



# BEYOND NUCLEAR NON- PROLIFERATION

People's Decade for Nuclear Abolition  
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**Number 08**  
**November 2010**

A Monthly Newsletter for Strengthening Awareness of Nuclear Abolition.

This page includes independent news coverage which is part of a project supported by Soka Gakkai International

This newsletter brings you independent news by IPS correspondents, in-depth reports and analyses by partners 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. Join us in helping strengthen awareness about the abolition of nuclear weapons – and encourage your friends and colleagues to subscribe to this free monthly newsletter.

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## Articles

### **START Supporters Play Iran Card in Lame-Duck U.S. Congress**

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<http://www.ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=53600>

### **Nobel Laureates Plead for International Law to Abolish Nukes**

BERLIN – The Nobel Peace Laureates' call on China, the United States, Egypt, Iran, Israel and Indonesia to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) without delay could not have emerged from a more appropriate venue and come at a more apt point in time.

The appeal on November 14 was issued by the Nobel Peace Laureates' Summit in historical Hiroshima, which was devastated by the U.S. atomic bombing in 1945.

While urging also India, Pakistan and North Korea to sign and endorse the Treaty, they called for ratification of the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) between the United States and Russia and for follow-on negotiations for deeper cuts in all types of nuclear weapons.

<http://www.indepthnews.net/news/news.php?key1=2010-11-15%2023:05:33&key2=1>

### **U.S.: Looming Partisan Shift Adds Urgency to Nuke Treaty**

WASHINGTON - When U.S. President Barack Obama capped a flurry of activity on nuclear non-proliferation this spring by welcoming the largest gathering of world leaders ever in Washington for a Nuclear Security Summit, many experts hoped to see cascading effects that would lead to even further elimination of nuclear weapons.

But progress has stalled since then, with Republican gains in the U.S. Senate threatening not only additional reductions in nuclear weapons but even the reductions already agreed to in a New START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty).

That START treaty was signed by Obama and Russian President Dmitri Medvedev in Prague just before the start of April's Washington summit. Since then, a long line of high-profile officials and former diplomats have praised the treaty, but the policymakers who must actually decide whether it gets ratified have given it decidedly mixed reviews.

<http://www.ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=53545>

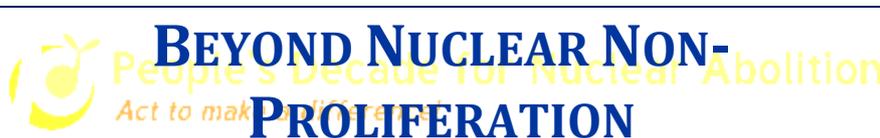
### **Visit Compilation of Articles April 2009-March 2010**

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/documents/Beyond\\_Nuclear\\_Non-Proliferation.pdf](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/documents/Beyond_Nuclear_Non-Proliferation.pdf)

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### **Civil Society's Perspective**

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## Articles

### **START Supporters Play Iran Card in Lame-Duck U.S. Congress**

By Barbara Slavin

**WASHINGTON, Nov 18, 2010 (IPS) - Of all the arguments the Barack Obama administration is marshalling in support of a new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty with Russia, the one that may have the greatest resonance with Republicans is over Iran.**

White House nuclear nonproliferation chief Gary Samore made the link on Thursday, saying that failure to ratify START in the lame-duck Congressional session would "weaken the coalition" against Iran's nuclear programme, especially with regard to "maintaining coordination with Russia".

Russia has proved more helpful against Iran than many had expected. It voted in favour of tough new sanctions in the U.N. Security Council last summer and canceled the sale of the S-300 air defence system that Iran had sought to deter a U.S. or Israeli attack on its nuclear sites.

Experts agree that this cooperation could be jeopardised if the Senate fails to ratify START, the jewel in the crown of the U.S.-Russia reset.

Mark Katz, a specialist on Russia at George Mason University in Virginia, said Russia's cancellation of the air defence sale "was a concession to get the Senate to come to the right conclusion" about the arms reduction treaty. Russia will "revisit" that decision if the treaty does not go through, he said.

Richard Burt, a former arms control negotiator who now chairs Global Zero, a group seeking to rid the world of nuclear weapons, said Wednesday on the News Hour with Jim Lehrer that "there are only two governments in the world that wouldn't like to see this treaty ratified, the government in Tehran and the government in North Korea."

START would limit the U.S. and Russia to 1,550 warheads and 800 delivery vehicles each, a modest reduction from current levels. Prospects for the treaty's ratification dimmed earlier this week when Senator Jon Kyl of Arizona, who has led Republican talks with the administration over START, said he doubted there would be time in the current session to bring the measure to a vote on the Senate floor.

The only Republican senator who has come out strongly in favour of swift passage is Richard Lugar of Indiana, ranking minority member of the Foreign Relations Committee. To gain the 67 votes needed for passage, the Obama administration needs eight more Republicans.

Democrats have accused Republicans of stalling to undermine Obama's re-election prospects. Samore, speaking to an audience at the Nixon Center, said the issue was much bigger than that and that the treaty "has become an important symbol of U.S. leadership".

Intense negotiations are continuing to try to sway Senate Republicans including Kyl, who was just re-elected to a leadership position in the Republican caucus.

Stephen Rademaker, a former assistant secretary of state dealing with nonproliferation under the George W. Bush administration, said Kyl "has not said he's opposed" to the treaty and that the Arizona Republican is negotiating for more money for the modernisation of the remaining U.S. nuclear weapons arsenal. The administration has already promised nearly \$85 billion over the next 10 years, a pledge that Samore said would be jeopardised if the treaty does not pass this year.

Rademaker, a Republican who has criticised the treaty in the past, said that the prospect of weakening the international consensus on Iran could lead him to support the accord. ➡



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☛ "If I were a senator, I would try to find a way to vote in favour of the treaty," he said. He added later, however, that, "I would need a lot more conditions and other clarifications than are currently in the resolution of advice and consent in order to fix as many of the treaty's problems as possible."

