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Weapons into Ploughshares and Crises into Opportunity

NEW YORK - The crisis that started a few years ago with the collapse of major financial institutions in the United States is now centred in Europe and threatens other parts of the world. Many emerging countries in Asia and Latin America that had thus far avoided contamination because of their sound economic and fiscal policies and their timely adoption of domestic consumption stimulus packages are now beginning to experience secondary effects. Despite the current financial turmoil and uncertainty, hundreds of millions of dollars continue to be spent each day on military operations without any apparent success in solving the problems they were supposed to. ➔ Pages 2-3

Germany Pledges to Revitalize Nuke Disarmament

BERLIN – The Geneva UN Conference on Disarmament (CD) has been turned into a talking shop because of the vested interests of a few mighty states without whose consent no genuine nuclear disarmament, not to speak of abolition of nuclear weapons, would ever be within the realm of possibility. This formed the backdrop to an impassioned appeal by Ambassador Hellmut Hoffmann of Germany to representatives of 64 countries, including all nuclear weapon states, to avail of the potential of this United Nations body to rid the world of nuclear weapons. Germany took over from France the CD presidency on August 20. ➔ Pages 3-5

Halting Pakistan-India Nuclear Arms Race

TORONTO - The two long-time South Asian rivals, India and Pakistan, are engaged in the world's most active nuclear arms race. India is estimated to have produced as many as 100 atomic weapons, and Pakistan is believed to have stockpiled a similar number if not more. But, according to nuclear analysts, Hans M. Kristensen and Robert S. Norris, Islamabad is understood to be increasing its stockpile of warhead-grade nuclear material at a faster rate than any other country; it could in fact reach as many as 200 weapons over the next decade. ➔ Pages 6-8

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Weapons into Ploughshares and Crises into Opportunity

Viewpoint by SERGIO DUARTE *

NEW YORK, Aug (IPS) - The crisis that started a few years ago with the collapse of major financial institutions in the United States is now centred in Europe and threatens other parts of the world. Many emerging countries in Asia and Latin America that had thus far avoided contamination because of their sound economic and fiscal policies and their timely adoption of domestic consumption stimulus packages are now beginning to experience secondary effects.

Despite the current financial turmoil and uncertainty, hundreds of millions of dollars continue to be spent each day on military operations without any apparent success in solving the problems they were supposed to. Other disquieting signs loom large. Although combat operations in some troubled areas are being discontinued, the root causes of tension remain unaddressed, with unpredictable consequences.

As formerly all-powerful war-bent nations feel constrained to pull back into their own territories, new financial resources are nevertheless earmarked in their budgets for designing, testing, and eventually producing and deploying new generations of deadly weapons in the name of maintaining their national security. By the same token, a few others seem determined to devote a considerable percentage of their scarce national resources to achieve means of destruction to counter real or imagined threats from abroad.

The "contagious doctrine of deterrence", as Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon once described it, is no longer an exclusive feature of the two antagonists of the Cold War. If some nations feel entitled to possess a nuclear "insurance policy" - as a former prime minister described his country's atomic arsenal - there is no reason to expect that others will not follow suit if they deem it necessary.

It is unfortunate that the days when international conferences could succeed in hammering out bilateral or multilateral arms control agreements seem to be over. Even if past agreements did not bring about effective disarmament, at least they preserved a degree of sanity by curbing some of the most dangerous aspects of the arms race and by signalling the possibility of further progress toward disarmament. For over fifteen years now the multilateral machinery put together by the United Nations over many decades has been unable to achieve the slightest headway towards any significant agreement on both nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. Mankind seems to have lost the ability or the will to follow up on the progress previously achieved in banning other types of weapons of mass destruction, namely chemical and biological arms.

Despite important reductions in the number of nuclear weapons since Cold War peaks, there has been little, if any, progress towards their actual elimination or even the reduction of their importance in the military doctrines of the countries that hold them. The world continues to devote increasing resources to the production of conventional weapons, a large number of which find their way to illegal brokers to feed conflicts in the least developed areas, severely jeopardising chances of improving the lot of their populations.

At last count, world expenditures on armaments reached some 1.7 trillion dollars - possibly as much as the industrialised nations have already spent to prop up their financial situation.

All is not lost, however - at least not yet. Analysts have remarked that every real advance in the interaction among nations has been the product a deep crisis in international relations. In recent history, landmark international achievements have been preceded by major conflicts, immense destruction, and severe strife. That was the case of the Hague Conferences, the creation of the ill-fated League of Nations, and the successful establishment of the United Nations.

* Sergio Duarte is a former Brazilian diplomat. His last position was as United Nations High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, with the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA).
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But mankind does not have to wait for a major war or a similar catastrophe to occur. Whatever progress has been achieved in the past few decades came as a result of the timely perception that something had to be done before real disaster struck. That was the case of the realisation that the insane buildup of ever more deadly nuclear arsenals by the two superpowers had to cease, that proliferation had to be curbed, that at least the most harmful and indiscriminate conventional weapons had to be banned, and that ways must be found to ensure that the power of the atom is used exclusively for peaceful purposes - to name just a few examples.

The combined effect of the current financial crisis and of the deadlock in international structures dealing with security, disarmament, development, and the environment can yet lead to new realisations. Wealthy nations, for instance, are already well aware that their own prosperity and well-being, just like natural resources, may not last forever. They should therefore join forces with poorer ones to find wise solutions for the benefit of all. The most heavily armed nations should realise that converting their territories into fortresses while building ever more sophisticated means of destruction will not enhance their security but rather endanger it.

