is a nuclear-weapons free world, because with all states having joined a nuclear ban treaty before it enters into force, none such as Iran would dare violate it – and if it is imagined that they perniciously might, let it equally be imagined that any seeming advantage from nuclear ban "break-out" would obviously be outweighed many times, even on just stark military terms, by united opposition of the rest of the world.

Once undertaken, nuclear ban negotiations by states will probably make good headway, in large part due to existence of the meritorious "Model Nuclear Weapons Convention" (see link to MNWC at www.lcnp.org). This document, originated in 1997 through the efforts of fifty volunteer lawyers, engineers, scientists, physicians, and consultants, will likely reduce by 80 percent or more the time that would otherwise be required to set forth a Nuclear Weapons Convention [abolition treaty] for signature by states. When states come to undertake actual nuclear ban negotiations, there will inevitably come to be additions to or modifications of some of the dozens of MNWC provisions. But the MNWC will be both the broad foundation and the "advanced starting point" for remaining needed discussions by states assembled.

An issue still to be resolved is nuclear ban entry into force. If the basic requirement is "all states," then the enacted treaty [Nuclear Weapons Convention] would have unprecedented geopolitical, legal, psychological, and moral force for compliance – and it would be a true, worldwide "abolition" treaty. Further, such a treaty advisedly would proclaim its applicability "everywhere" (to cover space and other non-state areas), and declare that the prohibition of nuclear weapons and of non-safeguarded fissionable materials applies to "future states," which must promptly, formally join the treaty. This encompassing of future states is unprecedented in a treaty – but justified by the unanimous accession of all extant states before entry into force. (For details of proposed entry-into-force provision, see chapter 3 of "Banning Weapons of Mass Destruction" by this writer.)

Iran, as an NPT non-nuclear weapon party and perennial critic of nuclear weapons, certainly or almost-certainly would join a nuclear ban treaty. When all states have joined and it enters into force, Iran would no longer be a credible threat to develop nuclear weapons, and today's Iran-related nuclear "threat" would be gone – due to the unprecedented geopolitical and related force for compliance of a unanimously joined treaty, and its fairness, i.e., equal treatment of states (with all renouncing nuclear weapons), plus the treaty's benefits to all states and people (removal of various nuclear threats), and the certitude of worldwide opposition to a pernicious violator of the worldwide nuclear weapons ban.

[IDN-InDepthNews – March 07, 2012]
U.S. Should Cut Nuclear Stockpile

By IRA HELFAND & DARYL G. KIMBALL

[March 29, 2012] This week at an international nuclear security summit in South Korea, President Barack Obama's private request to Russian President Dmitry Medvedev for "space" on his proposal for cooperation on missile defense was overheard from a live microphone and grabbed the headlines.

The president's public remarks on the nuclear threat, however, were far more noteworthy. "The massive nuclear arsenal we inherited from the Cold War is poorly suited to today's threats, including nuclear terrorism," he told those in attendance. He announced that the administration is reviewing U.S. nuclear strategy and declared that we can "already say with confidence that we have more nuclear weapons than we need."

Now, Obama should put his words into action by discarding outdated nuclear war planning assumptions and opening the way toward deeper reductions in obsolete Cold War arsenals. Changes are in order. The current size of both the U.S. and Russian arsenals -- and the fleet missiles, submarines, and bombers that carry them -- far exceeds what is necessary to deter nuclear attack. Both sides can and should go much lower.

Even under the 2010 New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, the United States and Russia can each deploy 1,550 strategic nuclear weapons on as many as 700 missiles and bombers until 2021 or beyond. Thousands of additional warheads are in reserve. Unless they adjust their thinking, both countries will spend hundreds of billions of dollars to modernize and maintain similar nuclear force levels for decades to come.

Obama shouldn't settle for marginal adjustments. Given that no other country deploys more than 300 nuclear weapons -- China possesses just 40 to 50 warheads on intercontinental-range missiles -- he should implement a significant reduction of the U.S. nuclear stockpile to just a few hundred deployed warheads.

During the Cold War, the United States and Russia amassed huge stockpiles to "prevail" in a protracted nuclear war. But such a conflict is extremely unlikely today -- and the size of the nuclear force required to deter an attack is also far smaller. Joseph Stalin or Mao Zedong might have been willing to sacrifice tens of millions of their countrymen in a nuclear exchange, but Vladimir Putin and Hu Jintao are not.

