



BEYOND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

NEWSLETTER FOR STRENGTHENING AWARENESS OF NUCLEAR ABOLITION WITH AUGUST 2011 ARTICLES

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In-Depth Reports

Concern Grows Over Prospects for Middle East Disarmament Meeting

UNITED NATIONS - Four months before 2012 - the year a conference is slated to be held on freeing the Middle East region of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) - no date, facilitator, or host country has been named. At the Non- Proliferation Treaty (NPT) review conference in 2010, parties to the treaty agreed to organise a conference in 2012 involving all states in the Middle East to discuss biological, chemical, and nuclear disarmament in the region - in accordance with the 1995 Resolution on the Middle East. The United States, the United Kingdom, Russia and the United Nations Secretary General were to lead these efforts. **Read more on page 2**

U.S. Nuclear Arsenal Holds Fast to Status Quo

UNITED NATIONS - The United States is likely to maintain and sustain its huge arsenal of nuclear weapons for many years to come, even though President Barack Obama has repeatedly stressed that he stands for nuclear disarmament and global peace, non-proliferation experts believe. "President Obama is very assertive. But it's not clear how much [more] assertive he chooses to be," said Hans Kristensen, director of the Nuclear Information Project with the Federation of American Scientists (FAS), a policy think tank based in Washington that monitors U.S. nuclear policy on ethical grounds. **Read more on page 3**

Atomic Test Ban Crucial to Nuke Free World

TOKYO - When the world commemorates the International Day against Nuclear Tests for the second time on August 29, it would have reasons to rejoice at the progress made toward a nuclear-weapon-free world, and at the same time take note of roadblocks ahead before that goal is achieved. **Read more on page 6**

Pakistan Rock Firm Against New Nuclear Treaty

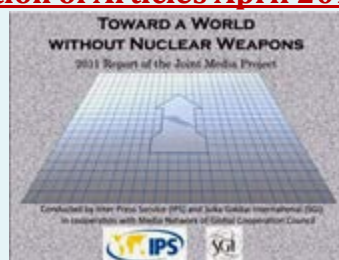
TORONTO - Pakistan is standing like a rock in the surf resisting growing international pressure to endorse a global treaty that would ban production of fissile material used as fuel for nuclear weapons. Reiterating its adamant opposition, Pakistan has warned that it would boycott any process to negotiate a U.S.-backed treaty outside the deadlocked UN Conference on Disarmament (CD), the sole negotiating forum for multilateral disarmament. **Read more on page 9**

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IPS Report

Concern Grows Over Prospects for Middle East Disarmament Meeting

By Elizabeth Whitman

UNITED NATIONS, Aug 25, 2011 (IPS) - Four months before 2012 - the year a conference is slated to be held on freeing the Middle East region of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) - no date, facilitator, or host country has been named.

At the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) review conference in 2010, parties to the treaty agreed to organise a conference in 2012 involving all states in the Middle East to discuss biological, chemical, and nuclear disarmament in the region - in accordance with the 1995 Resolution on the Middle East. The United States, the United Kingdom, Russia and the United Nations Secretary General were to lead these efforts.

Though planning discussions are underway among high level officials from both Middle Eastern governments and the governments leading the planning effort, the fact that these countries have not yet named a host country, facilitator, or date - all of which are necessary to hold the meeting - is "disappointing," said Anne Penketh, Washington director of the British American Security Information Council, in an interview with IPS.

Daryl Kimball, executive director of the Arms Control Association also noted that intensive consultations to plan for the meeting were taking place. But he expressed worry that provided the conference does happen, states will have been too focused on logistics in the lead up to the meeting rather than its substance to make it productive.

Though many issues have contributed to the delay in settling on the essential logistics of the conference, a significant one is the fact that states cannot agree over who should host the conference or serve as facilitator.

The very act of bringing together states in the Middle East is a challenge, Kimball emphasised, and agreeing simply to hold a conference was a "breakthrough," he told IPS. "This is a very challenging proposition - to get Israel and Egypt and Iran and Syria and Saudi Arabia in the same meeting room and to do so in a way that produces a constructive conversation."

Elephant in the Room

Israel's undeclared nuclear arsenal remains an obstacle in many areas of political discussion, but is especially sensitive when the discussion revolves around disarmament. Israel took offence at the final document of the 2010 NPT review conference, which singled out the country for not being a signatory to the agreement.

As a result, according to Penketh and Kimball, the Israeli government is concerned that the 2012 conference could evolve into a meeting focusing singularly on Israel and its nuclear weapons programme.

Yet such a possibility only enhances the benefits to Israel if it participates in the conference. Attending would improve Israel's credentials in the region, Kimball pointed out. "It would give Israel the opportunity to point out the ways in which other countries in the region need to meet their own chemical, biological, and nuclear non-proliferation obligations," he added.

Israel is the only country in the Middle East that is not party to the NPT and the fact that it possesses an undeclared nuclear arsenal is widely accepted. Syria and Iran are party to the treaty but are widely believed to be developing chemical and nuclear arsenals, respectively.

Israel's level of commitment to the 2012 conference is uncertain. It has said in the past that it would participate on the condition that Israel would not be singled out for criticism, and Kimball said that Israel has been "cagey" about whether or not it would participate in the conference.

Yet Penketh said she had spoken with Israeli officials who were "open" to discussions on a WMD free zone, and she said the Israelis remained engaged in the discussion process.

The Israeli Mission to the U.N. did not respond to a request for comment. ➔



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Peace in the Middle East

The current political upheaval and uncertainty sweeping through many countries in the Middle East does not simplify discussion over what is already an extremely complicated and sensitive topic.

Recently, disarmament "has not been the top issue on the diplomatic agenda for these countries," Kimball noted. As a result, the planning process has been delayed.

Yet even if governments are preoccupied, the unrest makes the case for a disarmament conference, especially one where Israel sits down with all of its neighbours, all the more compelling, said Penketh.