Sterner fiscal policies could trigger significant reductions in military budgets worldwide. Perhaps most importantly, all nations, regardless of their wealth and political or military might, should finally understand that any crisis can be defused if they are able to work together in an international system that recognises that World War II and the Cold War are definitively over. It is not too late. [IPS Columnist Service | August 2012]

Germany Pledges to Revitalize Nuke Disarmament

By RAMESH JAURA

BERLIN (IDN) – The Geneva UN Conference on Disarmament (CD) has been turned into a talking shop because of the vested interests of a few mighty states without whose consent no genuine nuclear disarmament, not to speak of abolition of nuclear weapons, would ever be within the realm of possibility.

This formed the backdrop to an impassioned appeal by Ambassador Hellmut Hoffmann of Germany to representatives of 64 countries, including all nuclear weapon states, to avail of the potential of this United Nations body to rid the world of nuclear weapons. Germany took over from France the CD presidency on August 20.

The German Ambassador hit the nail of the head when he stressed that it was far from rewarding to engage in debates – as has become customary – about whether the CD was the only standing multilateral forum mandated to negotiate new agreements on disarmament and non-proliferation.

"But this is the point where I have to say that I would feel even more honoured presiding over our work if the Conference on Disarmament were actually in a state where it makes active use of this potential that is where it fulfils its own mandate. Unfortunately, as we are all aware, for many reasons this has not been the case for well over a decade," Ambassador Hoffmann told UN Radio.

Back home in Berlin, the Foreign Office said, Germany will use the four weeks of its Presidency (August 20 to 14 September 14) "to breathe new life into the work of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament and in particular to sound out possibilities for rapidly starting negotiations on a treaty banning the production and transfer of fissile material (FMCT)".

FMCT is a proposed international treaty to ban the further production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other explosive devices. The treaty has not been negotiated and its terms remain to be defined.

The world’s two leading nuclear powers, the United States and Russia differ on defining the fissile material. The United States maintains that fissile material includes high-enriched uranium and plutonium, except plutonium that is over 80% Pu-238.
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According to a proposal by Russia, fissile material would be limited to weapons-grade uranium (with more than 90% U-235) and plutonium (with more than 90% Pu-239).

But neither proposal would prohibit the production of fissile material for non-weapons purposes, including use in civil or naval nuclear reactors.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in recent years, the Geneva Conference on Disarmament has failed to launch any new treaty negotiations. One reason for this is that the Conference's decisions are not taken by majority, but by consensus. Due to individual member states' veto power, the Conference's efforts have been hampered since 1996.

Subsequently, no major progress has so far been achieved on the four core issues: FMCT, prevention of an arms race in outer space, nuclear disarmament and negative security assurances for non-nuclear weapon states.

It was with this in view that, concluding the CD Presidency of France, Ambassador Jean-Hugues Simon-Michel expressed regret that the Conference had still not been able to reach consensus on a programme of work. However, during the thematic discussions many members had expressed their views "in an interactive manner", he added.

The Geneva Conference on Disarmament was established in 1979 as the United Nations’ central and permanent forum for disarmament. It succeeded other Geneva-based negotiating fora, which include the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament (1960), the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (1962-68), and the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (1969-78).

CD is the world's single permanent, multilateral negotiating forum for disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation, and meets in an annual session for 24 weeks, divided into three parts. Germany has assumed CD's Presidency after ten years. It will conclude the meetings in 2012.

German Foreign Office sources said: "The German Government is energetically pressing for disarmament and arms control. Together with its partners it has repeatedly developed initiatives to overcome the dead end in Geneva. Most recently, Germany and the Netherlands jointly organized a series of events dealing with the technical preparations for an FMCT.

"Federal Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle has repeatedly pointed out the necessity of nuclear disarmament and advocated negotiations on a ban on the production of fissile material. In this respect, the Geneva negotiations play a key role.

"The Group of Friends of Disarmament and Non Proliferation, whose ten members include Germany, has time and again called for a revitalizing of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament and for the start of negotiations on a ban on the production of fissile material. However, to date these efforts have failed because of the obstructionist stance of some Conference members."

Negotiations stalled

The Conference participants very well know what is at stake. But vested interests have stalled the negotiations.

The on-going session of the Conference has on table a background note prepared by the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) on new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons, including radiological weapons.

The issue was first presented to the UN General Assembly in 1969 by Malta, and the Conference on Disarmament was consequently tasked with considering the implications of possible military applications of laser technology.

In 1975 the then Soviet Union tabled a draft international agreement in the General Assembly on the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons.
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However Western States, while supporting efforts to ban particular weapons of mass destruction, objected to the conclusion of a comprehensive convention banning unspecified future weapons. During the 1980s a subsidiary body on radiological weapons considered a number of working papers but no consensus emerged.

As the outgoing Conference president Ambassador Simon-Michel pointed out, since 1993 there has been no subsidiary body. In 2002 Germany tabled a discussion paper for revisiting the issue in light of new threats. But discussions since then have remained inconclusive.

Comprehensive programme

Ambassador Simon-Michel also outlined the history of a comprehensive programme on disarmament, an item which has been on the Conference’s agenda since 1980 but has not been considered as requiring a subsidiary body since 1989.

Views differ on whether nuclear disarmament could be conceived without parallel disarmament progress taking place in other areas such as radiological, biological and chemical weapons, with some States saying it should not be conditional on negotiations in other areas.

According to the Conference documents, some States have outlined in the ongoing session the catastrophic danger that transfers of weapons of mass destruction to non-State actors and terrorists could entail, while one (unnamed) State highlighted new types of information and communication technologies which were capable of undermining stability and security just as much as weapons of mass destruction.