Speaking of the United States and the Soviet Union in his 1984 State of the Union address, President Ronald Reagan said, "The only value in our two nations possessing nuclear weapons is to make sure they will never be used. But then would it not be better to do away with them entirely?"

Until we eliminate nuclear weapons altogether, the United States can deter a nuclear attack with a smaller, but still lethal force of 500 or fewer strategic warheads.

A reliable and credible U.S. nuclear deterrent doesn't require immediate retaliation capabilities, but only the assurance that U.S. nuclear forces would survive a nuclear attack. As Obama correctly said in 2008, this requirement for prompt launch is "a dangerous relic of the Cold War. Such policies increase the risk of catastrophic accidents." He should eliminate the prompt launch requirement, which requires U.S. strategic nuclear forces to be prepared to retaliate in response to a nuclear attack immediately.

By discarding outdated nuclear thinking, the president can open the way for lower U.S.-Russian force levels, either through a new treaty or reciprocal and parallel cuts. The reductions would also enhance prospects for nuclear reductions involving other nuclear-armed states. And that would bring the ultimate goal -- the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons -- closer to reality. [Source: www.newsday.com]
Dropping the Bomb

By KATE HUDSON, General Secretary of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND)

[March 12, 2012] A report launched this week caught the headlines by describing the replacement of Trident as “nonsensical”.

“Replacing Trident makes no sense” said the BBC, while the Guardian led with “Trident nuclear deterrent upgrade ‘nonsensical’”.

But they were not quoting the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament or any other campaigning organisation. Rather, they were quoting the liberal thinktank CentreForum, which David Cameron has previously commended “for their excellent work”.

Nick Clegg has also indicated the policy significance of CentreForum: “Many of the policy areas my party is implementing in government were developed, tested and refined through dialogue with the CentreForum team.”

The report, ‘Dropping the Bomb: a post Trident future’, is a salient analysis of the strategic and economic arguments against Trident. It argues for the immediate scrapping of Trident, with all of the savings being directly reinvested into bolstering Britain’s flagging conventional armed forces.

That’s certainly not everyone’s choice for the destination of the savings, but the most significant aspect of the report is that it is indicative of the breadth of opposition to the government’s dogmatic approach to Britain’s nuclear weapons possession. There has long been opposition to Trident in the UK, but this dissent is now reflected in the establishment: and that includes Tory MPs not just their Lib Dem coalition partners; senior military figures; policy analysts and defence strategists.

What’s more, it is no surprise that these very serious questions are now being asked in Westminster. There comes a point at which debate outside the Westminster bubble achieves such a scale and significance that it is no longer dismissible as the clamouring of ‘usual suspects’ like CND.

Of course it is of crucial importance that a majority of the population are opposed to Britain wasting more than £100bn over the lifetime of a replacement nuclear system. But many of those who are in favour of Britain maintaining a strong military, including those in government, are increasingly of the opinion that the evisceration of the defence budget can only be ameliorated by cancelling the exorbitant proposed spending on Trident.

Yet it is not simply a myopic economic argument. Rather, it is when the strategic argument is synthesised with the economic context that the compelling case emerges: particularly for those who were previously in favour of replacing Trident.

Senior military figures have described Trident as “completely useless” and “virtually irrelevant except in the context of domestic politics”. CentreForum’s report concludes that Trident simply has no “role to play in current or likely future UK security scenarios”, which makes spending such a crippling fee on it “nonsensical” and “inexplicable”.

Finally, the government only needs to look at its own findings for confirmation of these opinions: its National Security Strategy in 2010 downgraded the risk of a state-on-state nuclear attack to a two-tier threat.

