



# BEYOND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

NEWSLETTER FOR STRENGTHENING AWARENESS OF NUCLEAR ABOLITION WITH OCTOBER 2011 ARTICLES

This newsletter is part of Inter Press Service (IPS) and Soka Gakkai International (SGI) project. It includes independent news and analyses as well as columns by experts, news from international NGOs and a review of the global media for a glimpse of what is happening on the ground. Newspaper articles reproduced in this newsletter are for personal use and aim at giving information to readers. Reproduction in whole or in part without permission is prohibited.

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### **Finland to Host Conference for WMD-Free Middle East**

UNITED NATIONS - After much delay, Finland has been chosen to host a 2012 conference to establish a zone free of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) in the Middle East. The meeting aims to bring together all Middle Eastern countries, some of which share a long history of disagreement, such as Iran and Israel. **Read more on page 2**

### **Germany: Anti-Nuclear Exhibit Calls for Culture of Peace**

BERLIN - The question which is safer - the heavily armed world we live in now, or a world in which all peoples' basic needs are met - is one core issue of an antinuclear exhibition that has reached Germany after touring more than 220 cities in 28 countries. **Read more on page 4**

### **Pressure Builds on Iran at Nuclear Watchdog Agency**

WASHINGTON - As Iran continues a slow march toward potential nuclear weapons capability, diplomatic action to contain the programme is likely to shift to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), whose director general, Yukiya Amano, has taken a harder line than his predecessor about alleged military research by Iran's nuclear scientists. **Read more on page 6**

### **Free the World from the Nuclear Chain**

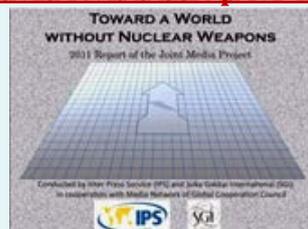
BERLIN - Nuclear Power and the Bomb are inextricably linked through an atomic chain. The nuclear era began in Germany, so we have a specific responsibility to end it sooner rather than later. . . .We talk about abandoning nuclear energy or abolishing nuclear weapons. But this is not enough. They are only the visible products of a whole chain of production that binds us – the nuclear chain. This chain does much more damage than we are aware of. **Read more on page 8**

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<http://www.nuclearabolition.net/documents/Toward a World without Nuclear Weapons.pdf>

**Compilation of Articles April 2010-March 2011**



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## IPS Report

### Finland to Host Conference for WMD-Free Middle East

By Elizabeth Whitman



◀ Ambassador Jaakko Laajava | Photo credit: Tessa Oksanen

UNITED NATIONS, Oct 19, 2011 (IPS) - After much delay, Finland has been chosen to host a 2012 conference to establish a zone free of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) in the Middle East. The meeting aims to bring together all Middle Eastern countries, some of which share a long history of disagreement, such as Iran and Israel.

Jaakko Laajava, under-secretary of state in Finland's ministry of foreign affairs, will act as the facilitator for the conference, U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon announced Oct. 14.

The long-awaited decision, announced jointly by Ban and the governments of the Russia, the UK and the U.S., is one step forward in a painstaking process that has spanned more than two decades since Egypt first proposed the idea in 1990.

Arms control and disarmament groups welcomed the decision and the choice of Finland as host, but they also raised concerns about the implications of the delay in naming the host and facilitator, as well as remaining challenges to holding the conference and ultimately establishing a WMD-free Middle East.

Appointing someone was "positive, obviously", said Anne Penketh, programme director in Washington for the British American Security Information Council (BASIC).

"But the fact that it has taken until mid-October does raise questions... over whether logistically it's going to be possible to organise such a complex event in 2012," she told IPS.

Still, "the conference would be a major, major step particularly if Iran and Israel are at the same table for discussions on their mutual security," said Penketh.

Daryl Kimball, executive director of the Arms Control Association, called the decision "a very good development". Now, he said, "the task is to make the meeting happen, to ensure that all of the key parties in the region show up and constructively engage on the topic," an achievement that "is by no means certain".

Attention should turn to "beginning a practical dialogue among these countries about nuclear, chemical and biological weapons issues... whether that's Iran or Israel or Syria," Kimball said.

Will progress remain elusive?

Following Egypt's proposal in 1990, a WMD-free zone in the Middle East was first officially called for during the 1995 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) review conference, but not until 2010 NPT review conference did states agree on a process to accomplish that goal.

One of the steps agreed upon then was to hold a conference in 2012, with Russia, the UK, the U.S. and the U.N. leading those efforts.

Finally, deciding on a host and facilitator for the conference indicates progress in the effort to bring together countries over such an intractable issue, but it does not guarantee that the conference will be a success. ➡



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"It's absolutely vital that the key governments come to this meeting with constructive ideas about how the region can move along the path towards" disarmament, Kimball said. "Doing so is going to require some initial steps." Each country has certain steps to take in terms of signing and implementing treaties, be they nuclear, biological or test ban treaties, he said.

Yet diplomatic language discussing efforts leading up to the conference is laced with doubts, caveats and preconditions.

"We hope the 2012 conference will be an opportunity for productive discussion," Kurtis Cooper, deputy spokesperson for the U.S. Mission to the U.N., told IPS. He said the U.S. has urged states to take "practical and constructive steps to remove the obstacles to achieving this goal".

A WMD-free Middle East is "an achievable goal", he said, "but it will not happen overnight."

"We recognise that this goal can only be achieved in the context of a comprehensive and durable peace in the Middle East, and after Iran and Syria return to full compliance with their existing international agreements."

In a similar statement, the UK said it remained committed to the establishment of a Middle East free of WMDs. "But it will not happen overnight nor without the commitment and support of all states in the region."

It called the conference "a first step in what will be a challenging process" and "a real opportunity for the region to discuss", but only with "the full commitment of all the states in the region, and the wider international community".

### **Other challenges**

If doubts about how productive the meeting will be are not serious enough, then concerns about current conditions in the Middle East affecting the conference's prospects certainly are.

"Practical issues" such as the ongoing Arab spring or an alleged plot by Iran to assassinate the Saudi ambassador to the U.S. can hinder the process, Penketh said. "This kind of conference is not operating in a vacuum", and many "political sensitivities... need to be navigated".

Laajava outlined the proposed time frame as being broadly 2012, according to Helsingin Sanomat.

That choice of words, particularly "broadly", "opens the door to a possible delay", said Penketh.

Separately, the fact that Laajava is not known for having a background in Middle Eastern affairs "could be an asset in this situation", Penketh said. As an outsider, he could be able to identify problems much more clearly than people who have been heavily involved or invested over the years.

Israel, the only state in the region with nuclear weapons, has expressed concern that – and the desire not to attend if – the conference would target it for its undeclared arsenal.