India – which is a nuclear power without being a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty – favours a Comprehensive Programme on Disarmament that should consider not only nuclear disarmament but also other weapons and weapon systems which are crucial for maintaining international peace and security. The principles of such a programme should be universally applicable and relevant, and in that regard the Conference would play a leading role as the world’s sole multilateral forum on disarmament, India argues.

But India and Pakistan – two South Asian nuclear rivals – are at daggers drawn when it comes to achieving a consensus. [Read Halting Pakistan-India Nuclear Arms Race.]

France argues that general and complete disarmament under effective international control is the ultimate goal of the Conference, and an agenda item frequently used by the General Assembly. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is something to which France was especially attached.

But, the French representative at the ongoing CD session said, nuclear disarmament could not be conceived without parallel disarmament progress taking place in other areas such as radiological, biological and chemical weapons, nor overall independence of the strategic context.

He added: “For over 30 years France had made efforts towards humanitarian disarmament – treaties which aimed to prevent or disrupt production of weapons which caused certain harm to humans – and was very attached to those, and called for its universalization. France also called for the universalization of The Hague’s Code of Conduct against the proliferation of ballistic missiles and stressed the importance of that instrument to promote transparency of ballistic missiles.” [IDN-InDepthNews – August 27, 2012]
Halting Pakistan-India Nuclear Arms Race

By J C SURESH

TORONTO (IDN) - The two long-time South Asian rivals, India and Pakistan, are engaged in the world's most active nuclear arms race. India is estimated to have produced as many as 100 atomic weapons, and Pakistan is believed to have stockpiled a similar number if not more.

But, according to nuclear analysts, Hans M. Kristensen and Robert S. Norris, Islamabad is understood to be increasing its stockpile of warhead-grade nuclear material at a faster rate than any other country; it could in fact reach as many as 200 weapons over the next decade.

Added to this is the fact that years of talks between Pakistan and India on incremental military and nuclear confidence-building measures (CBM) have failed to prevent a regional weapons race and occasional flare-ups in bilateral relations.

India and Pakistan have agreed to alert each other subsequent to any atomic mishap. The countries have also promised not to attack each other's nuclear installations and once a year exchange secret lists of such sites. But those limited assurances have not stopped the two sides from continuing the arms race.

Earlier this year India carried out a highly publicized maiden trial launch of its Agni 5 ballistic missile, which has a strike range approaching that of an ICBM.

The Indian military is also understood to be about a year away from wielding its first nuclear-armed ballistic missile submarine. Once the INS Arihant begins sea patrols, India would have a full nuclear triad, giving the country an ability to launch atomic armaments by land, air or sea.

The Pakistani army has also developed a number of short-range, nuclear-capable missiles that analysts believe are aimed at countering New Delhi's conventional military edge. These arms might be used if Indian military forces cross into Pakistan.

Against this backdrop, Washington officials and experts to wonder if it is "time for a new, more ambitious approach", reports Rachel Oswald, the Global Security Newswire's staff writer.

Participants at a July 31 forum at the Henry L. Stimson Center offered a number of suggestions for symbolic moves that India and Pakistan could take to reinvigorate bilateral talks and signal their multi-year peace process is now a priority.

Initial symbolic actions could include new country visits by heads of state and providing humanitarian aid to one another following regional natural disasters, they said.

"Instead of trying to build slowly toward something, you try to make a fundamental change in the baseline," said Toby Dalton, deputy director of the Carnegie Endowment's Nuclear Policy Program, in a presentation at the forum. He defined the new approach as Indian and Pakistani government leaders prioritizing and taking on highly public and personal roles in bilateral peace negotiations.

Prospects for a lasting peace between the two long-time South Asian rivals seemed at their highest in February 1999, with the signing of the Lahore Declaration. That followed a summit by then-Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and his Indian counterpart at the time, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, according to Dalton.

As Oswald points out, in the Lahore agreement, New Delhi and Islamabad committed for the first time to giving each other advance notification of ballistic missile tests and to holding bilateral talks on options for improving mutual trust over conventional military and nuclear weapons issues. The accord was a relief for the region and the United States, which had been alarmed by the two nations' atomic tests the year before.
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The Lahore process

"The Lahore process was the apex of the CBM effort to date. It seemed like it had the potential to really shift the paradigm in a real way," said Dalton. However, just three months after the Lahore summit, Pakistani troops crossed into the Indian-controlled section of Kashmir. The ensuing short war led to a breakdown in bilateral relations and a renewed focus by both parties on weapons development.

Conventional and nuclear CBM talks since that time have largely been the domain of midlevel officials, as Pakistani and Indian government leaders have largely chosen to focus on economic affairs, according to Dalton.

The Carnegie nuclear expert believes that because South Asian leaders have not taken a great personal interest in CBM steps, the matter has been left to "risk-adverse bureaucrats" and "negotiations become an end in themselves rather than the beginning of something more meaningful."

Dalton said that some positive gains have been achieved through the two countries' multiyear peace process: increased bilateral trade, regular use of a military hotline, and adherence to a ballistic missile launch-notification mechanism.

The Global Security Newswire stresses that the India-Pakistan peace process focuses on simultaneously addressing divisive issues such as terrorism, the status of Kashmir, disputed natural resources, and nuclear weapons. It was most recently halted following the November 2008 terrorist attacks on the Indian city of Mumbai by Pakistani-based extremists. The talks were not revived until 2011.

The composite dialogue in the past has included discussions focused on reducing the prospects of a strategic miscalculation that leads to the use of nuclear weapons.

"One State Department official with regional expertise, speaking on condition of not being named, said there are 'lots of dance moves to pick from' that could stabilize the India-Pakistan security relationship. The official, who was not authorized to speak publicly about the matter, did not specify what those actions could be," writes Global Security Newswire's staff writer Oswald.