She said that some countries might seize on the unrest as an excuse not to attend the 2012 conference but that she hadn't seen concrete evidence that any countries actually intended to do so.

Disarmament has always been closely connected to the Middle East peace process, especially because for one of the key players in the peace process, Israel, security is a top priority.

In an email to IPS, Richard Butler, former U.N. weapons inspector, called disarmament "intrinsicly important" to the peace process.

But Penketh suggests there is a "strong argument" for separating the peace and disarmament processes.

Regardless of the connection between disarmament in the Middle East and the peace process in the region or what form it takes, however, both are long and complicated efforts requiring time and consistent commitment. Disarmament in the Middle East cannot be accomplished over the course of a single conference, but without such an initiative, progress is even more unlikely.

"Things are moving too slowly," Penketh concluded. "But they are moving." ■

U.S. Nuclear Arsenal Holds Fast to Status Quo

By Haider Rizvi

UNITED NATIONS, Aug 17, 2011 (IPS) - The United States is likely to maintain and sustain its huge arsenal of nuclear weapons for many years to come, even though President Barack Obama has repeatedly stressed that he stands for nuclear disarmament and global peace, non-proliferation experts believe.

"President Obama is very assertive. But it's not clear how much [more] assertive he chooses to be," said Hans Kristensen, director of the Nuclear Information Project with the Federation of American Scientists (FAS), a policy think tank based in Washington that monitors U.S. nuclear policy on ethical grounds.

In an analytical report web posted by FAS on August 10, Kristensen and his colleague, Robert Norris, warned that President Obama might fail to implement his agenda on nuclear disarmament due to lack of cooperation by the civil and military bureaucracy in Washington.

"There is concern over whether Obama's goals can be realised within the enduring bureaucracies that have a stake in the status quo," Kristensen wrote in the FAS report.

Both Kristensen and Norris think that a "radical break" is needed to set the United States on a new path capable of realising deep cuts in and the possible elimination of nuclear weapons. That break, they argue, must include abandonment of the concept of "counterforce", the ruling paradigm that focuses on eliminating an enemy's nuclear weapons, infrastructure and war-making abilities. ➡



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← Hans Kristensen, director of the Nuclear Information Project with FAS

Currently, the United States and Russia are the world's largest nuclear weapons states. They possess 93 percent of the total number of nuclear weapons in the world, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, a Swedish think tank that tracks weapon production and exports worldwide.

In addition, China has 400 warheads, France 348, and Israel and Britain 200 each. India is believed to have more than 80 and Pakistan about 40 nuclear weapons. The newest member of the nuclear club, North Korea, has no more than 10 "small" nuclear weapons, according to the institute's estimates.

Many critics see the United States as the most irresponsible member of the nuclear club, for not only failing in its obligations under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), but also going to great lengths to derail the international discourse on nuclear disarmament in the past.

The Ronald Reagan administration (1981-89), for example, looked the other way when Pakistan was developing its illegal nuclear programme in the 1980s. Similarly, the George W. Bush administration (2001- 2009) decided to make a nuclear trade deal with India that remains outside the fold of the NPT.

The Obama administration has signed a new strategic arms treaty with Russia, but it allows the United States to keep at least 3,500 nuclear weapons in its arsenal even after 2020. That, as proponents of disarmament noted at the time, was a step in the right direction, but not enough.

According to FAS researchers, the more general policy concepts are currently travelling through the various departments, offices and bureaucracies in Washington, and will then be translated into highly detailed and "carefully orchestrated strike plans that instruct the war fighter how and when to attack a specific target".

The result, according to Kristensen and Norris, is "a fully articulated war plan".

The FAS report points out that the implementation of Obama's Nuclear Posture Review is now taking place at various levels, but that remains out of public view. "It has potentially enormous implementations, depending on the outcome," the report says.

Obama's agenda on disarmament has five key objectives, which include prevention of nuclear proliferation and terrorism; reduction of the role of nuclear weapons; maintenance of strategic deterrence; strengthening of regional alliances; and sustaining a safe, secure and effective nuclear arsenal.

To advance his goals, Obama should issue a Presidential Policy Directive that explains a new nuclear deterrence plan focused on destroying essential enemy infrastructure, Kristensen said.

"The president's guidance is very generic. It has some basic principles," Kristensen told IPS. "It's up to the military to interpret it. Also, there are [several] other actors whose mind-set [is shaped] by the days of the Cold War. It's very hard to change their mind-set."

Reflecting on the FAS analysis, David Krieger, a long-time peace activist and executive director of the Nuclear Age peace Foundation, told IPS that "minimum deterrence would be a significant step forward, if it meant reducing the number of nuclear weapons in our arsenal to 20 to 30 weapons."

On maintaining minimal deterrence, he thinks that moving away from counterforce targeting could be useful, but it is far from sufficient. In his view, it may somewhat reduce the magnitude of the disaster of using nuclear weapons, but it still maintains reliance on nuclear deterrence, a theory that could fail. ☹



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"It is deeply immoral and cannot be relied upon for security," said Krieger. "Such a move away from counterforce targeting should be accompanied by a firm commitment to a policy of 'No First Use' of nuclear weapons, to de-alerting the U.S. nuclear arsenal and to the initiation of good faith negotiations for a Nuclear Weapons Convention."

The draft memo the FAS authors prepared for Obama refers to Article VI of the NPT, which calls for "the eventual elimination of nuclear weapons".

"Actually, Article VI calls for pursuing good faith negotiations to end the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament," Krieger said. "The U.S. has viewed it as 'eventual', which may be code for 'never'."

"President Obama's commitment to nuclear modernisation continues the nuclear arms race, albeit at a lower level, and his commitment to nuclear weapons elimination appears to be only in the distant future, not in my lifetime," he said.

For his part, Kristensen stresses that the total abolition of nuclear weapons demands a collaborative international effort. "The word 'deterrence' means different things to different people. None of the nuclear powers are expected to go to zero alone."