Samore stressed that Iran is the administration priority when it comes to nonproliferation. Although Iran denies that it seeking weapons, Samore said he had no doubt that nuclear weapons was Iran's goal. He called it a country that is "eating away at it [the international nonproliferation regime] like a cancer".

The administration is hopeful that sanctions and Iran's growing international isolation will persuade it to slow its nuclear progress and negotiate meaningful limits to the programme. A new round of talks is expected as soon as Dec. 5, although Iran has yet to agree on where they will take place. The Tehran government has suggested Turkey, but Samore said that was not possible because Turkey voted against sanctions in the U.N. Security Council and thus "is not a neutral venue".

Samore confirmed that the U.S. and its partners are revising a year-old offer to Iran to exchange fuel for a research reactor that produces medical isotopes for low-enriched uranium Iran has stockpiled at its facility in Natanz. Samore said the U.S. is still insisting that Iran also agree to suspend its entire uranium enrichment programme, in accordance with U.N. resolutions, but indicated that the suspension could be temporary.

The duration of such a suspension and "the terms under which it could be lifted" would be a topic for negotiations, he said. Iran insists that it has a right to enrich uranium as a signatory of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT). Samore rejected the suggestion that Israel would have to clarify its nuclear weapons programme as part of a resolution of the Iranian nuclear file. Israel, he pointed out, is not a member of the NPT while Iran, he said, is "working within the regime to destroy it". ■

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## Nobel Laureates Plead for International Law to Abolish Nukes

By Ramesh Jaura

**The Nobel Peace Laureates' call on China, the United States, Egypt, Iran, Israel and Indonesia to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) without delay could not have emerged from a more appropriate venue and come at a more apt point in time.**

The appeal on November 14 was issued by the Nobel Peace Laureates' Summit in historical Hiroshima, which was devastated by the U.S. atomic bombing in 1945.

While urging also India, Pakistan and North Korea to sign and endorse the Treaty, they called for ratification of the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) between the United States and Russia and for follow-on negotiations for deeper cuts in all types of nuclear weapons.

The New START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) signed by U.S. President Barrack Obama and Russian President Dmitri Medvedev in Prague in April 2010 has yet to be ratified by the Senate in Washington and the Duma in Moscow. In fact, the Republican electoral victories in November elections are casting a dark shadow over the New START.

CTBT, which is of critical importance to usher in a nuclear-weapon free world, has already been ratified by 153 nations and enjoys almost universal membership of 182 signatory states. All that is required for the Treaty to become international law is that all of the 44 countries whose ratification is pending agree to endorse it.

"Bringing the Treaty into force is the obvious and logical next step to take and with adequate political leadership such a step is virtually around the corner," Ambassador Tibor Tóth of Hungary tells IDN-InDepthNews: Tóth is Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO) established in 1997 with headquarters in Vienna, Austria. ☛



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➔ However, as Tóth told the Nobel Peace Laureates, the last few steps to bring the CTBT into force require "a massive and coordinated grassroots effort."



Indeed, the role that citizens and civil society worldwide play in ensuring and putting pressure on their governments -- and their parliaments -- to act on commitments made is indispensable to promoting the entry into force of the CTBT.

The International Test Ban Campaign, the Nevada-Semipalatinsk movement, and Greenpeace action in the Pacific to mention but a few examples, have been all instrumental in achieving the CTBT in the mid-1990s. Also the Tokyo-based Soka Gakkai Buddhist organization has been playing a significant role in creating awareness of the need to bring about a nuclear-free world.

"Today, we need NGOs and civil society in the remaining holdout states to hold their governments accountable. We need to see much more grassroots movement and action by citizens and civil society to raise awareness and rally support for the Treaty's object and purpose. Active NGO and civil society participation can push their governments to go the final mile in delivering on their commitments," says Tóth.

He urged the Nobel Peace Laureates to help to bring the Treaty into legal effect. "This will be a giant leap on the road to a world without nuclear weapons," he added.

The appeal by Tóth is underlined by the fact that the CTBTO has built a verification system that is "80 percent complete -- a system that has already proven its worth." The CTBTO is building a verification regime to monitor the planet for compliance with the Treaty. When complete, 337 facilities worldwide will monitor underground, the oceans and the atmosphere for any sign of a nuclear explosion.

"Although a deplorable event, when North Korea tested a nuclear device in October 2006, the CTBT Member States received exact information about the magnitude, location, depth and time of the test only two hours after it occurred. 24 stations detected the test. This was repeated in May 2009 with the difference that as many as 61 stations detected the test that was slightly larger," the CTBTO head said.

In spite of uncertainties about the fate of New START, renewed optimism exists today for nuclear disarmament and the total elimination of nuclear weapons. In May, the 2010 NPT Review Conference overcame the failure of 2005 breathing new life into the multilateral disarmament process. Its nearly 190 Member States reaffirmed the vital importance of the CTBT's entry into force as a core element of the nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation regime in its final document.

"By providing a firm legal barrier against nuclear testing, thereby curbing the qualitative improvement and development of new types and new designs of nuclear weapons by possessor states, the Treaty's entry into force would be a milestone in the global endeavour to rid the world of nuclear weapons," Tóth told IDN-InDepthNews.

In addition, he said, the CTBT is a valuable instrument for nuclear non-proliferation in that testing is necessary for establishing technical and scientific confidence in any developing programme on the part of would-be nuclear possessors.

The fact that the most recent NPT Review Conference adopted a final document, which for the first time recognized the CTBT entry into force as a core element of the international nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation regime attests to the international community's strong support for the Treaty's entry into force.

"I believe that the CTBT -- more than any other measure at our disposal -- bridges the divide between State Parties as it serves to promote all three pillars of the NPT. It signals commitment to disarmament, strengthens non-proliferation, and facilitates peaceful uses," the CTBTO head said. The CTBT in force would indeed be a critical confidence and security building measure in regions such as the Middle East and Asia. ➔



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➔ The reason: "It is a practical tool where progress can be achieved in a relatively short time since the Treaty already exists and enjoys near-universal support. It has a strong verification regime that has been tried and tested. It is the norm that there is no more nuclear testing and political will by the international community to ban nuclear testing is evident. What we need now is tangible progress in bringing the CTBT into force thereby taking the first, most importance step towards the complete abolition of nuclear weapons."