"The two sides differ over whether conventional and nuclear confidence-building measures should be discussed under the same umbrella," says Oswald. "There is recognition ... on one side that those issues are intrinsically related and a belief by the other that they are separate and need to be kept separate," the State official said.

According to analysts, India, which is the conventionally stronger military power, is seen to favour keeping the nuclear dialogue separate and insulated from other developments. Pakistan, on the other hand, views nuclear and conventional military issues as directly tied together. An argument in favour of separating the two is that should another crisis erupt, communication between the nations on atomic issues would not be cut off, thus lessening the chances of a costly miscalculation.

There is also a concern about involved parties wearying of CBM talks. "These discussions have been going on a long time back and forth," the State Department official said.

India reportedly was prepared at a CBM meeting in December 2011 to include cruise missile launches in the nations' years-old advance notification regime. Pakistan, however, wished to condition its assent to that step upon winning concessions on separate matters with New Delhi, according to Dalton. Ultimately no deal was announced that would expand prelaunch notifications to include cruise missiles.

Former U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan Wendy Chamberlin told forum participants a "hybrid approach" that includes both incremental CBM measures and high-profile, politically symbolic steps makes more sense.

Chamberlin, currently president of the Middle East Institute, noted grand gestures such as the late Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's historic 1977 visit to Israel. That trip resulted two years later in a peace treaty that still stands today between the two nations.
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Yet such steps are not sufficient by themselves in South Asia if there is not accompanying domestic buy-in, Chamberlin said. Any Pakistani leader who attempted to strike a far-reaching deal with India would have to have the support of Pakistan’s powerful military, she said.

Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has proposed visiting Pakistan before the year is over. Such a trip would be a "good symbolic move," said Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs Geoffrey Pyatt. Other important gestures could involve Islamabad permitting Indian products to travel through Pakistan on their way to Afghanistan. Islamabad thus far has been wary of India’s growing involvement in Kabul affairs.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee staffer Michael Phelan cautioned that incremental, trust-enforcing actions were necessary to sustain interest and resources toward the peace process. "The symbolic element is not what will sustain it," he said.

Noting it would take a desire by both nations for a lasting peace, or "two to tango," Stimson Center South Asia program director Michael Krepon suggested one country should take on the principal role in peace efforts. He did not specify whether that should fall to India or Pakistan.

"Tangos look pretty ugly when both parties are trying to lead," Krepon said. "You need a leader but you also need a follower. You need someone strong enough to follow."

Pyatt added that "economic drivers are absolutely essential" to strengthening and broadening the India-Pakistan peace dialogue.

"Probably the most strategic shift since 1998 is the shift that has taken place in attitudes toward commercial engagement," he said. Both nations now recognize there are substantial economic gains to be had by greater cross-border trade, as well as "opportunity costs for both countries for failure to move ahead on that," Pyatt said.

Dalton said he does not see much room for the United States to play the role of peace arbitrator in South Asia, as it has attempted to do in the Middle East peace process. This is largely because Washington is "not a trusted actor in Pakistan" and is viewed as too favourably tilted toward India, he said.

"Our declared even handed policy is not really seen as even handed. The United States, particularly over the last 10 years, has shifted toward India," Chamberlin agreed. This worries Pakistan, making it more insecure and less likely to take the big-risk steps needed for lasting peace, she said.

Instead of Washington, the International Atomic Energy Agency through its auspices as a facilitator of regional atomic safety training sessions, could play a key role in normalizing India-Pakistan security relations, Dalton suggested. This could be done by bringing scientists from both sides together with the common purpose of averting an atomic disaster in South Asia.

“Both India and Pakistan seem to trust the IAEA more than they seem to trust any other country,” he asserted.

Dalton pointed to the experiences of Russian and U.S. scientists cooperatively working together following the collapse of the Soviet Union to lock down vulnerable nuclear weapons and materials. That collaboration and ensuing familiarity between the two nations’ technical communities percolated upwards in smoothing the way for heightened engagement between Moscow and Washington. [IDN-InDepthNews – August 8, 2012]
What Others Say

'The World is over-armed and peace is under-funded'

By BAN Ki-MOON

[August 30, 2012] The following opinion piece by Secretary-General BAN Ki-moon has appeared in leading newspapers in Argentina, Bangladesh, Burundi, China, Germany, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Malaysia, The Philippines, Republic of Korea, Russia, Serbia, Turkey, Ukraine and European weekly publications and has been translated into 10 languages.

Last month, competing interests prevented agreement on a much-needed treaty that would have reduced the appalling human cost of the poorly regulated international arms trade. Meanwhile, nuclear disarmament efforts remain stalled, despite strong and growing global popular sentiment in support of this cause.

The failure of these negotiations and this month's anniversaries of the atomic bombings at Hiroshima and Nagasaki provide a good opportunity to explore what has gone wrong, why disarmament and arms control have proven so difficult to achieve, and how the world community can get back on track towards these vitally important goals.

Many defence establishments now recognize that security means far more than protecting borders. Grave security concerns can arise as a result of demographic trends, chronic poverty, economic inequality, environmental degradation, pandemic diseases, organized crime, repressive governance and other developments no state can control alone. Arms can't address such concerns.

Yet there has been a troubling lag between recognizing these new security challenges, and launching new policies to address them. National budget priorities still tend to reflect the old paradigms. Massive military spending and new investments in modernizing nuclear weapons have left the world over-armed -- and peace under-funded.

Last year, global military spending reportedly exceeded $1.7 trillion – more than $4.6 billion a day, which alone is almost twice the UN's budget for an entire year. This largesse includes billions more for modernizing nuclear arsenals decades into the future.