Kimball stressed that ensuring the conference is productive continues to be a challenge, even though the conference's locale has been established. Countries have to be prepared to take action both prior to and following the conference.

"This has to be the beginning of a process," he said. "It's important that this meeting is not just an exercise in getting certain diplomats from certain countries to show up and then leave."



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### Germany: Anti-Nuclear Exhibit Calls for Culture of Peace

By Karina Boeckmann



BERLIN. Oct 11, 2011 (IPS) - The question which is safer - the heavily armed world we live in now, or a world in which all peoples' basic needs are met - is one core issue of an antinuclear exhibition that has reached Germany after touring more than 220 cities in 27 countries.

In the wake of the nuclear disaster at Japan's Fukushima plant in March, which drew the world's attention to the limits of nuclear safety, the question seems more legitimate than ever.

At the Oct. 7 opening of the exhibition "From a Culture of Violence to a Culture of Peace: Transforming the Human Spirit" in Berlin, Hiromasa Ikeda, vice president of Soka Gakkai International (SGI), gave the German capital a prize as a city of peace.

The SGI also declared Germany's anti-nuclear movement a model for Japan, which is so far the only victim of devastating nuclear attacks. More than 160,000 people died immediately after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

The SGI exhibition brought to Berlin is comprised of 18 panels that document the threat of nuclear weapons in pictures and words and offer a wide range of reasons and arguments in favour of global peace, disarmament and non-proliferation.

SGI is a lay Buddhist movement linking more than 12 million people around the world to promote peace, culture and education through personal change and social contribution. It is committed to the abolition of one of the biggest threats to mankind: nuclear weapons.

"Today humanity faces a daunting array of challenges – from poverty and environmental destruction to devastating unemployment and financial instability – which require the joint, coordinated response of all nations," SGI President Daisaku Ikeda said in a message read out during the opening of the Berlin exhibition.

"These challenges make all the more clear the folly of diverting precious human and economic resources to the maintenance of nuclear arsenals. What humanity requires is genuine security, not nuclear weapons," he added.

The exhibition, which will run through Oct 16, documents the "folly" of investing in a culture of war instead of development. Currently countries spend more than one trillion dollars a year on global military expenditures and the arms trade – an average of 173 dollars for each person on the planet, one panel reads.

"We could meet the basic human needs of every person on earth if 70 - 80 billion dollars – less than 10 percent of the world's military spending – were redirected to that purpose," it adds.

The weapons arsenals still comprise more than 20,000 nuclear heads, which could annihilate all life on earth several times over.

"Now is the time for global civil society and political leaders of conscience to come together to work for the noble goal of a world without nuclear weapons," said Daisaku Ikeda. "The realisation of a Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC) outlawing these weapons of mass destruction should be the first milestone to which we aspire." He renewed his call for the prompt start of negotiations on such a convention.

His son Hiromasa Ikeda underlined in an address to some 100 invited participants from different walks of life the importance of challenging the rationale of nuclear deterrence. Nuclear weapons don't contribute to human security, he said, but reflect an "ossified thinking" 20 years after the end of the Cold War. ➡

Photo credit: Seikyo Shimibun



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"As the Cold War faded in the final years of the 20th century, the threat of global nuclear war seemed to recede. But the world missed the opportunity to dismantle the structures and the logic of nuclear deterrence," said the vice president of SGI.

The Japanese in general have a very negative stance towards nuclear weapons – a legacy of the traumatic experiences of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But until the atomic accident in Fukushima they had largely accepted the peaceful use of nuclear power.

"Now the Japanese public finds itself facing both the possible dangers of nuclear power generation and, at the same time, the difficulties of securing acceptable alternative sources of energy," Hirotsugu Terasaki, executive director of SGI's office of peace affairs, told IPS.

"In light of this, the unconditional rejection of nuclear power does not seem to be an appropriate response. Nor can we deliberately ignore the very real role that nuclear power presently plays in meeting the world's energy needs," he said.

"But over the short- and medium-term, the role of nuclear power should be limited to that of a transitional or bridging technology until alternative technologies mature," he added. "Its role should be limited to enabling humanity to reach the renewable, clean energy society of the future."

"The time has come to rid us of nuclear bonds," said Xanthe Hall from the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), which together with the development and peace organisation Global Cooperation Council (GCC) is organising the Berlin exhibition.

Every single link of the chain of nuclear production, she said, from excavation and enrichment of uranium to the disposal of atomic waste, poses a threat to humankind, causing illnesses like cancer, genetic defects and environmental damages.

In her view it's not enough to abandon nuclear energy, as Germany is doing after deciding to close down all atomic power plants by 2022. The reason: every link in the chain of nuclear production causes radiation and therefore threatens humankind and the environment.

The IPPNW campaigns for a worldwide ban on uranium excavation, uranium weapons, the production of fissile materials, an end to the transport of nuclear materials, the entry into force of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), and a NWC.

Sun and wind have never caused wars, Hall said. "So let's free ourselves from nuclear chains and the danger of nuclear terrorism. I hope that we'll reach this aim in our lifetime."

"It's regrettable but until now peace is not yet anchored in the human spirit and the new NATO strategy is a good example," said lawmaker Uta Zapf, chair of the German parliamentary subcommittee for Disarmament, Arms Control and Non-Proliferation.

"We are surrounded by friends and partners – why don't we abstain from atomic deterrence? Let's get involved as you do with your exhibition, let's all work together with those who want to build a culture of peace and to ban the inhuman evil of nuclear weapons," she said.



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## IPS Report

### **Pressure Builds on Iran at Nuclear Watchdog Agency**

**By Barbara Slavin**

WASHINGTON, Oct 5, 2011 (IPS) - As Iran continues a slow march toward potential nuclear weapons capability, diplomatic action to contain the programme is likely to shift to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), whose director general, Yukiya Amano, has taken a harder line than his predecessor about alleged military research by Iran's nuclear scientists.

Experts on the Iranian nuclear programme are looking toward the IAEA's Nov. 17-18 board meeting in Vienna for new criticism of Tehran, including a possible finding that Iran has not complied with its obligations to be honest about alleged nuclear studies with a military dimension.

Since he took office in late 2009, Amano, a non-proliferation specialist and Japan's former representative to the nuclear watchdog organisation, has spoken much more explicitly and insistently than his Egyptian predecessor, Mohamed ElBaradei, about alleged Iranian studies of warhead designs and ways to initiate nuclear explosions.

Amano told the IAEA board Sep. 12 that, "the Agency is increasingly concerned about the possible existence in Iran of past or current undisclosed nuclear related activities involving military related organizations, including activities related to the development of a nuclear payload for a missile, about which the Agency continues to receive new information."

Amano added, "In the near future, I hope to set out in greater detail the basis for the Agency's concerns so that all Member States are fully informed."