The Hiroshima Declaration called on nations to start work on a "universal treaty" to abolish nuclear weapons. It praised the atomic bombing survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Hibakusha, who have "dedicated their lives to teaching the rest of the world about the horrors of nuclear war." "Nuclear weapons cannot be disinvented, but they can and must be outlawed, just as chemical and biological weapons, landmines and cluster munitions have been declared illegal," said the Hiroshima Declaration.

"The use of nuclear weapons against any people must be regarded as a crime against humanity and should henceforth be prohibited," continued the Declaration. (IDN-InDepthNews/15.11.2010) ■

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## U.S.: Looming Partisan Shift Adds Urgency to Nuke Treaty

By Matthew O. Berger

**WASHINGTON, Nov 12, 2010 (IPS) - When U.S. President Barack Obama capped a flurry of activity on nuclear non-proliferation this spring by welcoming the largest gathering of world leaders ever in Washington for a Nuclear Security Summit, many experts hoped to see cascading effects that would lead to even further elimination of nuclear weapons.**



But progress has stalled since then, with Republican gains in the U.S. Senate threatening not only additional reductions in nuclear weapons but even the reductions already agreed to in a New START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty).

Credit: White House Photo by Pete Souza

That START treaty was signed by Obama and Russian President Dmitri Medvedev in Prague just before the start of April's Washington summit. Since then, a long line of high-profile officials and former diplomats have praised the treaty, but the policymakers who must actually decide whether it gets ratified have given it decidedly mixed reviews.

The U.S. now finds itself in the awkward position of seeing what was viewed as Obama's top foreign policy achievement so far – and a critical step for nuclear non-proliferation – on the verge of falling into legislative limbo.

The treaty also still awaits approval in Moscow. Citing concerns over whether the Senate will ratify the treaty as it was agreed, the Russian Duma's foreign affairs committee has withdrawn its recommendation for ratification in the wake of the Republican victories in last week's U.S. election.

While travelling in Asia, U.S. Secretary of State Hilary Clinton said this week that the Senate should try to get the treaty approved during its current "lame-duck" session, before the newly elected senators arrive and the voted-out ones leave.

Senator John Kerry, chair of the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, said Wednesday he is very hopeful the Senate will take up debate on the accord before that session ends and that it is likely it will.

Many Republicans are less sure. ➔

Image above: President Barack Obama walks on stage for a press conference at the G20 Summit at the Coex Center, in Seoul, South Korea, Nov. 12, 2010.



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➔The treaty would require a two-thirds majority to be ratified, or 67 of the 100 senators. Currently, 57 of those seats are held by Democrats, but that number will drop to 53 when the new Congress begins in January.

Even with the several high-profile Republicans who have announced their support for the treaty, then, the path to ratification is expected to get much steeper after the lame-duck session ends.

But though some on the right are pushing against the New START treaty, which is a follow-up to the original signed in 1991, others are pushing for the next START treaty to go even further.

Micah Zenko, a fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), points out that even after the implementation of the New START the U.S. and Russia will still have enough nuclear weapons to annihilate each other several times over.

The treaty continues the gradual reductions in nuclear stockpiles that have occurred since the end of the Cold War. Specifically, it calls for a reduction in nuclear warheads on deployed missiles and rockets from the 2,200 now allowed to 1,500 for each country. This reduction will take place within seven years of the date the treaty enters into force.

It will also lower the limit of the deployed and non-deployed missiles, rockets and bombers that transport the warheads to 800 total and allow the U.S. and Russia limited monitoring of each others' progress.

Zenko argues that further reductions would be even more advantageous. In a report issued by CFR Tuesday, he says 1,000 warheads, including tactical nuclear weapons, would be both strategically and politically advantageous through decreasing the risk of nuclear weapons theft and nuclear attack and increasing international political support for future U.S. initiatives to reduce or control nuclear warheads – while still maintaining a credible nuclear deterrent.

"An arsenal of one thousand nuclear weapons is more than sufficient to allow the U.S. military to sustain the nuclear triad to deter any plausible current and future threats, or respond with a devastating retaliation in the case of a nuclear first strike," Zenko writes.

But Senator John Kyl fears reducing nuclear weapons will mean less spending on the U.S.'s nuclear infrastructure and on modernising its arsenal, with corresponding job cuts.

Republicans have also expressed concern over language in the treaty that acknowledges Russia's fears over possible expansion of missile defence systems by the U.S. They see these programmes as vital to U.S. national security, while most Democrats, including the Obama administration, do not.

Republicans have also expressed concern over the verification procedures used to ensure Russia complies with the provisions.

Democrats have reassured Republican senators that 80 billion dollars has already been committed to the U.S. nuclear infrastructure over the next 10 years and argue that the verification measures are adequate.