This level of military spending is hard to explain in a post-Cold War world and amidst a global financial crisis. Economists would call this an "opportunity cost". I call it human opportunities lost. Nuclear weapons budgets are especially ripe for deep cuts.

Such weapons are useless against today's threats to international peace and security. Their very existence is destabilizing: the more they are touted as indispensable, the greater is the incentive for their proliferation. Additional risks arise from accidents and the health and environmental effects of maintaining and developing such weapons.

The time has come to re-affirm commitments to nuclear disarmament, and to ensure that this common end is reflected in national budgets, plans and institutions.

Four years ago, I outlined a five-point disarmament proposal highlighting the need for a nuclear weapon convention or a framework of instruments to achieve this goal.

Photo above: Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon | Photo credit:UN Photo/Eskinder Debebe
What Others Say

Yet the disarmament stalemate continues. The solution clearly lies in greater efforts by States to harmonize their actions to achieve common ends. Here are some specific actions that all States and civil society should pursue to break this impasse.

Support efforts by the Russian Federation and the United States to negotiate deep, verified cuts in their nuclear arsenals, both deployed and un-deployed.

- Obtain commitments by others possessing such weapons to join the disarmament process.
- Establish a moratorium on developing or producing nuclear weapons or new delivery systems.
- Negotiate a multilateral treaty outlawing fissile materials that can be used in nuclear weapons.
- End nuclear explosions and bring into force the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty.
- Stop deploying nuclear weapons on foreign soil, and retire such weapons.
- Ensure that nuclear-weapon states report to a public UN repository on nuclear disarmament, including details on arsenal size, fissile material, delivery systems, and progress in achieving disarmament goals.
- Establish a Middle East zone free of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.
- Secure universal membership in treaties outlawing chemical and biological weapons.
- Pursue parallel efforts on conventional arms control, including an arms trade treaty, strengthened controls over the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons, universal membership in the Mine Ban, Cluster Munitions, and Inhumane Weapons Conventions, and expanded participation in the UN Report on Military Expenditures and the UN Register of Conventional Arms.
- Undertake diplomatic and military initiatives to maintain international peace and security in a world without nuclear weapons, including new efforts to resolve regional disputes.

And perhaps above all, we must address basic human needs and achieve the Millennium Development Goals. Chronic poverty erodes security. Let us dramatically cut spending on nuclear weapons, and invest instead in social and economic development, which serves the interests of all by expanding markets, reducing motivations for armed conflicts, and in giving citizens a stake in their common futures. Like nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, such goals are essential for ensuring human security and a peaceful world for future generations.

No development, no peace. No disarmament, no security. Yet when both advance, the world advances, with increased security and prosperity for all. These are common ends that deserve the support of all nations.
Could Malta Lead the Way to Nuke Disarmament?

By MARTIN E. HELLMAN*

STANFORD - At first, it might seem inconceivable that tiny Malta could lead the world in solving an issue as momentous as nuclear disarmament. To see that possibility requires recognizing that nuclear disarmament is a process involving a number of steps. Malta cannot take some of the later steps in the process, but is ideal for making the first move.

The approach is similar to a business strategy known as market segmentation. If a small company develops a product that the whole world needs, initially it would fail if it marketed the product globally. Its resources would be too small for that task. The company first needs to focus on a smaller market that is commensurate with its resources. Only after achieving success there can it branch out, using the new resources created by its initial success to sell into ever-larger markets. The initial market should be chosen based on its size and its openness to the new product.

Apple Incorporated, today the world’s most valuable publicly traded company, provides a good example. When Steve Jobs and Steve Wozniak developed the Apple I in 1976, they marketed it through the Homebrew Computer Club in Silicon Valley. At that point in time, trying to sell personal computers to the average person would have been a dismal failure. Most people thought of computers as being of interest only to major businesses with large data processing needs. This small group of computer hobbyists had no such barriers to acceptance. They couldn’t wait to get their hands on a personal computer.

The Apple I gave the company the credibility and the resources to develop the Apple II, and to get the VisiCalc spreadsheet programme, generally recognized as the first “killer app,” written for that machine. VisiCalc opened up a new market segment of businesses that were using paper and pencil spreadsheets. Those required laborious hand calculations every time a spreadsheet entry changed. With VisiCalc, once an entry was changed, the spreadsheet was updated in the blink of an eye. Apple continued this approach, conquering market segment after market segment, until today it is ubiquitous.

In the same way that Apple conquered the world by market segmentation, proponents of nuclear disarmament need to work one step at a time and look beyond the limited success that is possible today. For the world to treat this issue as the existential threat that it is, first one nation needs to do so, and Malta is ideal for that role. Its small population is almost a hundred times easier to reach than that of the United States, and the Maltese people do not fear loss of national prestige or economic dislocations from nuclear disarmament.

Just as the nations of the world will become involved in resolving the nuclear threat one at a time, the same is true within Malta’s population. Market segmentation is needed again to identify groups of individuals within Malta who are most receptive to this issue, and who can then serve as springboards for reaching the population as a whole. Malta’s Rotary Clubs, the University of Malta’s programme in conflict analysis and resolution, and the Peace Lab at Hal Far are potential candidates and readers who have other suggestions are requested to contact Dave Pace of the ICT Gozo Malta Project (dave.pace@ictgozomalta.eu). Within each such group, the first step is to find a few innovators who are willing to start the process. If you might consider playing that role, please contact Dave Pace, and we will provide more information to help you decide.