"While we talk about disarmament, other nuclear countries have to reduce the role of nuclear weapons in national security," he added, "otherwise, we are not going to get anywhere. It's probably the only and last chance to really influence the U.S. nuclear policy." ■

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Atomic Test Ban Crucial to Nuke Free World

By Taro Ichikawa



President Kennedy signing Nuke Test Ban Treaty in 1963
Photo: Wikimedia Commons

TOKYO, Aug 15, 2011 (IDN) - When the world commemorates the International Day against Nuclear Tests for the second time on August 29, it would have reasons to rejoice at the progress made toward a nuclear-weapon-free world, and at the same time take note of roadblocks ahead before that goal is achieved.

A significant reason to be delighted, as the UN points out, is that in the meantime, the Southern hemisphere of the planet has already become almost entirely one nuclear-weapon-free zone by virtue of regional treaties.

These are: the Treaty of Rarotonga, covering the South Pacific, the Treaty of Pelindaba, spanning Africa, the Treaty of Bangkok covering Southeast Asia, the Treaty of Tlatelolco, straddling Latin America and the Caribbean and the Antarctic Treaty. Since March 2009, the Treaty on a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in Central Asia has entered into force – the first such instrument situated entirely north of the Equator.

The significance of the International Day against Nuclear Tests is underlined in the UN General Assembly unanimously adopting resolution 64/35 on December 2, 2009, its preamble stating that "every effort should be made to end nuclear tests in order to avert devastating and harmful effects on the lives and health of people" and that "the end of nuclear tests is one of the key means of achieving the goal of a nuclear-weapon-free world."

Since the International Day against Nuclear Tests was first declared, there have been a number of significant developments, discussions and initiatives relevant to its goals and objectives. For this reason, the situation is rather complicated, as aptly explained by Akio Suda, Japan's Ambassador to the stalemated Conference on Disarmament (CD) in Geneva on July 28 at a UN conference in Matsumoto.

The Matsumoto gathering from July 27 to 29 was organized by the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA) through its Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific. Some 90 participants from Governments, academia and think tanks, international and non-governmental organizations, as well as the media attended the Conference. Unlike other UN conferences, it was open to the public "as a way to raise general awareness of and support for disarmament and non-proliferation".

The overarching theme of the Conference, which has been hosted by Japan since 1989, was: 'Urgent and United Action towards a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World'. Issues to be addressed included the implementation of the Action Plan of the 2010 NPT (Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty) Review Conference; nuclear disarmament measures by nuclear-weapon States; the prospects of negotiation of a fissile material cut-off treaty; taking concrete steps towards the negotiation of a nuclear weapons convention; as well as the role of civil society in peace and disarmament.

Enhancing nuclear safety and security was also high on the Conference's agenda, especially in the wake of the recent accident at the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant. A special session was devoted to peace and disarmament education, including discussions with high school students on the importance of promoting peace and security through disarmament efforts. ➡



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Japan's Official View

Explaining Japan's official view on central themes of the conference, Ambassador Suda said: "When we talk about where we now stand concerning nuclear disarmament, we can list several important and positive movements over the past two or three years. The momentum seems to be high towards a world free of nuclear weapons. With this momentum, we should certainly intensify our discussions on the process of nuclear disarmament towards the total elimination of nuclear weapons."

At the same time, he warned: "We have to look at the reality. Besides some progress in nuclear weapons free zones and CTBT (Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty) ratifications, there has been very little movement in multilateral nuclear disarmament since, say, the Prague speech more than two years ago or the NPT Review Conference last May."

Suda told the Conference that "in the process of reducing and eventually eliminating nuclear weapons, to ban the production of the basic materials for nuclear weapon purposes, a cut-off provides a firm and indispensable basis for further disarmament."

But the CD in Geneva is deadlocked precisely on the issue of Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT) as Pakistan maintains that it is discriminatory and goes as far as to benefit its neighbour India. And yet, Suda said, FMCT will have significant impact: There will be no further nuclear proliferation among states outside the NPT. "It will reduce structural discrimination under the NPT, by obliging nuclear-weapon states of, at least, banning the production and receiving verification thereof."

Further, FMCT "will lay a firm legal basis for the continuous reduction of the total number of nuclear weapons in the world by making the disarmament process irreversible. Once nuclear possessing states reduce their stockpiles of fissile materials voluntarily or by any reason, they cannot go back to the prior level."

U.S. Perspective

Pointing to reasons for rejoicing, Ambassador Susan F. Burk, Special Representative of the U.S. President for Nuclear Non-Proliferation said the May 2010 "NPT Action Plan's 64 actions and its decision on the Middle East represent a set of follow-on actions whose implementation promises to strengthen the Treaty."

On disarmament, she pointed out, the New START Treaty has entered into force and implementation is well underway. "The U.S. is committed to continuing a step-by-step process to reduce the overall numbers of nuclear weapons, which would include the pursuit of a future agreement with Russia for broad reductions in all nuclear weapons – strategic, non-strategic, deployed and non-deployed."

Another positive development was meeting of the P5 (UN Security Council's permanent members U.S., Russia, China, France and Britain) in Paris on June 30-July 1 to work together in pursuit of their shared goal of nuclear disarmament, including engagement on the steps outlined in Action 5, as well as reporting and other efforts called for in the Action Plan. This was a continuation of discussions begun in London in 2009. "In order to ensure that these conferences evolve into a regular process of P5 dialogue, we agreed to hold a third conference in 2012," Burk said.

She assured that the U.S. remains committed to securing ratification of the CTBT, and is engaging the U.S. Senate and the American public on the merits of that treaty. Washington is also continuing to work with partners to move forward on FMCT negotiations.