A Western diplomat in Vienna told IPS that that comment by Amano triggered speculation that he will provide significant new information about Iran in the next report to the board, due out around Nov. 9. The diplomat, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said that member states, led by Western countries, might use the material as a basis to find Iran in non-compliance with its obligations under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Such a finding was first reached in 2006 and resulted in the issue being taken up by the U.N. Security Council, which has passed six resolutions against Iran, including four that specify sanctions. Another resolution seems unlikely now, given Russian and Chinese resistance.

However, the diplomat said that a new finding would increase pressure on governments to tighten implementation of punitive measures already in place. These include an embargo on arms sales to and from Iran and tight export controls over materials that Iran could use for its nuclear programme.

"This issue has been marked by incremental escalation on all sides," the diplomat said, referring both to sanctions and Iran's slow but steady expansion of uranium enrichment and other technologies with potential weapons applications.

The U.S. intelligence community, in a 2007 estimate, said it had "high confidence" that Iran had halted weapons-related nuclear work in 2003 and "medium confidence" that the programme had not resumed through mid-2007. A 2011 intelligence estimate appears to have been less categorical but has not been made public.

Michael Adler, a public policy scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, said that the IAEA was receiving a considerable amount of new information to augment documents and other materials smuggled out of Iran several years ago by the wife of an Iranian spying for Germany and later gathered by foreign intelligence agencies on a computer nicknamed "the laptop of death".

Iran has called the material forgeries while admitting that some of the information about alleged studies is correct. Olli Heinonen, former deputy director of the IAEA, says that there have been no detailed discussions about the allegations since the summer of 2008. ➔



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Adler, who covered the IAEA as a reporter for Agence France Presse and who is writing a book on the Iranian nuclear programme, told a conference at the Woodrow Wilson Center Sep. 30 that Iran appears to have dismantled some of the units doing weapons research in 2003 and reassembled elements of the programme "below the radar screen", focusing on work that also can have civilian purposes.



He added that "Amano and other officials say there is increasing evidence Iran resumed weaponisation work after 2003 and especially after 2006."

Jim Walsh, a non-proliferation expert at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, says there is a danger that the IAEA could lose credibility if it takes too tough a line against Iran without publicising hard evidence to back up its claims.

"They could lose access and make a diplomatic solution more difficult if they are seen as a handmaiden of the U.S.," Walsh told IPS. "They need to say what they've got."

The new focus on the IAEA comes at a time when other diplomatic efforts have waned.

Several Iranian officials, including President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, have said recently that Iran would stop producing uranium enriched to 20 percent of a key isotope, U-235, if foreign countries would provide Iran with the fuel for a reactor that makes medical isotopes. Iran has amassed more than 70 kilogrammes of this moderately enriched uranium, which is perilously close to weapons grade fuel.

Ali Vaez, director of the Iran Project at the Federation of American Scientists (FAS), and Charles Ferguson, president of FAS, wrote recently in the International Herald Tribune that the U.S. and its allies should "take Ahmadinejad at his word" and "provide Iran with 50 kilograms of fuel, without any conditions."

The two said that the move would be "a humanitarian gesture (that) would buy Washington good will with the Iranian people (while) curtailing Iran's enrichment activities and potentially cutting the Gordian knot that has stalled the West's nuclear negotiations with Iran."

However, the Barack Obama administration appears to have rejected the new proposal out of hand.

State Department spokeswoman Victoria Nuland told reporters last week that "Ahmadinejad makes a lot of empty promises." She described the latest offer as "a diversion from the real issues".



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## Viewpoint

### Free the World from the Nuclear Chain

By Xanthe Hall\*



Nuclear Power and the Bomb are inextricably linked through an atomic chain. The nuclear era began in Germany, so we have a specific responsibility to end it sooner rather than later.

BERLIN (IDN) - We talk about abandoning nuclear energy or abolishing nuclear weapons. But this is not enough. They are only the visible products of a whole chain of production that binds us – the nuclear chain. This chain does much more damage than we are aware of.

At the front end of the chain is uranium mining – providing the same source for both nuclear energy and nuclear weapons.

Next comes enrichment. Centrifuge technology enriches uranium and it is only a question of the enrichment grade that defines whether the uranium can be used for producing electricity or weapons.

Regardless of what we believe or not, we can never be 100% sure of what it will be used for. Look at Iran, an example that shows what role mistrust and tension play in the use of such technology. The combination of enrichment and political conflict could lead to war.

A by-product of enrichment is the production of uranium weapons from depleted uranium left over from the process. These weapons have often been used – for instance, in Bosnia, Iraq and Afghanistan – with terrible consequences for health and the environment.

Next in the chain comes the nuclear reactor. Not only can it produce electricity, it also makes plutonium, which can be separated out from the spent fuel rods through reprocessing.

Nuclear weapons are made either with highly enriched uranium or plutonium.

As long as nuclear weapons exist, they can be used. Either in war – as in Hiroshima and Nagasaki – or for nuclear tests.

At the back end of the chain is waste or fallout. ➡

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\*Xanthe Hall has worked as the nuclear disarmament campaigner at IPPNW Germany for over 18 years and is based at their office in Berlin, Germany. Xanthe was born in Scotland, grew up in England and studied Drama and Theatre Arts at Birmingham University. In the early eighties, she was a member of the West Midlands CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) executive committee responsible for Non-violent Direct Action and worked as a staff member for CND before leaving for West Berlin in 1985.

Xanthe co-founded the Abolition 2000 Global Network for the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons in 1995. She also helped found the German Abolition national network: Traegerkreis "Atomwaffen abschaffen". Xanthe is a member of the Executive Committee of Middle Powers Initiative and the Abolition Global Council. She is European Coordinator of the Parliamentarians for Non-Proliferation and Nuclear Disarmament and German 2020 Vision Campaigner for Mayors for Peace.



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### **Our Chains**

**All of these links in the chain are dangerous for health and the environment, principally through the radiation they emit. All of the links produce either waste or fallout, that remain in the environment for hundreds of thousands of years. The nuclear chain is far from being free from CO2 emissions. The claim that nuclear energy can somehow save the climate is a patent lie.**

### **Ionising Radiation is Bad for your Health**

Hiroshima, Chernobyl, Semipalatinsk ... whether it was the dropping of the atomic bomb, a nuclear meltdown or atmospheric nuclear testing – the affected populations all show a similar clinical picture, depending on which isotopes were released.

Thyroid cancer, carcinomas, colon cancer, lung cancer, bone cancer, leukaemia (particularly in children), liver cancer, genetic anomalies and many other diseases.

All of these diseases will more than likely show up as long-term effects of the Fukushima disaster

### **Our Prescription**

Germany is seeking a withdrawal of US tactical nuclear weapons but is finding it difficult to achieve due to alliance obligations in NATO. The abandonment of nuclear energy has also been decided upon, and yet remains insufficient, as radiation knows no borders.