Meanwhile, the START treaty continues to enjoy what U.S. Secretary of Defence Robert Gates calls "the unanimous support of America's military leadership", opening the door for Zenko and others – including former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and former Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov – to begin issuing recommendations for how best to continue the work of the first two START treaties. ■



## **Translations | Adaptations**

### **START Supporters Play Iran Card in Lame-Duck U.S. Congress**

#### **ARABIC**

<http://www.ipsinternational.org/arabic/nota.asp?idnews=2023>

#### **FINNISH**

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=302:start-poeytaeaen&catid=12:finnish&Itemid=13](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=302:start-poeytaeaen&catid=12:finnish&Itemid=13)

#### **GERMAN**

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=305:start-befuerworter&catid=5:german&Itemid=6](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=305:start-befuerworter&catid=5:german&Itemid=6)

#### **SWEDISH**

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=304:iran-bricka&catid=11:swedish&Itemid=12](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=304:iran-bricka&catid=11:swedish&Itemid=12)

#### **JAPANESE**

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=271:2010-10-15-02-08-21&catid=2:japanese&Itemid=3](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=271:2010-10-15-02-08-21&catid=2:japanese&Itemid=3)

#### **TURKISH**

[http://www.polyglot.indepthnews.net/un\\_hosts\\_nuke\\_abolition\\_exhibition\\_in\\_vienna\\_turkish.html](http://www.polyglot.indepthnews.net/un_hosts_nuke_abolition_exhibition_in_vienna_turkish.html)

### **Looming U.S. Partisan Shift Adds Urgency to Nuke Treaty**

#### **ARABIC**

<http://www.ipsinternational.org/arabic/nota.asp?idnews=2019>

#### **DUTCH**

<http://www.ipsnews.be/artikel/machtsverschuiving-amerikaanse-senaat-bedreigt-afbouw-strategisch-kernarsenaal>

#### **FRENCH**

<http://ipsnouvelles.be/news.php?idnews=10755>

#### **GERMAN**

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=293:neuesstart-abkommen&catid=5:german&Itemid=6](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=293:neuesstart-abkommen&catid=5:german&Itemid=6)

#### **ITALIAN**

<http://www.ipsnotizie.it/nota.php?idnews=1679>

#### **JAPANESE**

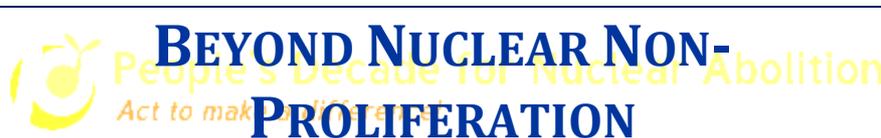
[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=307:looming-partisan-shift&catid=2:japanese&Itemid=3](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=307:looming-partisan-shift&catid=2:japanese&Itemid=3)

#### **SWEDISH**

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=296:osaakerhet-kring&catid=11:swedish&Itemid=12](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=296:osaakerhet-kring&catid=11:swedish&Itemid=12)

#### **TURKISH**

<http://ipsinternational.org/tr/news.asp?idnews=126>



## **Civil Society's Perspective**

### **Health and Environmental Effects of Nuclear War**

**By Tilman Ruff**

(November 2010) What happens to people, other living things and land, water and air when a nuclear weapon explodes? Nuclear weapons literally bring the same magnitude of power that drives the stars in the midst of our fragile interdependent world. It is a power which in scale, persistence and nature of damage inflicted is without parallel.

Apart from a collision with a large celestial body, there is nothing but nuclear weapons that, at any moment, could end human civilization and life on our Earth in the space of a few hours.



#### **Nuclear Weapons and Health**

The World Health Organization has determined that no health service anywhere in the world would be capable of dealing with those injured by blast, burns and radiation from a single nuclear explosion over a city.

The largest nuclear weapons currently deployed each contain as much explosive power as all the bombs used during World War II put together. Nuclear weapons have been built and tested that contained several times more explosive power than the sum of all weapons used in all wars fought throughout human history.

One unique aspect of nuclear technology including weapons is ionizing radiation, an unseen poison produced by many different isotopes. Some important isotopes persist only for hours, days or weeks; others for decades or centuries; yet others for billions of years--time frames which render any current human institution irrelevant. Some are concentrated in plants and animals and mimic normal elements in different parts of our bodies; some in fetal tissues.

Young children and females are most sensitive to harm from radiation. The most injurious feature of radiation is its bundling of energy in a form which is particularly damaging to our genetic blueprint--our DNA. These long molecular chains quite literally make us, and are our most precious inheritance and legacy to the next generation. An acutely lethal dose of radiation may contain no more energy than the heat in a cup of coffee.

Damage to our genetic blueprint can injure and kill cells, be passed to the next generation, or give rise to cancer, even decades later.

New data continue to emerge which demonstrate that there is much about radiation health effects that is poorly understood; and that these effects have consistently been underestimated. Cancer rates among the survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki nuclear bombings are still rising. A recent study of New Zealand veterans 50 years after they participated in 1950s British nuclear tests in the Pacific identified an almost threefold increase in the rate of abnormal chromosomal rearrangements compared with service personnel who had not participated in nuclear tests. Research on veterans of British nuclear tests in Australia found rates of cancer far higher than expected on the basis of their estimated radiation doses. A major recent study of cancer in German children between 1980 and 2003 conclusively demonstrated a more than doubling of the rate of leukemia in children living within 5 km of a nuclear power reactor, with increased risk extending beyond 50 km--again, way beyond rates expected on the basis of conventional understanding of the exposures involved.

#### **Nuclear Winter**

In the 1980s, international teams of scientists discovered that even 100 of the then 70,000 nuclear weapons, if targeted at cities and industrial sites, would ignite vast fires, generating huge amounts of sooty dark smoke. This smoke would envelop the whole planet and cause a "nuclear winter," absorbing so much of the incoming sunlight that the Earth's surface would quickly become dark, cold and dry. Recent studies by some of the world's foremost atmospheric scientists have confirmed not only that these effects would be more severe and prolonged than previously thought, but that abrupt global cooling, unprecedented in recorded human history, would follow a regional nuclear war involving 100 Hiroshima-size nuclear weapons. The millions of tons of smoke from such a war would spread around the whole world within a few weeks, and heated and lofted by the sun, persist in the upper atmosphere beyond the reach of rain and weather, blocking sunlight for at least 10 years. ➔



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➔ Reduced sunlight; cooling, with shorter growing seasons, summer cold spells and frosts; reduced rainfall, by as much as 40 percent in the Asian monsoon regions; more ultraviolet radiation because of depletion of protective ozone in the upper atmosphere; and disruption of supplies of fuel, fertilizer and seed would combine to reduce or eliminate agricultural production around the world over several successive years.