In support of the peaceful uses agenda, in December 2010 the IAEA Board of Governors approved a proposal authorizing the Agency's Director General to establish an IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) administered and controlled low-enriched uranium bank as a fuel assurance for Member States in the event of disruption of the fuel supply to their peaceful programs. ➡



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According to Burk, the United States also has been working closely with the IAEA to implement the Peaceful Uses Initiative, towards which Washington will contribute \$50 million before the 2015 NPT Review Conference. It has already funded more than \$9 million in projects with involvement from more than 80 countries. While Japan and South Korea have agreed to contribute to the Initiative, the U.S. is actively seeking other partners.

President Barack Obama's Special Representative for Nuclear Non-Proliferation said the U.S. was committed to a successful Middle East conference as envisaged in the NPT Review Conference's Action Plan: "A first step is naming a conference host state and facilitator, which we aim to do in the very near future. Together with the United Kingdom and Russia, the United States has held extensive consultations with states in the region on how we can ensure a successful conference in 2012."

In an obvious attempt to avoid possible disappointments, Burk said: "The success of the conference and similar efforts cannot be imposed from outside. It will depend on the willingness of the regional states to help build an atmosphere conducive to constructive dialogue on all relevant issues."

Youth Forum

Following on the footsteps of the UN Conference, 900 youth from Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Okinawa held a forum at the Peace Hall of the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum. The youth of the Soka Gakkai availed of the opportunity to officially launch a peace declaration on July 31, calling for increased efforts by civil society toward the goal of the abolition of nuclear weapons. The declaration advocates that the 2015 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference be held in Hiroshima and Nagasaki so that world leaders will see for themselves the reality of the effects of nuclear weapons.

The declaration states: "Nuclear weapons are an 'absolute evil' which fundamentally threaten humanity's right to exist, and their abolition is an indispensable element for building a culture of peace." It affirms that nuclear weapons are against international humanitarian law, and calls for a conference to be convened toward the preparation of a Nuclear Weapons Convention which would ban them comprehensively, at the earliest opportunity. The declaration builds on ideas expressed by Soka Gakkai International (SGI) President Daisaku Ikeda in his annual peace proposal for 2011.

At the forum, Nobuyuki Asai, chair of the Soka Gakkai Youth Peace Conference, also presented to Tomihisa Taue, Mayor of Nagasaki, more than 57,000 paper cranes made by Thai people who viewed SGI's antinuclear exhibition 'Transforming the Human Spirit: From a Culture of Violence to a Culture of Peace,' shown in cooperation with the Ministry of Culture of Thailand in 20 venues throughout the country up to February 2011.

Mayor Taue welcomed the Soka Gakkai's initiatives, saying, "It is not sufficient for the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to speak out against nuclear weapons. We need the voices of many like-minded people from around the world. To receive these cranes from the people of Thailand is truly encouraging."

Other guests attending the forum included Masato Oya, president of the Nagasaki Institute for Peace Culture, and Masahito Hirose, official of the Nagasaki Testimonial Society, as well as representatives of other civil society groups active in advocacy toward the abolition of nuclear weapons.

Representatives of the Soka Gakkai youth peace committees and young women's peace committees from Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Okinawa have been meeting in August almost every year since 1989 to hold commemorative and awareness-raising events. They have also conducted numerous surveys over the years, tracking attitudes toward the threat of nuclear weapons.

Soka Gakkai, a lay Buddhist association with over 8 million member households in Japan, has a 50-year track record of efforts toward the abolition of nuclear weapons. In 2007, it launched the People's Decade for Nuclear Abolition initiative in order to help galvanize global grassroots support toward this goal. ■



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Pakistan Rock Firm Against New Nuclear Treaty

By J. C. Suresh

TORONTO, Aug 2, 2011 (IDN) - Pakistan is standing like a rock in the surf resisting growing international pressure to endorse a global treaty that would ban production of fissile material used as fuel for nuclear weapons. Reiterating its adamant opposition, Pakistan has warned that it would boycott any process to negotiate a U.S.-backed treaty outside the deadlocked UN Conference on Disarmament (CD), the sole negotiating forum for multilateral disarmament.

Stung by U.S. refusal to enter into similar nuclear deals as signed with neighbouring rival India, Pakistan is accusing Western nuclear powers of practising discrimination, and appears far from inclined towards lending an attentive ear to UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon either, who is keen to break the persistent stalemate in the CD.

Ban has suggested at a General Assembly meeting in New York the appointment of a panel of eminent persons, the creation of an ad hoc committee of the General Assembly or a United Nations conference to help break the deadlock.

Addressing the UN General Assembly meeting in New York on July 27, 2011 which coincided with the 23rd UN Conference on Disarmament Issues in Matsumoto, central Japan, Ban said: "We meet in the midst of a growing crisis of confidence."

The General Assembly followed up on a high-level meeting of the Conference on Disarmament and Multilateral Disarmament Negotiations in 2010. "For too long the United Nations multilateral disarmament machinery, in particular the Conference on Disarmament, has failed us," Ban said.

Set up in 1979 as the single multilateral disarmament negotiating forum of the international community, the CD predominantly focuses on ending the nuclear arms race and promoting nuclear disarmament, prevention of nuclear war, and prevention of an arms race in outer space, among other things.

"If differences persist, we could consider the appointment of a high-level panel of eminent persons, as I have suggested. Alternatively, States could conduct negotiations in an ad hoc committee of the General Assembly or a UN conference," the UN Secretary-General said.

He stressed that the international community must never abandon multilateralism, saying that in addressing disarmament, the goal is not to advance the preferences of the few, but the common interests of all.

"If the CD remains deadlocked, the General Assembly has a responsibility to step in. [. . .] The CD should not be held perpetually hostage by one or two members. Concerns should be addressed through negotiations. The world expects progress. Let us defer no longer. Let us put an end to this long cycle of stagnation," he added.

U.S. Backs Ban

Ban is backed by the United States. Assistant Secretary of State Rose Gottemoeller said in a U.S. State Department release on July 27: "At a time when significant progress has been registered in other areas of arms control and disarmament, it is all the more disappointing that a single state has prevented the CD from again taking its place on the disarmament stage and undertaking negotiations to reach that long overdue objective."