This is why IPPNW prescribes a holistic therapy. It is time to think in global categories and to take on the whole nuclear chain, and not only parts of it. Therefore, we call for:

#### **A global ban on uranium mining.**

Indigenous peoples around the world suffer the most from the effects of uranium mining. Their human rights are being violated, their environment destroyed. Uranium should stay in the earth.

#### **No more nuclear transports.**

Whether it be yellowcake from Niger, Australia or India to Europe or nuclear waste from Germany to Russia, it should stop.

#### **An end to the production of fissile materials.**

We don't just mean a "cut-off" of production for military use, as many states demand, but also for civilian use. In Europe, we welcome the decision to close Sellafield in the UK and call for Le Hague reprocessing plant in France to be shut down.

#### **The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty should finally enter into force.**

Nine nations are still holding out, among them the USA and China.

#### **A treaty banning and abolishing nuclear weapons (Nuclear Weapons Convention).**

Negotiations need to begin now! Join the International Campaign for the Abolition of Nuclear weapons ICAN.

#### **A global energy shift.**

This should aim towards regional energy autonomy. With more renewables, increased efficiency and reduced consumption, we can succeed.

Good energy policies are policies for peace – there will be no wars over the sun or the wind. ☑



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#### **ARABIC**

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=517:finland-to-host-conference-for-wmd-free-middle-east&catid=16:nuclear-abolition-news-and-analysis&Itemid=17](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=517:finland-to-host-conference-for-wmd-free-middle-east&catid=16:nuclear-abolition-news-and-analysis&Itemid=17)

#### **JAPANESE**

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=531:finland-to-host-conference-for-wmd-free-middle-east-japanese&catid=2:japanese-korean&Itemid=3](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=531:finland-to-host-conference-for-wmd-free-middle-east-japanese&catid=2:japanese-korean&Itemid=3)

### **Anti-Nuclear Exhibit Calls for Culture of Peace**

#### **GERMAN**

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=515:abruestung-mut-ueberzeugung-entschlossenheit--ausstellung-fuer-welt-ohne-gewalt&catid=5:german&Itemid=6](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=515:abruestung-mut-ueberzeugung-entschlossenheit--ausstellung-fuer-welt-ohne-gewalt&catid=5:german&Itemid=6)

#### **JAPANESE**

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=516:anti-nuclear-exhibit-calls-for-culture-of-peace-japanese&catid=2:japanese-korean&Itemid=3](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=516:anti-nuclear-exhibit-calls-for-culture-of-peace-japanese&catid=2:japanese-korean&Itemid=3)

#### **SPANISH**

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### **Free the World from the Nuclear Chain**

#### **ARABIC**

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#### **TURKISH**

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## What Others Say

### Turning Nuke Free 'Utopia' into Reality

By Ramesh Jaura

BERLIN (IDN) - It sounds like a utopia. But it is a "concrete utopia", very much in the spirit of Ernst Bloch's philosophy and concomitant with Nichiren Buddhism. Whereas the former visualises elimination of all forms of oppression and exploitation, the latter envisions transformation of the human spirit – which would enable culture of peace to prevail over culture of violence, and pave the path leading to sustainable human security that encompasses a world free of nuclear weapons and other tools of mass destruction.



The touring exhibition 'From a Culture of Violence to a Culture of Peace: Transforming the Human Spirit' is one tool to achieve that objective in the repository of Soka Gakkai International (SGI), a Tokyo-based organisation with some 12 million members around the world who have embraced life-affirming Buddhism, as taught by the 13th-century Japanese priest Nichiren.

The exhibition was created by SGI in 2007 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Soka Gakkai's president Josei Toda's Declaration Calling for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons. It was launched on September 8, 2007 in New York as the opening of a new campaign, the People's Decade for Nuclear Abolition at a civil society forum specifically aimed at mobilizing youth.

Since then, it has toured more than 220 cities in 27 countries, including Geneva at the UN Office, Wellington (New Zealand) at the Parliament House, Oslo (Norway) at City Council hall (Norway), and in Vienna at the United Nations. The latest showing was from October 7 to 16 in Berlin (Germany), which SGI vice president Hiromasa Ikeda praised as "a city of peace".

Explaining the significance of the October showing, co-organised by IPPNW Germany, affiliate of Nobel laureate International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, and Global Cooperation Council, SGI President Daisaku Ikeda said in a message. "Berlin is a city that, transcending the legacy of Cold War confrontation, continues to forge a brilliant new future."

SGI is, along with IPPNW and ICAN (the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons), a leading campaigner for abolition of nukes, a target that also the touring exhibition has set itself.

The exhibition coincided with the 50th anniversary of Ikeda's visit to Berlin when in October 1961 he stood before the Brandenburg Gate dividing the city and symbolic of the division of Germany. The Berlin Wall, built just two months earlier, he recalled, presented a deeply disturbing and unforgettable sight: the wall, and the ranks of soldiers and tanks, represented the front lines of Cold War confrontation.

And yet, that wall, long considered unmovable, was brought down – not the least – through the efforts of ordinary citizens. He is similarly convinced that nuclear weapons, whose abolition is considered to be impossible, will without fail be eliminated through the efforts of awakened citizens.

Germany has played an important role in promoting peace and stability and in integrating Europe and, he said in his message on the opening of the exhibition, he was certain that Germany would play a critical role in future challenges.

#### **Göttingen Declaration**

He recalled the words of Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker – "The political situation of the world must be radically transformed so that a truly peaceful order comes into existence" – who throughout the Cold War, strove to make people aware of the threat posed by nuclear weapons. 2012 will mark the fifty-fifth anniversary of the Göttingen Declaration in which von Weizsäcker, Division Director of the Max Planck Institute for Physics, Göttingen, played a pivotal role. ➡

Picture credit: ICAN



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The declaration signed by 18 leading nuclear physicists expressed "deep concern" at the "plans of the German Army of acquiring atomic weapons". They "felt compelled to point out publicly certain facts known to the experts, but seemingly not sufficiently known to the public."

The declaration pointed out: "Tactical atomic bombs (the German army planned to acquire) have the same destructive effects as normal atomic bombs. The designation 'tactical' is used in order to express that they are to be used not only against human settlements, but also against troops in surface combat. Every single tactical atomic bomb or atomic grenade has similar effects as the first atomic bomb which destroyed Hiroshima."

Since tactical atomic weapons were available in large numbers, the physicists said, their destructive effect would be on the whole much larger. These bombs were designated as "small" only in comparison to the recently developed "Strategic" bombs and mainly to the hydrogen bombs.