Global grain stocks would feed the world's population for only about two months, and trade in food would cease. It could conservatively be expected that the more than one billion people who are chronically malnourished today, and the several hundred million more highly dependent on grain imports, would not survive long. Even the warheads on one nuclear-armed submarine could produce, in addition to tens of millions of immediate casualties, a global environmental disaster.

These findings have clear policy implications. Vulnerability to nuclear catastrophe unites us all wherever we live. Any use of nuclear weapons risks escalation in unpredictable and uncontrollable ways. Any use of nuclear weapons would not only be an unconscionable crime, but suicidal. Abolishing nuclear weapons is the only practical, sustainable solution--urgently, before they are ever again used. ■

(This article first appeared on the SGI Quarterly website and can be viewed here  
<http://www.sgiquarterly.org/feature2010Oct-3.html>)

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## **ICAN Australia points to risks in new uranium deal with Russia**

(November 2010) The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) Australia is deeply disappointed at Prime Minister Julia Gillard's ratification of a nuclear cooperation agreement that will see Australia selling uranium to Russia.

"The move will see Australia supplying uranium to a country with the world's largest nuclear arsenal, and the largest stockpile of weapons-usable material, much of it inadequately secured," said ICAN Chair Associate Professor Tilman Ruff.

"Russia has the world's worst record of nuclear accidents and radioactive contamination of the global environment. Russia is the known or likely source of most episodes of smuggled nuclear material, including the episode in Georgia just this week.

"Russia continues to develop new nuclear weapons and delivery systems, and continues to fail its legally binding obligation to disarm. Russian nuclear facilities are effectively off-limits to international inspectors.

ICAN Australia also points to the unanimous recommendations of the parliamentary Joint Standing Committee on Treaties (JSCOT) that Australia should not proceed with uranium sales to Russia until significant security measures were addressed. Few if any of these measures have been addressed since the report.

"One of the Committee's recommendations was that Australia should not export uranium to until 'Russia's reform process to clearly separate its civilian nuclear and military nuclear facilities is completed and independently verified.' This has not happened," said Ruff.

"With an arsenal of around 12,000 nuclear weapons, Russia remains a block to global expectations for nuclear disarmament, and Australia's expansion of uranium sales to this nuclear rogue is unwelcome news. We cannot be confident either now or in the future that Australian uranium exported to Russia could not end up in a Russian or a terrorist nuclear weapon," he said. ■



## Civil Society's Perspective

### **Anglo-French Nuclear Deal Reduces Salience of Nuclear Weapons, Says CND**

(November 2, 2010) Responding to the announcement that Britain and France will co-operate on nuclear warhead testing, CND has described the step as 'previously unthinkable', but in line with the recent recognition that nuclear weapons do not address Britain's 'top security risks'.

A new nuclear treaty between the two countries focuses on hydrodynamic testing facilities, which allow the performance and safety of nuclear warheads to be tested without a nuclear explosion taking place. It appears that nuclear weapons testing technology will be now developed in Britain, and the testing will be carried out in France. A planning application to build 'Project Hydrus' hydrodynamic testing facility at Aldermaston was recently agreed, but presumably this facility will now be cancelled to make the financial savings that the government has announced.

**Kate Hudson, CND General Secretary, said:** 'Such cooperation on Britain's supposed 'independent' nuclear weapons system would previously have been unthinkable. But this comes at a time when the recently released National Security Strategy has clearly shown that the salience of nuclear weapons in addressing our top security risks is questioned at the highest levels of government. Such cooperation further breaks down the previously 'unchangeable' status quo on nuclear weapons: the decision on the replacement of Trident has been delayed; the previous 'minimum deterrent' number of nuclear warheads has been reduced; the supposed 'minimum' number of subs is being questioned; 'continuous-at-sea deterrence' is being questioned. Now the facade of 'independence' is further undermined.'

'None of this is surprising as it is now widely recognised that nuclear weapons are irrelevant to our security needs and, at a time of economic crisis and cuts, the majority of the UK population thinks that Trident should be scrapped.'

**But Kate Hudson also cautioned the government** on its compliance with the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty: 'Article 1 of the NPT expressly forbids transfers in relation to nuclear explosive devices. It is vital that this treaty is scrutinised in the light of Article 1. But the fundamental point that both Britain and France have to recognise and act upon is that the NPT - to which they are signatories - requires both of them to disarm their nuclear weapons. Rearranging the deckchairs on the nuclear sub is not sufficient.' ■

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### **Nuclear Body Parts Scandal Goes Way Beyond Sellafield**

(November 6, 2010) Commenting on the publication of the Redfern Inquiry into human tissue analysis in UK nuclear facilities, CND expressed profound concern that in addition to the previously uncovered abuse of nuclear industry workers, other researchers had taken samples from thousands of individuals "mostly children under the age of six", in many cases, without familial consent.

In addition to the cases that sparked the inquiry - where tissue had been taken from deceased Sellafield workers - Michael Redfern QC uncovered comparable practices at the Atomic Weapons Establishment (AWE), the National Radiological Protection Board (NRPB) and the Medical Research Council (MRC). The last case is the greatest in scope with the Inquiry reporting "In all, in addition to the 91 fetus, bone (femur or, later in the study, vertebrae) was collected for the UK strontium research from 6,072 individuals, mostly children under the age of six." [Chapter 14: Findings, Point 71, page 580]

Kate Hudson, General Secretary of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, said "These abhorrent practices continued undetected for decades - most frequently at Sellafield - but also at other nuclear sites including the Aldermaston Atomic Weapons Establishment. The removal of body parts points to the major fear that the nuclear industry obviously had about the impact of radiation on their workers. Disgracefully they chose to conduct investigations without the informed consent of the families of their workers and then kept this fact secret for many years.