Gottemoeller added: "The preference of the United States is to negotiate the FMCT within the Conference on Disarmament. We welcomed the initiative of Australia and Japan to organize serious technical FMCT discussions on the margins of the Conference on Disarmament this year. The activity proved to be productive, substantive and collegial. But this does not obscure the central fact that the CD remains blocked and we are no closer to FMCT negotiations today than we were two years ago."

Planning is under way for the five permanent UN Security Council member nations and "other relevant partners" to further discuss the matter before the UN General Assembly convenes in September, she pointed out. ☺



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Gottemoeller said "a panel of 'eminent persons,' the CD itself, or some others" might further assess potential reforms to the Conference on Disarmament, as well as suggest possible changes to the UN Disarmament Commission in New York.

Potential considerations, she said, could include "how to provide for continuity on an agreed CD work from year to year, such as automatic rollover of an agreed program of work"; "how to protect national security interests while preventing abuse of the consensus rule"; and "whether expansion of the CD would improve CD efficiency, and how to reflect universal disarmament goals in deliberative and negotiating bodies, while maintaining their efficacy and assuring that states' security concerns are respected and protected".

"Note of Caution"

Responding to the UN Secretary-General and the U.S., Acting Pakistani Ambassador Raza Bashir Tarar struck a "note of caution" against taking negotiations for the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) outside the 65-member Conference, asserting that "Pakistan will not join any such process nor would it consider accession to the outcome of any such process".

In a statement consistent with the view Pakistan has maintained over the previous two years, Tarar argued: "These policies, by sacrificing international non-proliferation goals at the altar of power and profit, have accentuated the asymmetry in fissile material stocks in our region." Regrettably, those policies continued and had found no opposition amongst the members of Nuclear Supplier Group, which, he said, comprised of some of the most ardent supporters of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and strongest critics of "lack of progress in the CD".

Tarar said while major powers debated options for reforming the CD or even abandoning what they regarded as a dysfunctional body and blamed the rules of procedure, which, by requiring consensus on all decisions, effectively gave all states a veto power that allowed any of them to halt progress, the real reason for the conference's dysfunction was the lack of political will by some nuclear states to negotiate in a fair and balanced way. "The problems faced by the Conference on Disarmament are not of an organisational or procedural nature," he said, adding that there was a clear pattern of negotiating only in the interests of the most powerful states.

The conference, he said, "cannot negotiate through cherry-picking issues that some states consider ripe," pointing to what he described as "a clear pattern of negotiating only those agreements that do not undermine or compromise the security interest of powerful states". He cited as examples, the Biological and Chemical Weapons Conventions, and the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT).

The same could be said of a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT), Tarar said. Now, after having developed "huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons, as well as stocks of fissile material", which could be converted quickly into nuclear warheads, those major powers are ready to conclude a treaty that will only ban future production of fissile material, since they no longer need more of it. "This approach," the Pakistani diplomat stressed, was "cost free" for them as it would not undermine or compromise their security.

For those reasons, Pakistan was compelled to "take a stand" against nuclear selectivity and discrimination. "No country can be expected to compromise on its fundamental security interests for an instrument that is cost-free for all other concerned countries," he said, recommending several steps that must be taken in order to create an "honest and objective approach" to revitalising the disarmament machinery.

Those included, among other, consideration of several critical issues by the conference in an equal and balanced manner, with nuclear disarmament at the top of that agenda, and elaboration on a legally binding instrument on negative security assurances for non-nuclear-weapon states, Tarar said.

If endorsed, the FMCT would strengthen nuclear non-proliferation norms by adding a binding international commitment to existing constraints on nuclear weapons-usable fissile material. It would ban the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. It would not apply to plutonium and HEU for non-explosive purposes. It would also not apply to non-fissile materials, like tritium, and it would not address existing stockpiles. ■



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Translations | Adaptations

Concern Grows Over Prospects for Middle East Disarmament Meeting

ARABIC

تلقي مزيد من عدم تحديد موعد ومقر مؤتمر عام 2012

هل من يستضيف مؤتمر تحرير الشرق الأوسط من السلاح النووي؟

بقلم اليزابيث ويتمان/وكالة انتر بريس سيرفيس

نيويورك، أغسطس (آي بي إس) - لم تعد تبقى سوى شهور قليلة على حلول عام 2012، وهو العام التي تقرر أن يشهد انعقاد المؤتمر الدولي المخصص لمناقشة تحرير الشرق الأوسط من أسلحة الدمار الشامل. ومع ذلك فلم يتم تحديد موعد المؤتمر أو حتى الدولة المستعدة لإستضافته.

Read more > <http://www.ipsinternational.org/arabic/nota.asp?idnews=2251>

U.S. Nuclear Arsenal Holds Fast to Status Quo

ARABIC

ولغا لصواء السلاح النووي وعلى الرغم من إلزام أوباما بنفسها

واشنطن ستبقى على ترسانتها الضخمة من الأسلحة النووية

بقلم حيدر رضوي/وكالة انتر بريس سيرفيس

الأمم المتحدة، أغسطس (آي بي إس) - حذر خبراء عدم انتشار الأسلحة الذرية أن الولايات المتحدة غالبا ما ستبقى على ترسانتها الضخمة من الأسلحة النووية لسنوات عديدة مقبلة، على الرغم من الرئيس باراك أوباما قد أكد مرارا وتكرارا إلزامه بنزع السلاح النووي وضمان السلام العالمي.