It went on to say: "There is no limit known to the possibility of increasing the destructive effect on life and property of Strategic atomic weapons. Today a tactical atomic bomb can destroy a small city; a hydrogen bomb can make uninhabitable a region the size of the industrial district of the Ruhr. The whole population of the German Federal Republic could be exterminated today by means of the spreading radioactivity of hydrogen bombs. We do not know any practical possibility to protect large populations from this danger."

### **Tactical Nuclear Weapons**

Notwithstanding the declaration, the United States stationed tactical nuclear weapons (TNW) in Germany and other European countries as part of NATO's "nuclear sharing" policy, which was initiated in the 1950s to dissuade U.S. allies from developing indigenous nuclear weapons programs and to persuade them to be protected under the U.S. nuclear umbrella.

In addition to Germany, U.S. TNWs are deployed in several other European countries such as Belgium, Great Britain, Italy, and the Netherlands. Deployment has dramatically dropped from its peak in the 1970s, when more than 7,000 weapons were stationed in Europe. According to knowledgeable sources, in late 2007 only about 350 remained. The drop in deployed TNW resulted mainly from the post-Cold War Presidential Nuclear Initiatives (PNIs) that Presidents George H.W. Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev announced in 1991. These initiatives called for a drastic cut in both U.S. and Soviet TNW in Europe.

In January 2007, the U.S. Air Force removed the U.S. air base at Ramstein (Germany) from a list of installations that receive periodic nuclear weapons inspections. According to Hans Kristensen, Director of the Nuclear Information Project at the Federation of American Scientists, this indicates that the 130 U.S. tactical nuclear weapons that had been stockpiled at the air base during the Cold War may have been permanently removed.

If so, Germany now hosts only one site with U.S. nuclear weapons: Büchel air base. Since NATO and the United States make no public disclosures as to how many nuclear weapons are deployed, the exact number of TNWs in Germany is unconfirmed. Nonetheless, it is estimated that 20 nuclear warheads are now stationed at Büchel. The issue of withdrawal of TNWs has been discussed within the German government for several years. But in October 2009, the new German foreign minister Guido Westerwelle (liberal FDP) left no doubt about his resolve to have nukes (TNWs) out of Germany. He said the new German government would support the vision of U.S. President Barack Obama for a world free of nuclear weapons.

At the same time, he added: "We will take President Obama at his word and enter talks with our allies so that the last of the nuclear weapons still stationed in Germany, relics of the Cold War, can finally be removed. Germany must be free of nuclear weapons." This view was affirmed by Chancellor Angela Merkel (conservative CDU). But nukes continue to be stationed on German soil.

Precisely against this backdrop, German parliamentarian Uta Zapf (social democratic SPD) found the exhibition title "wonderful" as it aims to show that "we can defeat the culture of violence". Zapf chairs the parliamentary sub-committee on disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation. A nuclear weapons free world is for sure not yet around the corner. Nor is peace yet anchored in human spirit, as also evidenced by the new NATO strategy. Nevertheless, there is reason to "engage ourselves as we are doing with this exhibition, to banish the inhuman evil of nuclear weapons," she said. ➔



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### **"We can defeat the culture of violence"**

"In fact, we need the optimism that the exhibition title embodies, because the world is still littered with weapons and nuclear arms. Certainly there has been nuclear disarmament, and the number of atomic weapons has been reduced also during the Cold War. Now with START II a step ahead has been taken after a long time," argued Zapf.

"Positive outcome of the NPT Review conference in May 2010 also gives cause for optimism. In fact, its action plan shows a way to completely abolish nuclear weapons. . . . It is important that the CTBT (Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty) comes into force. The test moratorium of great nuclear powers USA, Russia and China does not suffice. Only a treaty ratified by great nuclear power owners will give us the certainty that no more atomic arsenal will be built up in the future." But there are miles to go before that objective is achieved.

In November 2010, at their summit meeting in Lisbon, NATO members agreed a new Strategic Concept which will serve as the Alliance's 'roadmap' for the next 10 years. After U.S. President Barack Obama made explicit his vision for a nuclear weapon free world and the need to reduce reliance on nuclear weapons, NATO members Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands called for U.S. tactical nuclear weapons to be removed from Europe.

However, despite much discussion on the subject in the run-up to the release of the Strategic Concept, the new document failed to move with the times saying instead that "It commits NATO to the goal of creating the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons – but reconfirms that, as long as there are nuclear weapons in the world, NATO will remain a nuclear Alliance".

Nevertheless, there has been growing pressure from European civil society and some NATO governments for discussions on the future of U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe to be undertaken as part of NATO's Defence and Deterrence Posture Review (DDPR). The DDPR was mandated following debates over revising the Strategic Concept, and is scheduled to be completed by May 2012.

### **Genuine Security**

While the outcome of NATO debates is anxiously awaited, the indisputable fact is that today humanity faces a daunting array of challenges – from poverty and environmental destruction, to devastating unemployment and financial instability – which require the joint, coordinated response of all nations.

"These challenges make all the more clear the folly of diverting precious human and economic resources to the maintenance of nuclear arsenals. What humanity requires is genuine security, not nuclear weapons," says SGI President Ikeda who since 1983 has been presenting every year proposals aimed at peace and disarmament.

In his 2011 proposal to the UN, Ikeda pleads for undertaking three challenges toward the creation of a world free of nuclear weapons: "We should establish the structures through which states possessing nuclear weapons can advance disarmament toward the goal of complete elimination; we should establish the means to prevent all development or modernization of nuclear weapons; and we should establish a Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC) comprehensively prohibiting them."

He pleads for "a fundamental revision of the framework for nuclear disarmament, such that the goal of multilateral negotiations is not confined to arms control but aims toward a clear vision of nuclear weapons abolition."

Responding to UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's call for the regular convening of a UN Security Council Summit on nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament, Ikeda says: "These summits should not be limited to the members of the Security Council: participation should also be opened to states that have chosen to relinquish their nuclear weapons or programs, as well as specialists in the field and NGO representatives."

"This process should aim toward holding the 2015 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) review conference in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Bringing together national leaders as well as representatives of global civil society, this would be a nuclear abolition summit which could mark the effective end of the nuclear era," he adds.

With that happening, the utopia would have been turned into reality. [IDN-InDepthNews - October 30, 2011]



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## What Others Say

### Test-ban Verification Taken to the Next Level

By CTBTO



VIENNA – The 182 Member States of the highest decision-making body of the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO) today approved a plan to boost the organization’s on-site inspection capabilities. They endorsed a budget for the next Integrated Field Exercise (IFE for short) amounting to US\$ 10.3 million.

This exercise, to be held in 2014, will test and train the organization’s on-site inspection capabilities in an all-

encompassing way. The plan also foresees a host of preceding smaller (“directed”) exercises and other run-up activities. IFE 2014 will be the second large-scale undertaking of its kind after the IFE 2008 in Kazakhstan in September 2008.