"The further revelation that investigations into the effects of nuclear weapons testing - large scale studies for Strontium-90 in the general population - had resulted in samples taken not from dozens of people but over 6,000 without consent. Despite legislation outlawing this after 1961 the studies continued for another decade. It is particularly chilling that it was young children - who were, as the report concludes 'mostly' under the age of six - that were the source of this material." ■



## **Civil Society's Perspective**

### **CND calls for Troops out of Afghanistan as NATO leaders debate the war**

(November 29, 2010) Final preparations are underway ahead of today's anti-war demonstration, co-organised by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Thousands are expected, with coaches bringing campaigners from over 30 towns and cities nationwide. Polls consistently show over 70 percent of the public support the immediate withdrawal of British forces from Afghanistan.

The march from Hyde Park (assembling at noon and departing at 1pm) will be followed by a rally in Trafalgar Square from 2:15. Speakers will include Joe Glenton - who, after serving six months in military jail for refusing to return to Afghanistan, yesterday handed back his medal to 10 Downing Street.

The demonstration is timed to coincide with the NATO summit in Portugal where David Cameron, Barack Obama and the leaders of other NATO member states will debate the quagmire of Afghanistan as well as seek to agree a new 'Strategic Concept' for the alliance. One of the major flashpoints is expected to be the presence of Cold War-era nuclear weapons still deployed in Europe. Several of the host countries, led by Germany, are calling for their withdrawal whereas other - non-host states - are fighting for the 200 or so free fall nuclear bombs to be kept.

Kate Hudson, General Secretary of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, said "Yesterday saw the 100th British combat death in Afghanistan this year, yet the Government wants us to stay there until 2015. That is five years too long. How many more will die by then? Why should countless lives and billions of pounds be poured into an effort which is clearly part of the problems of Afghanistan, not part of their solution. All forces in Afghan society need to come to an accommodation. NATO tactics, with frequent targeting errors causing mass civilian casualties, only serve to deepen the insurgency. Polls show over 70 percent of Britons want the troops brought home, yet none of the major parties seem to be listening. We need to end this bloody war and bring the troops home now!"

Commenting on the NATO summit she continued, "NATO talks about a post-Cold War policy, but two decades after the fall of the Berlin Wall it seems likely proposals to withdraw US nuclear weapons from Europe will be blocked. The countries that host these bombs want them gone, but NATO looks set to keep these weapons of mass destruction there, against their will".

In a statement to be read at the demonstration, Ken Livingstone said "We must end this war that adds to a vicious circle in which Muslims are seen as the enemy without and within which in turn acts as a breeding ground for racism and fascism. The war in Afghanistan now seems like a war without end.

Nearly ten years since it started there is no real clear sense of when this conflict will be brought to a halt. It is not surprising that there is so much opposition to the war in working class communities. People can see that their loved ones are being sent to fight in a war that seems to have no clear military objectives. This is the month we commemorate those who have been killed and wounded in war. Yet at the same time we are sending more young people into battle. We should honour those who lost their lives in past wars by stopping present and future wars." ■

Logistical details:

Demonstration and rally name: 'Afghanistan: Time to Go'

Organisers: Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Stop the War Coalition and British Muslim Initiative

Demonstration assembles North Carriage Drive, Speakers Corner, Hyde Park at 12 noon

March begins at 1PM

Route: North Carriage Drive out of Hyde Park, along Park Lane, Piccadilly, Regent Street, Pall Mall to Trafalgar Square

Map:

<http://maps.google.co.uk/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&hl=en&msa=0&msid=100671786356685398760.00049552e3357343c309b&ll=51.511734,-0.142264&spn=0.012233,0.038581&z=15>



## What Others Say

### **Quo Vadis Nuclear Disarmament: Where Are We Heading?**

**By Sergio Duarte**

High Representative for Disarmament Affairs United Nations  
International Seminar on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation:  
Toward the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons  
Hosted by Nonproliferation for Global Security Foundation  
Buenos Aires, Argentina | 4 November 4, 2010

It is always an honour for me to have the privilege of visiting Buenos Aires. But today I am all the more grateful, for the hosts of this seminar have chosen a subject—“Toward the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons”—that is very close to my heart. I have been working on this issue for many decades, and am pleased indeed to see it once again rising to the high position on the international agenda where it belongs.

I wish in particular to thank Irma Arguello both for her efforts in organizing this event, as well as for her own personal contributions in moving this field forward. She understands well the importance of education in addressing the many complex problems associated with achieving nuclear disarmament, while also working to prevent the global proliferation of nuclear weapons and the future dangers of nuclear terrorism.

If I may, I would like to begin with a reference from analytic geometry, which I readily concede is not my *métier*. Let us consider the term, “asymptote”—which refers to the curve of a line that declines endlessly toward zero, but never quite reaches it. Interestingly, the origins of this strange word come from Greece, where *asymptotos* means “not falling together.” Applied to the field of nuclear disarmament, an asymptote would take us down to very low levels of nuclear weapons, but never quite achieving the long-sought “world free of nuclear weapons.”

Of course, great tributes might still be made to this goal, but concrete achievement would always fall short of its fulfilment, if disarmament follows such a path. Many people today believe that this is essentially what is going on with the “step-by-step” approach to disarmament.

Now there is nothing inherently wrong with taking incremental steps toward a universally agreed goal. What is crucial is for these steps to be viewed not merely as progress toward a goal, but as steps in actually achieving that goal.

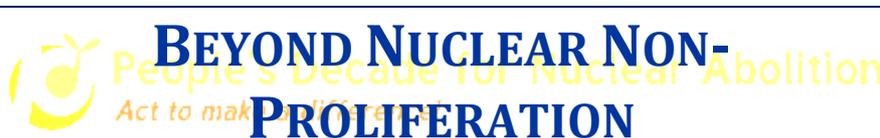
Critics of the step-by-step approach to disarmament often view it as a kind of game involving the rolling out of condition after condition, with the net result that disarmament becomes merely a distant vision, an ultimate objective, or the top of what has been called a “misty mountaintop.” This type of step-by-step process reminds me of a famous print by the graphic artist M.C. Escher, which depicts faceless drones stepping endlessly up a magical staircase that goes round and round only to end right back where it started. In art, this type of figure is commonly called an “impossible object”—though the same phenomenon is unfortunately observed quite often in diplomacy and politics.