Read more > <http://www.ipsinternational.org/arabic/nota.asp?idnews=2245>

JAPANESE

| 軍縮 | 現状に固執する米国の核兵器政策

【国連IPS=ハイダー・リツヴィ】

バラク・オバマ大統領は核軍縮と世界の平和のために努力すると繰り返し強調しているが、米国は今後も長年に亘って膨大な数の核兵器を維持しつづけることになるだろう、と核不拡散問題の専門家らは見ている。

「オバマ大統領の主張は非常に明確です。ただし、大統領が今後もどの程度そうあるのかについてはわかりません。」と、米国の核政策を倫理的な観点から監視し続ける政策シンクタンク「米科学者連盟」(FAS)のハンス・M・クリステンセン核情報プロジェクトディレクターは語った。

Read more> http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=478:us-nuclear-arsenal&catid=2:japanese-korean&Itemid=3

Atomic Test Ban Crucial to Nuke Free World

ARABIC > http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=472:arabic-atomic-test-ban&catid=3:arabic&Itemid=4

JAPANESE > http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=475:atomic-test-ban-japanese&catid=2:japanese-korean&Itemid=3

Pakistan Rock Firm Against New Nuclear Treaty

HINDI

पाकिस्तान नई परमाणु संधि के विरोध में दृढ़ता से खड़ा है

जे. सी. सुरेश*

आईईएल-इन्स्टीट्यूट न्यूज समाचार विश्लेषण

टोरंटो (आईईएल) - परमाणु हथियारों में ईंधन के रूप में प्रयुक्त होने वाले आणविक सामग्री के उत्पादन पर प्रतिबंध लगाने वाली वैश्विक संधि पर हस्ताक्षर करने के लिए बढ़ते अंतरराष्ट्रीय दबाव के सामने पाकिस्तान सरकारों के बीच घट्टान की तरह अड़ा हुआ है। अपने अडिग विरोध को दृढ़ता से हुए, पाकिस्तान में वैतावनी टी है कि वह बहुपक्षीय निरस्त्रीकरण बातों के एकमात्र में, संयुक्त राष्ट्र निरस्त्रीकरण सम्मेलन (सीडी) के बाहर अमेरिका समर्थित किसी भी संधि के लिए बातों प्रक्रिया का बहिष्कार करेगा। निरस्त्रीकरण सम्मेलन जैसे समय से विरोध का शिकार है।

Read more> http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=460:pakistan-rock-firm-hindi&catid=14:chinese-hindi-urdu-persian&Itemid=15

JAPANESE > http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=2&Itemid=3

URDU > http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=462:pakistan-rock-firm-urdu&catid=14:chinese-hindi-urdu-persian&Itemid=15



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What Others Say

Why Nuclear Ban Entry into Force is Critical

By Frederick N. Mattis*

ANNAPOLIS, USA - Worldwide elimination of nuclear weapons would bring the following benefits to the USA, plus to all other states and people: freedom from nuclear war or nuclear attack, freedom from possible "false-alarm" nuclear strike, and elimination of risk that terrorists could acquire a nuclear weapon from a state's arsenal.

The question of "entry into force" of a nuclear ban treaty [convention] is critical. If an insufficient entry-into-force provision is adopted, then the ban would likely lack the signatories to be meaningful and thus fail to meet its goal of worldwide nuclear abolition. On the other hand, an appropriate provision would help smooth the way for today's nuclear weapon states to actually sign and ratify a nuclear ban treaty. Since accession to such a treaty by those states is by far the biggest challenge in nuclear abolition, the treaty should include all reasonable inducements in its provisions for the nuclear weapon states to join.

Recommendation

It is here proposed that a nuclear ban treaty, which would replace today's inadequate, Cold War-era (1968) Non-Proliferation Treaty, would not enter into force until 180 days after the UN Secretary-General, acting as the treaty depositary, announces that "all states" have joined. (An interval such as 180 days is standard, to allow signatory states to fully prepare for their treaty compliance—whereas the nuclear ban's "all states" requirement is unprecedented.) However, within the first 60 of those 180 days, any state could formally object to treaty entry into force and thereby liquidate that presumptive 180-day interval toward entry into force. Whenever the state withdraws its objection, a new 180-day interval commences, and again with prerogative of a state to formally object within the first 60 days and thereby liquidate that interval toward entry into force, and with a new 180-day interval beginning when the state withdraws its objection. (Conceivably, although improbably, this pattern could continue.)

Rationale

Now the rationale for the above, perhaps seemingly overly-contrived provision for entry into force of the nuclear ban treaty. First, states such as the USA almost certainly will not renounce nuclear weapons unless all states (not just today's nuclear weapon states) do the same, by joining a nuclear ban—often called a Nuclear Weapons Convention—before its entry into force. Even if a current non-nuclear state is "small" or otherwise non-threatening, it could at some future time undertake nuclear weapons development if, as a sovereign state, it is not a party to the nuclear weapons ban. Further, and also crucially, a requirement of unanimity of accession by states before entry into force would give the enacted treaty unprecedented geopolitical impact—valuable for maintenance of a nuclear weapons-free world, and in all probability necessary for today's nuclear weapons states to agree to join the [prospective] ban.

A provision of the treaty would also proclaim that upon entry into force (after all states have joined), the treaty applies "everywhere" to cover non-state realms such as space and any ambiguous terrestrial areas, plus would proclaim that "future states" must abide by the prohibitions of nuclear weapons and non-safeguarded fissionable materials, and must promptly join the treaty. So, although the proposed nuclear ban treaty requires voluntary accession by all states before entry into force, future states could not escape its legal and geopolitical force. This encompassing of future states is unprecedented for a treaty—but justified by "all [extant] states" joining before entry into force.

However, "all states" cannot simply be listed in the nuclear ban treaty text as necessary parties for entry into force, because new states may emerge in the time period between introduction of the treaty and its accumulation of all states as ratified signatories. Thus the suggested solution that the then-UN Secretary-General be tasked or requested by treaty terms to announce when, in the Secretary-General's official view and acting as the treaty depositary, "all states" have joined, which would initiate the 180-day span for entry into force (unless liquidated by a state's formal objection within the first 60 days).