Britain is now at a crossroads. We can choose to plough money into a strategically redundant and economically catastrophic weapons system which even the military don’t want. Or we can become world leaders in tackling nuclear proliferation, have a strong moral footing in diplomacy against states seeking nuclear weapons and at the same time save ourselves over £100bn which could be invested in ways which are socially beneficial. The choice seems obvious to me. ☑

- This blog was originally hosted on Liberal Democrat Voice -
Civil Society

Emergency on Jeju Island

By KATE HUDSON, General Secretary of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND)

[March 5, 2012] Jeju is a beautiful World Heritage island off the coast of South Korea - just a few hundred miles from mainland China. The South Korean Navy, under pressure from the US, wants to build a naval base at the 450 year old village of Gangjeong on the southern coast of the Island. According to a mutual defense pact and Status of Forces Agreement, the US can use any South Korean ports and airfields and President Obama has declared the Asia-Pacific as a military "pivot" in his projection of power "to protect U.S. interests and investments." The US wants to use the base to berth their Aegis missile defense ships and nuclear aircraft carriers. For five years, the villagers have been fighting the base 'destruction' through political and legal means, at the same time they have been using non-violent protest to resist each stage of the building process (see: Save Jeju Island and on Facebook: 'Save Jeju Island' and 'No Naval Base on Jeju'). The Navy and lead contractors Samsung and Daelim have taken over property; felled trees; destroyed greenhouses; and built miles of razor wired fence to prevent the villager's access to Guroembi rocks, their ancient, holy place of prayer.

Guest blogger CND Chair Dave Webb reports: "I have just returned from attending the Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space's international peace conference held there in support of the villagers and activists. The people are amazing in their resistance and persistence. When they can't walk to Guroembi, they kayak. When the kayaks are blocked by hordes of riot police, they swim. The passion, energy and love the people have for this place is something to behold. Jeju is a volcanic island, and there are many rock formations, but Guroembi is unique. Fresh water springs lay beneath; offshore coral reefs; endangered species of red crab are part of the eco-system under threat. The villagers – fishermen, women divers, farmers, lovers of nature – have had no voice in the decision to blast Guroembi to smithereens and cover the remains in cement to build this naval base. They have been organizing for years to change the hearts and minds of decision-makers, and to prevent the destruction of their village their livelihoods and their culture.

Our international delegation got a brief glimpse of the determination and creativity of the villagers. We have been following the videos from Gangjeong that show villagers and activists being arrested (sometimes brutally) for laying down in front of bulldozers, cement trucks, cranes, and machines meant to blast holes deep into the rocks. In prison they go on hunger strike and when released lay their bodies down again.

Jeju Island has a triple crown of UNESCO recognition as: 1) a World National Heritage site; 2) a Biosphere Reserve Zone, and 3) a World Geological Park. It is a government-designated "absolute preservation area". It is characterised by rare rock formations, abundant and fertile farmlands, pristine fresh and seawaters, and endangered marine life. Concerned world citizens should honour the people of Gangjeong who are giving their lives to protect this rare and valuable place.

Professor Yang Yoon-Mo recently turned 56 in Jeju City prison. He is in jail for the second time in a year for putting his body in front of cement and construction trucks - the first time, he fasted for over 70 days. Since his arrest in January, he has begun a second hunger strike again, and is now in his fourth week. This gentle, holy man has said clearly: "If Guroembi lives, I live; if Guroembi dies, I die. Do not cry for me, cry for the future generations who may not be able to know the beauty of Guroembi."

We all need to take action. The navy is now planning to start blasting Guroembi rocks in the next day or two. The villagers are desperate. Please Save Guroembi. Save Yang Yoon-Mo. Do your part."

Contact:
Island Governor (Mr. Woo Keun-Min, Governor, The Government of Jeju-do, RoK, jejumaster@jeju.go.kr);
President (Mr. Lee Myung-Bak, President, Republic of Korea, president@cwd.go.kr);
Defense Minister (Mr. Kim Kwan-Jin, Minister, Ministry of National Defense, RoK cyber@mn.go.kr)

Especially put pressure on the Jeju Island Governor to prevent the blasting of Guroembi rocks! Let them all know that the world is watching, and that destruction of the village to build a naval base needs to stop. As the people continue to plead: "Please save Gangejong, the Life and Peace village."
The Paradox of the Nuclear Age

JAPANESE

Seoul Summit Aims at Nuclear Safety Amidst Rising Threats

GERMAN

Abolitionists Target Funds Behind Nuclear Arms Industry

GERMAN

JAPANESE

NORWEGIAN

Compilation of Articles April 2010-March 2011

http://www.nuclearabolition.net/documents/Toward_a_World_without_Nuclear_Weapons.pdf