Member States also echoed the Final Declaration of last month’s conference to promote the entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT). They called on the nine States that have yet to ratify the Treaty for it to enter into force (see map) to do so without delay. (Watch the video Building Momentum for the CTBT.) The recent ratifications by Ghana and Guinea were welcomed.

Delegates reviewed and commended the organization for the progress in the build-up of the International Monitoring System: 285 of 337 planned facilities have been established to date. They also applauded the system’s performance during the Fukushima crisis and the CTBTO’s close cooperation with other relevant international organizations, such as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the World Health Organization (WHO) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO). The repair of the two stations on the Juan Fernandez Islands (Chile) that were destroyed by a tsunami in February 2010 continues at a steady pace.

These enterprises will significantly enhance our verification regime and contribute to smart and optimal use of the resources of the [CTBTO]. - CTBTO Executive Secretary Tibor Tóth *on the planned Integrated Field Exercise, the repair of the Chilean stations and a new management software system*

#### Budget below zero real growth

The CTBTO adopted the budget for 2012. With U.S. \$ 117.4 million, the regular budget remains slightly below zero real growth for yet another year.

#### New Chairs

The organization’s highest decision-making body, the so-called *Preparatory Commission* elected as its new chairman for 2012 Ambassador Alfredo Labbé of Chile. The new chairman for the subsidiary body for budgetary and administrative issues (Working Group A) will be Ambassador Jargalsaikhan Enkhsaikhan of Mongolia, while Hein Haak of the Netherlands was re-elected as chairman of the subsidiary body for verification issues (Working Group B).

#### Background on the CTBT

The CTBT bans all nuclear explosions by everyone, everywhere: on the Earth’s surface, in the atmosphere, underwater and underground. 182 countries have signed the Treaty, of which 155 have also ratified it. Of the 44 countries that have to ratify the Treaty for entry into force, 35 have already done so. The remaining nine are: China, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Pakistan and the United States. [October 24, 2011]



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## What Others Say

### Nuke-Free World Optimism Fading Away

By Jamshed Baruah

BERLIN (IDN) - Two and a half years after President Barack Obama pleaded for a nuke-free world, the U.S. nuclear-weapons policy and the nuclear posture in support of that goal appear to be in danger of stalling, experts say.

In fact, despite his pledge for what arms-control advocates call 'global zero', Obama is spending more than his predecessor President George W. Bush did to upgrade and modernize arms during his two terms in office (January 1981-January 1989), those knowledgeable about arms policy say.

They refer to a 10-year \$85 billion nuclear weapons complex spending plan the administration announced in November 2010 in a compromise to secure Senate's endorsement for the New START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) with Russia.



The treaty, formally called *Measures for the Further Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms*, was signed on April 8, 2010 in Prague. It entered into force on February 5, 2011 after ratification, and is expected to last at least until 2021.

New START requires the U.S. and Russia to each reduce deployment of strategic nuclear warheads to 1,550, down from a cap of 2,200 mandated by 2012 under an older treaty. It also limits the number of fielded warhead delivery platforms to 700, with an additional 100 strategic systems permitted in reserve.

That same April 2010, when the New START was signed, Obama hosted a major nonproliferation summit in Washington, where 47 countries made voluntary commitments to work to safeguard loose nuclear material.

But that "nuclear spring," as the White House dubbed it, may come to signify the apex of arms-control advocates' hopes, writes Zachary Roth in the [Atlantic Magazine](#) on September 29, 2011. "Thanks to wariness on the part of the Russians, and ideological opposition to arms control from much of the Republican Party, further U.S.-Russia agreements look to be a long way off," he adds.

#### **Scepticism**

"There's a lot of skepticism [among U.S. lawmakers], even about further reductions, let alone zero," says James Acton, a senior associate in the Nuclear Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for Peace. And since the U.S. won't disarm unilaterally, that bodes poorly for the chances of additional cuts. Adds Acton: "I'm deeply pessimistic about the prospects for further reductions."

At the same time, the expert endorsed the decade-long nuclear weapons spending plan. "I think it actually helps you get to zero," he said. "It makes a world of low numbers a safer place, because it's harder for Russia to win an arms race."

Arms Control Association head Daryl Kimball, though, said the planned nuclear weapons spending increases are "incongruous" with Obama's stated disarmament goal, reported the [Global Security Newswire](#) (GSN).

This scepticism is shared by Hans Kristensen, director of the Nuclear Information Project with the [Federation of American Scientists](#) (FAS), a think tank based in Washington that monitors U.S. nuclear policy on ethical grounds. In an [analysis](#) jointly with Robert S. Norris, Kristensen says: "There is concern over whether Obama's goals can be realized within the enduring bureaucracies that have a stake in the status quo." ➡



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### "A radical break"

They are of the view that "a radical break" is necessary to set the U.S. "on a new path capable of realizing deep reductions in and possible elimination of nuclear weapons." That break, they argue, must be the abandonment of "counterforce," the ruling paradigm that focuses on eliminating an enemy's nuclear weapons, infrastructure and war-making abilities and that has been core of every war plan of the past five decades.

President Obama's aspiration has also received resistance from U.S. armed forces and nonmilitary Defence Department elements reliant on significant nuclear weapons operations; such insiders stand to benefit from defending the present arsenal size, a number of experts said.

"Are we actually going to see a world without nuclear weapons?" former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger asked a 2010 "[Deterrence Symposium](#)" organized by the U.S. Strategic Command. "This is the vision of many people, and I remind you that the dividing line between vision and hallucination is never very clear."

In 2011, event attendees appeared more assured that the United States would remain heavily dependent on its nuclear deterrent, the Atlantic reported. The nuclear arsenal represents "the greatest tool of self-defence that the world has ever seen," said Keir Lieber, a professor with Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service.

Strategic Command head Gen. Robert Kehler and Defence Undersecretary James Miller, respectively the top armed forces and nonmilitary nuclear weapons officials, each stressed Obama's remark in the 2009 address that he might not live to see the achievement of global nuclear disarmament.

### Nuclear Posture Review

"The goal (of zero) remains," Miller said, unprompted, according to reports.

The administration's 2010 [Nuclear Posture Review](#) (NPR) acknowledged the goal, but it neither adopted a no-first-use policy nor called for eliminating a leg of the "triad" of land-, air- and sea-based nuclear-weapon delivery systems, steps some disarmament advocates had sought, according to [GSN](#).

The report was "a tremendously good-news story" for longtime nuclear deterrence policies, then-Strategic Command head Gen. Kevin Chilton said, noting his personnel had been "intimately involved" in its development.

Former Defence Secretary Schlesinger said, "It is something of a gift that the NPR turned out to be as strong as it is."

Obama administration officials defended their avoidance of more ambitious arms-control steps.