☺

*Frederick N. Mattis is a Soka Gakkai International-USA member and author of "Banning Weapons of Mass Destruction," published by ABC-Clio/Praeger Security International (ISBN: 978-0-313-36538-6). His e-mail is fmattis@earthlink.net.



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Assuming then, that upon the Secretary-General's announcement of unanimous accession by states to the treaty, an established state did indeed feel compelled to make a public declaration of its beliefs about the statehood of an area that is not a treaty signatory (because is not widely recognized as a state), then the "established," treaty-signatory state could use the situation to gain some attention to its stand on the issue, but avoid delaying treaty entry into force (and would receive wide praise) by announcing to this effect: "We believe that 'X' also should be internationally recognized as a 'state,' for these reasons: ... However, although it is our prerogative to do so, we will not object to entry into force of the nuclear ban treaty, because it will benefit all humanity, and the area in question is at least under nominal control of a treaty-signatory state, and the treaty's prohibitions of nuclear weapons and non-safeguarded fissionable materials applies worldwide."



Taiwan, incidentally, would have to join before treaty entry into force, or China certainly would object to entry into force—which would be China's prerogative even though Taiwan is not deemed a "state" by China. "Objection" and delay of entry into force by a state could in fact be for any reason—this being an important inducement for all states (especially today's nuclear weapon possessors) to initially join, but with any such objection being inevitably subject to scrutiny of relevance and import by all other states.

More on "Objection Period"

Another reason for the 60-day, treaty-acknowledged "objection period" relates to the nature of a "non-withdrawal" treaty. Unlike other treaties, the proposed nuclear ban is non-withdrawal. With non-withdrawal being such a different aspect for a treaty, the prospect of having an autonomous, and treaty-acknowledged, 60-day opportunity to object (and thereby rescind that particular 180-day interval toward entry into force) would help enable leaders and legislators of states such as today's nuclear weapon possessors to sign and ratify the nuclear ban. States, as they undertake consideration of the treaty, will not know even approximately when in the future all states will have joined (i.e., as pronounced by the UN Secretary-General), and states may by that time have substantially or even entirely different legislators and executive leader(s).

This "uncertainty" as to when the nuclear ban treaty would officially enter into force is also the case for any treaty, especially insofar as it requires accession by a substantial number of states (all, in the case of the nuclear ban); but other enacted treaties permit "withdrawal" by states-parties, and therefore for treaties in general there has always been somewhat less concern on the part of states' legislators and executives that a treaty might enter into force after they are departed from their states' governance.

To draw a conclusion: today's nuclear weapon states would be more likely to join the nuclear ban treaty if the states' leaders know that if passage of time has seen them or many of them give way to their "successors" when a ban is poised to enter into force, the successors could delay, if they felt it necessary (and without limitation of time) entry into force of the "non-withdrawal" treaty—but always subject to world scrutiny. (Let it be noted that "non-withdrawal" as here envisioned under a fully enacted treaty would not prohibit a state from [temporarily] ignoring the nuclear ban if and while another state has initially "materially breached" it; for details, including stipulations on any state ever availing itself of this, please see chapter 4 of the book "Banning Weapons of Mass Destruction" by this writer.)

Notwithstanding, some readers may "object" to the proposed 60-day span for a state to object to treaty entry into force, arguing that such would simply open the door for any single state to thwart the desire of all fellow states to rid the world of threatening nuclear weapons. But a nuclear ban treaty requires unanimity for its entry into force (or else the USA and at least a few other nuclear weapon states most probably would not join), and states in any case can "undo" or repudiate their signature or ratification of a treaty before its entry into force—and thereafter states can withdraw from an enacted treaty, although not with the proposed nuclear ban treaty. So, in fact, the "60-day" treaty-acknowledged span to object to entry into force (i.e., delay until objection is withdrawn and then a 180-day, objection-free interval ensues) would allow a state, if it deemed it necessary and in the face of world scrutiny, to delay entry into force but without the drastic step of treaty repudiation. (If, instead, there was repudiation, then to rejoin the prospective nuclear ban treaty the state would have to repeat from the start its detailed constitutional process of joining a treaty.) ➡



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It bears emphasis that the momentum for a nuclear weapons-free world by the time the UN Secretary-General, in virtually all conceptions, would proclaim unanimous accession by states would greatly reduce the chance that a state would then choose to rescind (within 60 days) the progress of the 180 days toward entry-into-force of a treaty to rid the world of menacing nuclear weapons. However, states should have the right to do so, to provide a less-than-repudiation option (although still in face of world scrutiny) if a state deems a delay is absolutely necessary, and as an incentive for all states, particularly today's nuclear weapon states, to initially join the "non-withdrawal" treaty—of which the duration before its impending entry into force is unknown (but not by this to imply it would be or need be distant).

A Word on Treaty Prospects

It may be averred that there is little chance that "all states" would join a nuclear weapons ban, especially unless and until certain geopolitical divides are bridged. But predictions of long-term or indefinite nuclear ban treaty "holdouts" are just that—mere predictions. The realistic prospect of nuclear abolition, which is not present now but will be when the vehicle of a nuclear ban treaty [convention] is introduced for states' signatures, would give impetus to states to find solutions or at least significant remedies to various geopolitical differences. Further, and overall, the powerful, supreme reasons for states to join, even in a world such as or similar to today's, would be the aforementioned freedom from nuclear war or attack, and freedom from possible "false-alarm" nuclear strike, and elimination of risk that terrorists could acquire a nuclear weapon from a state's arsenal.

Contents: "Banning Weapons of Mass Destruction" [ISBN: 978-0-313-36538-6]

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Ch. 2. Partial Measures—De-Alerting and No First Use

Ch. 3. Nuclear Ban Entry into Force

Ch. 4. Should Withdrawal Be Permitted?