Once a nucleus of concerned individuals has been formed in such an organization, it is important to stay focused on reaching a tipping point or critical mass within that group, and not diverting too much energy outside the group. Human beings are social animals and much more likely to become involved in this issue if they hear about it from several of their peers. So a small number of committed individuals within a group of 100 is more effective than a thousand dispersed within Malta’s general population. When critical mass is achieved within the group, the issue becomes of general interest, providing energy for replicating the process in other groups.

Writer’s portrait image credit: Stanford University
What Others Say

There is a critical difference between people being sympathetic to the goal of nuclear disarmament and seeing it as necessary for survival. To see the difference, imagine the outcry that would result if Italy revived the plans advanced in 2008 by Silvio Berlusconi to supply Italy with electricity from a nuclear power plant to be built on Malta. Yet the risk to Malta from a nuclear power plant located on its soil is much smaller than the risk it bears right now due to other nations’ reliance on nuclear weapons. Even though the weapons are located thousands of kilometres away and not targeted on Malta, they pose a far greater threat to Malta than the proposed nuclear power plant.

Without a fundamental change, it is only a matter of time before a mistake, an accident, or a miscalculation destroys civilization by setting off the booby trap known as nuclear deterrence. That nearly happened 50 years ago, during the Cuban Missile Crisis, and there have been far too many other near misses, including in recent years. (The previous instalment in this series gave several examples, and more will be highlighted in future essays.)

If enough Maltese recognised that nuclear disarmament was necessary for their survival, Malta would become an island of reality within a sea of denial. Once that occurs, Malta can take the process to the next step by encouraging other nations to join its effort. The key first step is for some nation to assume the leadership role by acting consistently with the realities of the nuclear age. If you would like Malta to be that nation, please contact Dave Pace (dave.pace@ictgozomalta.eu) to start a dialogue on how to do that.

*Martin E. Hellman is Professor Emeritus of Electrical Engineering at Stanford University and founder of Defusing the Nuclear Threat. This article was first published on August 19, 2012 in the Malta Independent Online and was written with the support of ICT Gozo Malta Project’s Ron Kelson (Synaptic Labs), Dave Pace, and Benjamin Gittins (Synaptic Labs).

Hiroshima, Nagasaki Bombings Were Avoidable

Viewpoint by DAVID KRIEGER*

SANTA BARBARA - Nuclear Age Peace Foundation) - On August 14, 1945, Japan surrendered and World War II was over. American policy makers have argued that the atomic bombs were the precipitating cause of the surrender. Historical studies of the Japanese decision, however, reveal that what the Japanese were most concerned with was the Soviet Union’s entry into the war.

Japan surrendered with the understanding that the emperor system would be retained. The U.S. agreed to do what Truman had been advised to do before the bombings: it signalled to the Japanese that they would be allowed to retain the emperor. This has left historians to speculate that the war could have ended without either the use of the two atomic weapons on Japanese cities or an Allied invasion of Japan.

The U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey concluded that, even without the use of the atomic bombs, without the Soviet Union entering the war and without an Allied invasion of Japan, the war would have ended before December 31, 1945 and, in all likelihood, before November 1, 1945.

Prior to the use of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the U.S. was destroying Japanese cities at will with conventional bombs. The Japanese were offering virtually no resistance. The U.S. dropped atomic bombs on a nation that had been largely defeated and was trying to surrender at the time of the bombings.

Despite strong evidence that the atomic bombings were not responsible for ending the war with Japan, most Americans, particularly those who lived through World War II, believe that they were. Many World War II era servicemen who were in the Pacific or anticipated being shipped there believed that the bombs saved them from fighting hard battles on the shores of Japan, as had been fought on the islands of Iwo Jima and Okinawa.

*David Krieger is President of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation. This article appeared under the headline 'Were the Atomic Bombings Necessary?' on July 30, 2012 and is being re-published in view of its profound significance.
What Others Say

What they did not take into account was that the Japanese were trying to surrender, that the U.S. had broken the Japanese codes and knew they were trying to surrender, and that, had the U.S. accepted their offer, the war could have ended without the use of the atomic bombs.

Most high ranking Allied military leaders were appalled by the use of the atomic bombs. General Eisenhower, the Supreme Commander of Allied Forces Europe, recognized that Japan was ready to surrender and said, "It wasn't necessary to hit them with that awful thing." General Hap Arnold, commander of the U.S. Army Air Corps pointed out, "Atomic bomb or no atomic bomb, the Japanese were already on the verge of collapse."

Barbarous weapon

Admiral William Leahy, Truman's chief of staff, put it this way: "The use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan. The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender. In being the first to use it, we adopted an ethical standard common to barbarians of the Dark Ages. Wars cannot be won by destroying women and children."

What Truman had described as "the greatest thing in history" was actually, according to his own military leaders, an act of unparalleled cowardice, the mass annihilation of men, women and children. The use of the atomic bombs was the culmination of an air war fought against civilians in Germany and Japan, an air war that showed increasing contempt for the lives of civilians and for the laws of war.

The end of the war was a great relief to those who had fought for so long. There were nuclear scientists, though, who now regretted what they had created and how their creations had been used. One of these was Leo Szilard, the Hungarian émigré physicist who had warned Einstein of the possibility of the Germans creating an atomic weapon first and of the need for the U.S. to begin a bomb project. Szilard had convinced Einstein to send a letter of warning to Roosevelt, which led at first to a small project to explore the potential of uranium to sustain a chain reaction and then to the Manhattan Project that resulted in the creation of the first atomic weapons.