"A very bold, overly aggressive arms-control agenda is one the Russians are not prepared for, is one our allies are not prepared for, and therefore isn't practical," one administration official said, describing Obama's nuclear policy as a "balanced approach" intended to "take practical steps toward the long-term goal, while ensuring that deterrence remains effective."

In addition, a potential Republican Party-dominated Senate might complicate the administration's campaign to secure ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Still, backers of nuclear disarmament suggested Obama's ambition would benefit efforts to eliminate nuclear weapons in the long term.

"The most recent wave in support of zero has crested, leaving behind an altered nuclear landscape," Stimson Center nuclear analyst Michael Krepon wrote. "Zero will always be in the picture now."

"Obama's high-profile endorsement of . . . 'global zero' was a hugely significant step for a U.S. president to take," says Roth. ➔



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### **In the aftermath of Prague**

Just ten weeks after Inauguration Day in 2009, President Obama used his first overseas trip in office to announce his intention to rid the world of nuclear weapons, the writer recalls, adding: The U.S. "must ignore the voices who tell us that the world cannot change. We have to insist: Yes we can," he told a cheering crowd of 20,000 in Prague's Hradcany Square, "rhetorically linking the no-nukes push to the sky's-the-limit idealism that had electrified supporters" during his presidential campaign.

"But since then, he's been hit with some jarring reminders of just what an uphill climb that journey to zero will be. . . . Obama's effort to initiate considerable reduction of the U.S.'s own massive atomic arsenal with a view to ushering in a nuclear-weapons-free world has indeed proceeded "far more slowly than expected," writes Roth.

"He's clearly accomplished much less than had been hoped," says Barry Blechman, a veteran weapons-policy expert who has served on the Pentagon's Defence Policy Board and as a top arms-control official.

"Advocates of major arms reductions say they always knew progress would be slow. But . . . nuclear-weapons policy has become yet another area where the heady optimism of the administration's early days has largely evaporated," says Roth. "And Obama's bold push for a nuclear-free world – and an American nuclear posture in support of that goal -- looks to be in danger of stalling."

However, in pleading for a "global zero", the U.S. president was not just paying lip service to some "pie-in-the-sky dream" of his liberal base. The fact is that since well before the Prague speech, the U.S. nuclear weapons program had been facing "something of an existential crisis."

The U.S. has not built a new bomb since 1992, and the nuclear track no longer tends to attract the military's best and brightest. "There isn't a whole lot of career advancement in nukes these days," says Roth quoting Stephen Schwartz of the Center for Nonproliferation Studies. [IDN-InDepthNews - October 03, 2011]

[www.abolitionforum.org/site/](http://www.abolitionforum.org/site/)



The Nuclear Abolition Forum: Dialogue on the Process to Achieve and Sustain a Nuclear Weapons Free World was launched at the Baha'i UN Office on October 21, alongside the release of the inaugural edition of the Forum's periodic magazine.

The Forum is a joint project of eight leading organizations, Albert Schweitzer Institute, Global Security Institute (GSI), International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA), International Network of Engineers and Scientists Against Proliferation (INESAP), International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), Middle Powers Initiative (MPI), Pugwash (Canada and Denmark branches) and the World Future Council (WFC). An additional sixty-four disarmament experts serve as consultants. It is hosted by the WFC's London Office.

The Forum consists of a dedicated website for posting articles and discussing key nuclear abolition aspects and initiatives, and a periodical (available in hardcopy and as online PDF), which will focus on specific issues and elements (technical, legal, institutional and political) for achieving and sustaining a world free of nuclear weapons.

The inaugural issue of the magazine has as its theme the application of International Humanitarian Law to nuclear weapons and comprises articles from a range of experts. Please click [here](#) to download the pdf. Hard-copies are available from the UN Office of the Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Arms and the London Office of the World Future Council. Donations to cover postage and packaging are appreciated.



# BEYOND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

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## Civil Society's Perspective

### Remembering Reykjavic

By John Loretz

[October 20, 2011 IPPNW] An American and a Russian president almost made good on a serious proposal to abolish nuclear weapons 25 years ago this month. The leaders were Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev (who was actually the president of the now-defunct Soviet Union) and the occasion was the 1986 Reykjavic Summit.



The story of how Reagan and Gorbachev sat across from each other in Hofdi House, talking themselves into the elimination of all their ballistic missiles in one grand bargain, with US Secretary of State George Shultz cheering them on, was told in heartbreaking detail by Richard Rhodes in his 2008 book *Arsenals of Folly*. The heartbreak, of course, was the collapse of the proposal over Reagan's stubborn adherence to the wholly imaginary Strategic Defense Initiative and Gorbachev's unwillingness to ignore SDI as scientific and technological nonsense. They got a lot of support in these positions from obstructionist advisers who saw the actual elimination of nuclear weapons as not in, shall we say, *their* best interests.

I recently had a chance to see the [nuclear weapons documentary \*In My Lifetime\*](#), by film maker Robert Frye, who showed it to us during the ICAN campaigners conference in Geneva last month. Bob managed to acquire large amounts of fascinating archival footage about the development and testing of the bomb and of people—both famous and not-so-famous—who have worked to get rid of it ever since the US atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The Reykjavic summit features prominently in Bob's film. Not only does this sequence bring the actors in Rhodes's historical narrative to life, but it reveals something that could only really be captured in their faces and voices: Reagan (a real-life actor who turned the US presidency into the role of a lifetime) returned to Washington to explain, in a short, cliché-ridden, emotionally detached speech, why his commitment to a delusional missile defense scheme had trumped his desire to rid the world of any need for ballistic missile defenses at all; while an obviously distraught Gorbachev spoke for hours in front of the assembled Soviet leadership about the enormity of the tragedy at Reykjavic and his own personal sense of grief and failure.

At least they tried. There was another face lurking in the shadows at Reykjavic, and there was a collective groaning and hissing among the veteran abolition campaigners in the audience when Richard Perle made a cameo appearance in Bob's film. Of all the sneaky and insidious nuclear warriors populating Reagan's inner circle, Perle—whose nickname was the Prince of Darkness—would surely top most people's lists of the sneakiest and most insidious. It was Perle, more than any other single person, who sabotaged Reykjavic by deliberately mischaracterizing the meaning of permissible "laboratory research" into SDI under Gorbachev's final proposal, so that Reagan would see the phrase as an unacceptable condition rather than as a solution to a shared political dilemma.

When we fast forward to 2011 and the anniversary of Reykjavic, we find ourselves with another, if less dramatic, opportunity to fulfill the goal envisioned by Gorbachev and Reagan. Another US president has declared himself an abolitionist, and while President Obama has not exactly laid out a clear strategy for getting there (and has taken disturbing steps in the opposite direction with an expansive, expensive, long-term nuclear weapons modernization budget), the phrase "world without nuclear weapons" continues to appear in speeches and policy documents as a declared guiding principle for US security policy. It's at least something to work with.