The use of conditions or preconditions as a kind of subterfuge for avoiding real disarmament activities is hardly new. Alva Myrdal’s 1976 book, The Game of Disarmament, contains this observation about how the game was played during the Cold War:

...both sides would present proposals for disarmament agreement, of often wholesale dimensions, but would be careful to see to it that these would contain conditions which the opposite side could not accept. This is the way disarmament was, and is, continually torpedoed.”

Today, we do not see many proposals for comprehensive approaches to disarmament, at least not along the lines of “general and complete disarmament under effective international control”, which the General Assembly’s first Special Session on disarmament in 1978 established as the UN’s “ultimate objective” in this field.

Instead, we see a proliferation of preconditions for disarmament, and many indications that this game has acquired new players and some new rules, but it remains in many ways the same old game. ↻



## What Others Say

➡ Proposals to defer disarmament until world peace can first be achieved fall into this category, as do calls to postpone this progress until all WMD proliferation threats can first be eliminated, all regional disputes are first settled, the risk of WMD terrorism is first reduced to zero, all dangerous WMD-related materials are first completely accounted for and placed under infallible security controls, and of course, there must also first be a solution to the problem of war. The result of—and I believe the real purpose of—all these preconditions is to postpone indefinitely the achievement of disarmament.

The same point is true with respect to those who argue that disarmament must await a fundamental transformation of human consciousness and the dawn of an entirely new society based on non-violence, and the withering away of all national militaries or even the nation state itself. Unlike the previous approach, those who favour these types of preconditions have no interest whatsoever in preserving nuclear weapons forever. They have just come to question the conclusion that incremental, step-by-step negotiations and adjustments to the current system of international security will be sufficient to produce a nuclear-weapon-free world. Their radical prescription is not based so much on utopianism or fanciful idealism, as it is on a frustrated response to “business as usual” in the ongoing game of disarmament—a game in which disarmament is honoured more with words than with concrete deeds.

Yet this is not at all the whole story of how disarmament has been addressed at the United Nations.

Historically, the UN disarmament machinery—which consists of the UN Disarmament Commission, the General Assembly’s First Committee, and the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva—has served as a mechanism for establishing and maintaining multilateral norms. Its goals are quite clear, and have been for over six decades—namely, the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, biological, and chemical) and the limitation or regulation of conventional arms. But this is not all that has been achieved—a mere agreement on final goals.

This complex and ongoing multilateral process has also generated a consensus in the world community on certain standards that should apply to disarmament agreements—standards that governments and citizens everywhere should use in assessing such agreements, to judge whether they are real or not. These standards are not put forward as conditions or preconditions for disarmament to occur—they are simply criteria that enable us all to conclude with high confidence that disarmament is actually occurring.

These five standards can easily be found in literally hundreds of General Assembly resolutions and in deliberations throughout the NPT review process, including the final documents adopted at the end of the five-year Review Conferences.

The first of these standards is verification, which encompasses all the various means—both national and international—that enable States to confirm that other States are fully complying with their obligations. While unilateral declarations do have their limited roles to play in the process in disarmament—as seen in the parallel Presidential Nuclear Initiatives in 1991 involving the removal from deployment of thousands of short-range tactical nuclear weapons by the United States and the Russian Federation—such declarations cannot suffice as a means to achieve zero.

Verification is not the only standard that helps States to reassure themselves that cheating is not occurring—transparency serves a similar purpose. Both of these are confidence builders. It is very difficult to imagine how the world will ever get to zero without comprehensive, verified data on the numbers of nuclear weapons, the quantities of fissile material, and nuclear-weapon delivery systems. Transparency enables the world to witness disarmament as it is underway, and to gauge its progress in achieving elimination.

The third standard is irreversibility—this is yet another confidence-building measure the world community has agreed is important in future disarmament agreements, a measure deemed essential in avoiding strategic surprises, or sudden attempts to reverse disarmament commitments. Irreversibility underscores the need to erect formidable political and technical barriers to abandoning disarmament commitments, barriers that are reinforced by the other operating standards of verification and transparency. The goal here is not only to discourage reversals, but also to be able to detect them in time to discourage them or to prepare collective international responses. Ideally, the goal of irreversibility is not only to make reversals unlikely, but impossible. ➡



## What Others Say

➡ As important as they are, these three standards of verification, transparency, and irreversibility are still not alone sufficient to lead us to a world free of nuclear weapons.

This brings me to the fourth standard—one of universality—which holds that nuclear disarmament is not something to be undertaken only by some countries. It is instead a solemn responsibility of all countries. This certainly is true with respect to all States Parties of the NPT, who have this explicit obligation in Article VI of the Treaty. Yet it is also a theme in Security Council resolution 1887, which was adopted at the Council's high-level summit on 24 September last year. In that resolution, the Council called upon all States—not just those party to the NPT—to join in pursuing negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to nuclear arms reduction and disarmament, as well as on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. Nuclear disarmament is widely supported in the world today because it is seen as a legitimate goal—legitimate in having been agreed upon through an open democratic process, and legitimate because of its substantive fairness in not attempting to apply a double standard.

And the last standard relates to all of the above—namely, bindingness. The world will not achieve zero based solely on toasts, press releases, or speeches about lofty mountaintops. Nuclear weapons are the most dangerous weapons on earth, so it should not be at all surprising that the world community would absolutely insist upon the strictest possible standards to establish and to maintain a nuclear-weapon free world. Treaty commitments play an indispensable role in nailing down concrete commitments, and in giving these commitments some permanence and sustainability. This is why the Secretary-General has attached such importance to the pursuit of a nuclear weapons convention or a framework of mutually-reinforcing instruments with the same goal. In this sense, the treaty ratification process is not a nuisance or an inconvenience—it is essential in ensuring that commitments are rooted both in domestic law and in strong domestic political support. Nuclear disarmament will not be achieved over the heads of the legislatures, but in partnership with the legislatures and, indeed, the public at large.