Attempt to spare civilians

Szilard did his utmost to prevent the bomb from being used against Japanese civilians. He wanted to meet with President Franklin Roosevelt, but Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945. He next tried to meet with the new president, Harry Truman, but Truman sent him to Spartanburg, South Carolina to talk with his mentor in the Senate, Jimmy Byrnes, who was dismissive of Szilard. Szilard then tried to organize the scientists in the Manhattan Project to appeal for a demonstration of the bomb rather than immediately using it on a Japanese city. The appeal was stalled by General Leslie Groves, the head of the Manhattan Project, and did not reach President Truman until after the atomic bombs were used.

The use of the bomb caused many other scientists to despair as well. Albert Einstein deeply regretted that he had written to President Roosevelt. He did not work on the Manhattan Project, but he had used his influence to encourage the start of the American bomb project.

Einstein, like Szilard, believed that the purpose of the U.S. bomb project was to deter the use of a German bomb. He was shocked that, once created, the bomb was used offensively against the Japanese. Einstein would spend the remaining ten years of his life speaking out against the bomb and seeking its elimination. He famously said: "The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything except our modes of thinking, and thus we drift toward unparalleled catastrophe."
Hiroshima condemns Trident replacement

By KATE HUDSON | CND General Secretary

(August 5, 2012) Repeated anger has been expressed at the Hiroshima memorial conference this week, at the continued failure of the nuclear weapon states to disarm. Several thousand delegates from across Japan have attended, together with over 50 foreign delegates. The organisers, Japanese anti-nuclear movement Gensuikyo, have had to book a large modern sports arena to fit them in.

CND representative, Ben Folley, reports from Hiroshima:

'As the delegates pour into the city, a peace march of hundreds who have walked from Tokyo also arrives at the Memorial Peace Park. The Japanese anti-nuclear movement is growing - many are from amongst the hibakusha - the survivors of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But many others are young people - around 600 attended Saturday's youth rally, calling for a nuclear free world.

Anger is directed at the five nuclear weapon signatories of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, including Britain, for ignoring their disarmament commitment and going ahead with modernising their nuclear arsenals. The failure of the 2010 NPT Review Conference to establish a negotiation framework or timetable for a Nuclear Weapons Convention to ban all nuclear weapons is repeatedly raised.

There is little faith that the nuclear weapons states are prepared to change course and take disarmament seriously. Some delegates to the conference have called for civil society to boycott the next Review Conference, others have called for more radical protest outside it.

But there is complete agreement that the citizens of the nuclear weapon states should know how isolated their governments are amongst the nations of the world.

Britain's decision to replace Trident comes in for significant criticism - it is understood the new submarines are being designed to last until the 2060s - potentially to the NPT hundredth anniversary. But growing budgets for defence and for nuclear arsenals in the US and Russia have also faced significant anger. All the nuclear weapon states are seen to have turned their back on their promises.

And the US has also been criticised for its strategic turn to the Asia-Pacific, Japan's close military relations with the US concerns many in the country. The recent arrival of new Osprey aircraft to the US base at Okinawa has generated major protests. Other reports suggest a large expansion of US military assets on Guam, into the Phillipines and via a new South Korean naval base at Jeju. The announcement of a strategic turn is fast becoming a military build-up.

The repeated call for Japanese disengagement from military agreements with the US remains rooted in the experience of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The human impact of the atomic bombings is all around you in Hiroshima. The city's Remembrance Hall shows walls of photos of civilians killed, many babies and frail older people, while other images show buildings reduced to rubble as far as the eye can see. The hibakusha who were not at the centre of the blast line up in conference workshops recalling bodies that looked like charcoal, tragic survivors burnt red - clothes incinerated - throwing themselves into and piling up in the river, while others recall 'black rain' and their friends and family slowly succumbing to radiation sickness in the following weeks and years.

Many of the hibakusha who have campaigned for nuclear disarmament for decades since the attack are losing hope. But the impact of the bombing on the city and its inhabitants will be scrutinised at a conference hosted by the Norwegian government in March 2013 to try and kick start talks for real warhead reductions.

Britain's contribution must be to scrap Trident. If there is any day when we can recognise the necessity of nuclear disarmament, it is the 6th August. Never forget.'
For a World Without Wars or Nuclear Weapons

By Kodama Michiko*

[August 03, 2012] The Great East Japan Earthquake that hit the region on March 11 last year caused the catastrophic damage, which reminded us of the A-bomb disaster in Hiroshima and Nagasaki that fell upon us Hibakusha. The radiation damage from the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant accident, which shook the entire world, has put us into anxiety, distrust and irritation without any perspective for convergence even after a year and half have passed. In the 67th year since the atomic bombing, once again we are facing the terrifying effects of nuclear damage.

The Hibakusha, who have continued to carry on the message “No more Hibakusha,” are filled with pain and anger.

Hiroshima after the U.S. dropped an atomic bomb on August 6, 1945. I am a Hibakusha, a victim of the first nuclear war in the history of the world, when the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima in 1945. At the time, I was 7 years old, a second grader in primary school.

At 8:15 am on August 6, 1945, I was inside the wooden school building. Suddenly I felt a blinding flash. The next moment, the ceiling of the building collapsed and sharp splinters of windowpanes flew all around. They stuck into the walls, desks and floor of the classroom, and also into my skin. I don't remember how much time passed before I crawled out of the room to the corridor, leaving behind my classmates trapped between the beams. In the school infirmary I had the glass splinters removed from my skin, but there were no medicines, gauze or bandages to treat my injuries.

My father managed to come to the school to find me. On my way home, carried on my father’s back, I witnessed hell on earth. I saw a man with burned and peeled skin dangling from his body. A mother was carrying a baby, which was burned-black and looked like charcoal. She herself was heavily burned all over her body and was trying to flee from the place, almost crawling on the ground. More and more people tried to cling on to us, saying, “Give me water, water, water…” Unable to give any kind of help to them, we just left them there and hurried home.