Still, things could go in either direction once again. There's a new surge in demand for global nuclear disarmament among non-nuclear-weapon states—including some with a lot of influence on their nuclear-armed allies. ➔



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## Civil Society's Perspective

Civil society campaigns for nuclear abolition—ICAN, Global Zero, the Mayors For Peace 2020 Vision Campaign, and thousands of local and national groups working through the Abolition 2000 network—are giving public voice to the idea that completing this unfinished business has never been more urgent, and that the time is right.

The pushback, however, has been predictably relentless. There may be no single villain in 2011 as unlikable as Richard Perle was in the 1980s (although, having said that, John Bolton comes to mind, and Perle himself is still around and causing trouble). But there are vested interests in every nuclear-weapon state, nuclear ideologues in well funded think tanks, and way too many decision makers who see nuclear weapons as nothing more than winning cards in a geopolitical poker game, who all see abolition as a threat to their world view, by which I mean their political and economic power and their sense of entitlement.

So as we remember Reykjavic 25 years later, let's take inspiration from the almost boyish excitement that gripped two politicians who realized, at least for a few heady moments, that they were also human beings with an opportunity to do something really extraordinary for the rest of the world. But let's not forget those schoolyard creeps and bullies who would like nothing better than to steal our lunch money...again.

Source: <http://peaceandhealthblog.com/2011/10/20/remembering-reykjavic/>

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## Missile Defence and the legacy of the Reykjavik summit

By Kate Hudson\*

Twenty five years ago, on 11/12 October 1986, the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union met in Reykjavik, Iceland, to discuss nuclear disarmament. President Gorbachev proposed that all US and Soviet intermediate range missiles should be removed from Europe; that US and Soviet strategic nuclear weapons should be reduced by half over 5 years and that the Soviet Union would continue its moratorium on nuclear tests and explosions.

Gorbachev also wanted the US to agree to comply with its commitments under the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty and pledge not to go ahead with the development of the 'Star Wars' (now known as missile defence) system. President Reagan, whilst making positive remarks about global disarmament, was completely unwilling to compromise on Star Wars and the possibility of US nuclear superiority, thus resulting in the failure of the summit to make progress on disarmament.

President George Bush eventually took the US out of the ABM Treaty in 2001, clearing the road for the introduction of the missile defence system and leading to increasing tension between the US and Russia during the first decade of the twenty first century. A massive civil society campaign against missile defence facilities in the Czech Republic derailed Bush's version of missile defence, but president Obama has subsequently introduced a new version of the system, triggering alarm bells in Russia and China, and holding up the signing of the new START Treaty for many months. The tension between the US and Russia over this issue continues and is contributing to a new arms race between major global powers.

The real problem is that then as now, the Star Wars – or missile defence – system, was designed to give overwhelming nuclear superiority to the United States by allowing it to attack another country without fear of retaliation. Under President Bush it rode roughshod over the ABM Treaty, which had outlawed these systems for decades.

Whilst the US maintains that the system is designed to combat Iran, no one seriously believes that to be the case. The US has bypassed Russian offers to cooperate on such a system for mutual defence, making it abundantly clear that the real target is Russia. It was President Chirac of France who observed that the bigger the shield, the bigger the sword that will be constructed in response. Missile defence is already leading to a new arms race, and as in 1986 when hopes for disarmament were dashed by the US addiction to Star Wars, so the US's continuing obsession today will stand as an obstacle to further disarmament talks between the two powers. ☑

[Source: <http://www.cnduk.org/media/item/1273-missile-defence-and-the-legacy-of-the-reykjavik-summit>]

\*Dr. Kate Hudson has been General Secretary of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament since September 2010. Prior to this she served as the organisation's Chair from 2003. She is a leading anti-nuclear and anti-war campaigner nationally and internationally. She is also author of 'CND Now More than Ever: The Story of a Peace Movement'.



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## Civil Society's Perspective

### Parliamentarians vital in supporting a nuclear weapons-free Middle East

[www.gsinstitute.org/pnnd/archives/ME\\_10\\_19\\_11.html](http://www.gsinstitute.org/pnnd/archives/ME_10_19_11.html)

[October 20, 2011] **"Parliamentarians have a vital role in supporting the establishment of a Middle East Zone Free of Nuclear Weapons and other Weapons of Mass Destruction,"** says Baroness Sue Miller, Member of the UK House of Lords and Co-President of Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament (PNND), a global network of parliamentarians from over 80 countries working to prevent nuclear proliferation and achieve a nuclear weapons-free world.

"A great step towards this goal was made last week with the appointment of a host country and facilitator for a UN-sponsored conference to establish such a zone," says Baroness Miller.

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon - along with the governments of Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States, in consultation with countries in the Middle East- have appointed Jaakko Laajava, Under-Secretary of State in Finland's foreign ministry, as the facilitator for the UN-sponsored conference, to be attended by all States in the region. Finland was announced as the host country.

"The United Nations has annually adopted a consensus resolution, i.e. one including support of all States in the region, calling for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East," says PNND Global Coordinator Alyn Ware, "but governments by themselves have not been able to develop the political momentum or bridge the political divides to achieve this vital goal. Parliamentarians can collaborate across borders to ensure success."

PNND, at its Annual Assembly in Bern over the weekend, thus agreed to circulate a Joint Parliamentary Statement for a Middle East Zone Free from Nuclear Weapons and all other Weapons of Mass Destruction." PNND has consulted with officials and disarmament experts in Israel, Arab countries and Iran on a balanced approach to peace and disarmament in the Middle East, and the role of parliamentarians," says Mr Ware. "We are now circulating the statement to parliamentarians in the region and around the world to build support." PNND is also participating in the Amman Framework, Peace Boat Horizon 2012 and other collaborative initiatives to support the UN-sponsored conference.

"Parliamentarians have been vital in the establishment of Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones in other regions including Antarctica, Latin America and the Caribbean, South Pacific, Africa, South East Asia and Central Asia," says Hon Matt Robson, PNND Council Member and the former New Zealand Minister for Disarmament and Arms Control. "Most of these zones were difficult to achieve, including countries or territories that were involved in nuclear testing, deployment or extended nuclear deterrence doctrines. The experience in overcoming these difficulties to develop security without nuclear weapons can encourage success in the Middle East."

"Nuclear-Weapon-Free-Zones, such as the one we have achieved in Africa, help prevent proliferation and nuclear terrorism, and are part of the framework for building common security and a nuclear weapons-free world," says PNND Co-President David Coltart, Zimbabwe Minister for Education, Culture, Sports and Arts. "The \$100 billion wasted annually on nuclear weapons should instead be dedicated to redressing economic and social needs including education, health, housing, jobs, water, food, fair trade policies and poverty reduction."

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