If I may now turn from analytic geometry to physics for my metaphors, there is little question that there has been some increased “momentum” in the business of disarmament over the last few years, though this is somewhat difficult to plot on any line and even more difficult to use as a basis for predicting the future.

Yet the “momentum” in physics—which focuses on the forces of objects in motion—is not quite the same as momentum in diplomacy and politics, which combines both movement with direction toward a specific destination. Many words have been written and spoken about disarmament in recent years, this is beyond question. We have seen such words in General Assembly resolutions, Final Documents of NPT Review Conferences, national and bilateral statements by the Presidents of the States with the largest nuclear arsenals, detailed reports by respected international commissions, opinion- editorials by senior statesmen in the United States and at least a dozen additional States, and of course in a welcome growth of civil society initiatives worldwide for nuclear disarmament. I need not elaborate my evidence today, as you in this audience know what I am addressing because you have seen it too and are contributing to it.

Collectively, these words have generated increased expectations for progress. Throughout the world community—and at all levels from civil society, national governments, regional organizations, to international organizations—these rising expectations are together what is giving disarmament its new momentum. This momentum is not visible simply in the frequency of the embrace of disarmament as a distant goal, but is seen more importantly in growing demands for concrete actions to achieve it. It was not a mere coincidence that the 2010 NPT Review Conference agreed to a 64-point Action Plan addressing the treaty's key goals, including disarmament.

This new momentum has some potential to take us not just “toward” the elimination of nuclear weapons. It may well enable us actually to achieve such a goal.

Yet nobody, of course, can predict where this ongoing process will lead.

It may fade and result in incremental movement along the asymptotic downward curve that disappears over the distant horizon to every destination other than zero. ➡



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## What Others Say

Or it may, in the worse of circumstances, be overcome by sweeping political forces that pull us toward a fully anarchic, self-help world in which each nation is compelled to believe that it has no choice other than to acquire the most vital, most essential, most indispensable weapon of national defence—which is precisely as such weapons have been described by other possessors.

Yet, in the best of circumstances, this momentum may only continue to grow, as the nuclear-weapon States do more to convince the world of their determination to fulfil their disarmament commitments, as other countries combine their efforts to pursue a world free of these weapons, and as civil society continues its dedicated efforts to sway governments and public opinion on the advantages of pursuing a nuclear-weapon-free world.

If we see disarmament agencies making their appearance in the nuclear-weapon States, see domestic laws and regulations addressing the implementation of disarmament commitments, see budgets earmarked for disarmament activities, see domestic laboratories, companies, and organizations mandated to undertake disarmament responsibilities, see evidence that weapons are actually being physically destroyed in large numbers, and see substantial new information about the size and disposition of nuclear arsenals and their fissile materials and delivery systems in all possessor States, along with other detailed data on concrete disarmament actions—this will together be impressive evidence that the momentum for disarmament is not only continuing, but growing and moving in the right direction.

I am pleased that several of the nuclear-weapon States have in recent years published additional details about their respective arsenals. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon believes that such information is important in the wider process of strengthening accountability and transparency in implementing disarmament commitments. As part of his five-point nuclear disarmament proposal in October 2008, he invited these States to submit such information to the UN Secretariat to encourage its wider dissemination.

This idea was incorporated in Action 21 of the recommendations adopted at the 2010 NPT Review Conference, which invited the Secretary-General to establish a “publicly accessible repository” of such information. Action 21 also invited these States to adopt a “standardized reporting form” for this purpose and to agree on appropriate reporting intervals. The nuclear-weapon States will be meeting in Paris next April for their first follow-up meeting after the Review Conference, and the UN Office for Disarmament Affairs is looking forward to establishing a repository on its web site for reporting this information.

So where in conclusion is nuclear disarmament heading? Will the world accept the “fewer nukes” solution offered by asymptotic disarmament policies as sufficient? Probably not—certainly no more than the nuclear-weapon States would accept partial commitments to nuclear non-proliferation. And if given the facts on the risks posed by a world without nuclear disarmament and with endless proliferation, might the last stubborn sources of resistance to disarmament start to reconsider? Maybe so, at least this would open up the possibility of achieving, as President Obama said in Prague in April 2009, the “peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons.”

In a very real sense, the future of the world will depend in tremendously significant ways on the future of nuclear disarmament. Are the peoples and countries of the world willing to put at risk all that has been accomplished in modern times in building international interdependence, for the illusory national security benefits produced by clinging on to these obsolete, costly, and inherently dangerous weapons—weapons that are widely viewed as illegitimate and inhumane? I do not think so, and this gives me at least some hope for the future. In terms of preventing nuclear threats, there is no alternative policy that does this better than eliminating such weapons.

Nuclear disarmament therefore does indeed have a future. It is the right thing to do. And it works. ■



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People's Decade for Nuclear Abolition  
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## What Others Say

### Further Speeches of Sergio Duarte High Representative for Disarmament Affairs United Nations



### Other Weapons of Mass Destruction

Seminar on 'Latin America and the Caribbean Facing Disarmament and Non-Proliferation: Opportunities and Challenges'  
Montevideo, Uruguay on November 9, 2010

[http://www.un.org/disarmament/HomePage/HR/docs/2010/2010November09\\_Montevideo\\_other\\_WMD.pdf](http://www.un.org/disarmament/HomePage/HR/docs/2010/2010November09_Montevideo_other_WMD.pdf)

### The Secretary-General's Five-Point Proposal for Nuclear Disarmament

Seminar on Latin America and the Caribbean: Facing Disarmament and Non-Proliferation: Opportunities and Challenges  
Montevideo, Uruguay November 8, 2010

[http://www.un.org/disarmament/HomePage/HR/docs/2010/2010November08\\_Montevideo\\_5\\_point\\_plan.pdf](http://www.un.org/disarmament/HomePage/HR/docs/2010/2010November08_Montevideo_5_point_plan.pdf)



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