Shortly before the atomic bombing, my house was located near ground zero, and I used to go to school about only 350 meters away. But our family was forced to move away from the city center by order of the government, and I changed school too. If we had stayed in our old place, I would not be alive to tell you the story. Later I learned that about 400 pupils in my old school were burned and killed instantly by the bomb, leaving no traces, not even their ashes.

When I arrived home 3.5 kilometers from the blast center, I found the roof of the house blown away by the blast and fragments of glass scattered all around. “Black Rain” fell into the house, and traces of the “Black Rain” on the wall remained for a long time.

Neighbors of our old house near ground zero and our relatives began to arrive, seeking help and shelter. Among them was my favorite cousin, who was like a big sister for me. She had been mobilized to work around the area 500 meters from the blast center when the bomb exploded. Half of her face, her entire back and her right leg were severely burned, sore and raw. In the intense summer heat, her burns quickly festered. Flies swarmed and laid their eggs in her flesh. Soon maggots bred and crawled around over her body. All I could do for my beloved cousin was to pick these maggots out and wipe her oozing body. She often cried, “Ouch...oh it hurts,” but her voice became lower and lower, and on the morning of the third day -- probably it was August 9 -- she breathed her last in my arms. She was 14 years old. Another cousin, who was in fifth grade of primary school, was suffering from diarrhea, although he had no injuries or burns. About a week later, he bled from his ears and nose, vomited blood clots from his mouth and died suddenly. One after the other, several of my uncles and aunts followed my cousins within a matter of month.

Their deaths were not caused by any illness. They were killed by the atomic bomb used in the war.

*Ms. Kodama Michiko is Assistant Secretary General of Japan Confederation of A- and H-Bombs Sufferers Organizations (Nihon Hidankyo).
Civil Society Perspective

Autumn breezes began to blow and I found my hair starting to fall out. My parents did everything possible to save me, using folk medicines and other means. They later died of cancer. I am so grateful to my parents. I believe I have been able to survive to this day thanks to their love.

However, the atomic bomb continued to afflict me in my later life. Whenever I tried to get a job or get married, I suffered from prejudice and discrimination just because I was a Hibakusha. When I became pregnant, I was tremendously worried, wondering if I would give birth to a baby who would be seen as a Hibakusha's child. Around that period, many Hibakusha could not get married, or gave up hope of getting married. Even after marriage, they often suffered repeated stillbirths and miscarriages, or lost their children prematurely due to illness.

One of my close Hibakusha friends went through 6 stillbirths and miscarriages. Her husband beat her, saying that it was because she was a Hibakusha that they could not have children. She used to say she had a racking pain in her hip, and eventually she died.

The atomic bomb completely deprived us of ordinary daily lives for human beings.

It is most painful for me now to speak about my daughter. She was suddenly taken with cancer. She made a tearful and difficult decision to take a major operation, believing that it would make her healthy again. After the 13-hour operation, in fear of the recurrence or metastasis of cancer, she was going through the treatment and rehabilitation, despite great physical and mental pains. But she died abruptly, only 4 months after she was first diagnosed.

When I got pregnant with her, after much wavering over the possible radiation effect on the baby, I finally decided to give birth to her. So her death has given me deep sorrow and vexation. But now, a year after her death, I am determined to go forward, as I believe she is always with me, encouraging and supporting me.

It is still not proven whether a second generation Hibakusha is more likely to suffer cancer or not. But it is clear that radiation would affect the human genes, which is a cause for big anxiety among second and third generation Hibakusha.

The Hibakusha are, even without any physical problems, doomed to suffer, to be distressed, to moan and get angry at every important junction in their lives. The aftereffects of the atomic bomb continue to bring hardships to the survivors across the board through their lives, physically, mentally and in their living conditions.

Such experiences as ours should never be inflicted on any of you, nor on anyone in the world. It is inevitable that nuclear bombs would cause untold damage to human beings if they would ever be used again whether on purpose or by accident.

We now demand of the leaders of the nuclear weapons states that they should see with their own eyes the reality of the damage caused on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They claim that they are for deterrence. However, deterrence means a threat based on the possible actual use of these weapons. We the Hibakusha refuse to accept any threat or use of nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons are clearly inhumane weapons. Nuclear weapons are weapons of the devil, which cannot coexist with humanity.

The world is still loaded with more than 20,000 nuclear warheads. Each one of them is said to be dozens of times of more destructive than the Hiroshima-type bomb.

That nuclear weapons exist on earth should not be allowed from the humanitarian point of view.

Dear friends, the Hibakusha do not have much time left. Thank you for listening today. Let us work hard together to realize a world without nuclear weapons, with "No more Hibakusha" as the goal. In particular, we have a high expectation for young people.

We hope that the 2015 NPT Review Conference will achieve significant results. On my part, I will also continue to tell about the damage caused by nuclear weapons as long as I live.

Weapons into Ploughshares and Crises into Opportunity

ARABIC
http://www.ipsinternational.org/arabic/nota.asp?idnews=2639

JAPANESE

兵器を鋤に、危機を機会に
【ニューヨークIPS＝セルジオ・ドゥアルテ】
米国における主要金融機関の倒産とともに数年前に始まった危機は、いまや欧州に飛び火し、世界の他の地域を脅かすようになった。健全な経済・財政政策や時宜を得た内需拡大策によってこれまでのところ被害を免れてきたアジアやラテンアメリカの新興国も、いまや、二次被害を受けつつある。

Halting Pakistan-India Nuclear Arms Race

GERMAN

HINDI

JAPANESE

NORWEGIAN