Ch. 5. Verification, Disposition of HEU, and Reprocessing

Ch. 6. Problematic States [North Korea, Iran, Israel, India, Pakistan, Russia]

Ch. 7. Weapons Elimination

Ch. 8. Superseding Today's Non-Proliferation Treaty

Ch. 9. Prior Prohibition of Chemical and Biological Weapons

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["Frederick N. Mattis's book deals with a complex and deadly subject. It does so with clarity, great intelligence, and the appropriate sense of urgency. I hope it is widely read."—Ambassador Richard Butler, former Chief UN Weapons Inspector in Iraq] (IDN-InDepthNews | August 25, 2011)



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What Others Say

Movement for Nuke Test Ban Gathers Momentum

By Richard Johnson

GENEVA - Voluntary moratoriums on nuclear weapon tests are not enough. Member states that have not yet ratified the United Nations-backed Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) should therefore urgently do so.

This was the terse call UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon issued on August 29 in observance of the International Day against Nuclear Tests that marks the twentieth anniversary of the closure of the nuclear weapons test site at Semipalatinsk, Kazakhstan. The selection of that date in 1991 was made because this was when the now defunct Soviet Union conducted its first nuclear test at the site in 1949.

Over 2000 nuclear tests were carried out between 1945 and 1996 when the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty was opened for signature, most by the United States and the Soviet Union, but also by Britain, France and China. Three countries have tested nuclear weapons since 1996: India, Pakistan, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Nuclear explosions produce immediate and delayed destructive effects. Immediate effects from both the blast and thermal radiation cause significant destruction within seconds. Delayed effects from radioactive fallout have far-reaching and long-lasting impacts.

The vital importance of the Treaty's entry into force was reaffirmed at the May 2010 Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and included in the agreed action plan. The Treaty's verification regime has proven to be a valuable instrument for international cooperation, Ban said, adding: "I am fully confident of its future ability to provide an independent, reliable and cost-effective means of verifying – and therefore, deterring – any violation of the Treaty's provisions."

"Over the course of the cold war, hundreds of nuclear weapon tests left behind a devastating legacy for local citizens and their natural environment," said Ban in a statement. "Having visited the scene of this dark chapter in human history, I wish to emphasize my support for the Government and people of Kazakhstan as they continue to cope with the aftermath. I commend efforts to ensure that something positive may result from highlighting the horrific effects of these tests."

Out of total listed number of 195 States, 182 have so far signed the CTBT and 154 have ratified it. In fact Ghana became the 154th State to ratify the Treaty on June 15, 2011. "This important and timely step highlights the importance of the CTBT for global, regional and national security," said Tibor Tóth, the Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO).

"Following the entry into force of the Pelindaba Treaty last year (2010), Ghana's ratification of the CTBT further solidifies the resolve of African nations to forever rid the continent and the world of nuclear weapons and nuclear weapon testing. I salute the government of Ghana for taking this step and believe it will inspire other non-ratifying States to hasten their own ratification processes," Tóth said.

Ghana signed the CTBT on October 3, 1996 and the Treaty of Pelindaba, which has established a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in Africa, on April 11, 1996. Also, in February 2010, Ghana commissioned its CTBT National Data Centre so that it can support international efforts to monitor nuclear weapons testing more effectively, Vienna-based CTBTO said in a press release.

CTBTO press release pointed out that "adherence to the CTBT is almost universal, with 182 States having signed the Treaty to date." In Africa, only two countries have yet to sign the Treaty (Mauritius and Somalia), whereas 12 countries have yet to ratify (Angola, Chad, Comoros, Congo (Republic of), Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, the Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe, Swaziland and Zimbabwe). Among these, ratification by Egypt, an Annex 2 State, is mandatory for the Treaty to enter into force. ➔



Photo: UN | Peter Drekmeier



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The remaining eight Annex 2 States that have yet to ratify are China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Pakistan and the United States. The other 35 Annex 2 States have ratified the Treaty, including the three nuclear weapon States: France, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom.

The CTBT bans all nuclear explosions. A verification regime is being built to monitor compliance with the Treaty. By the time the Treaty enters into force, 337 facilities will monitor the oceans, underground and the atmosphere for any sign of a nuclear explosion, the CTBTO stated. "264 facilities have been certified to date and are sending data on a continuous basis to the CTBTO's International Data Centre in Vienna."

Commemorating the 20th anniversary, a statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan stressed the importance of the closure of the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site which witnessed more than 450 nuclear explosions. In December 2009, the UN General Assembly unanimously passed a resolution, put forward by Kazakhstan, to proclaim August 29 as the International Day against Nuclear Tests. "This became a vivid evidence of the recognition by the international community of Kazakhstan's contribution to the global nuclear disarmament process," the statement said.

The Foreign Affairs Ministry pointed out that through all the years of its independence, Kazakhstan, in partnership with other states, "has been actively and consistently" working on strengthening the non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament regime.

"We stand for the early entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. We call upon the nine countries, which have either not ratified or not signed this Treaty, and on whose ratification depends the CTBT entry into force, to do so as soon as possible. We are convinced the CTBT will become one of the most concrete and effective instruments of non-proliferation," the statement stressed.

"The example of Kazakhstan, where one of the world's largest nuclear test sites was shut down by the Decree of President Nursultan Nazarbayev and where a historic decision was made to eliminate the world's fourth largest nuclear arsenal, serves as a convincing proof of the real movement towards a world free from the nuclear weapons. We are firmly convinced that, with the political will of the peoples and the heads of all states, such a choice is possible," the Foreign Ministry in Astana said.

UN Secretary-General Ban noted in his statement: "Every day, more and more people are viewing both nuclear tests and nuclear weapons as dangerous relics of the Cold War, long overdue for permanent retirement. We fully share this position and declare our readiness to continue working closely together with all states and the United Nations in building a nuclear weapon free world."

"For these reasons, I urge all States that have not yet signed or ratified the Treaty to do so as a matter of priority. Achieving that goal would further reinforce the growing movement for a nuclear-weapon-free world. Every day, more and more people are viewing both nuclear tests and nuclear weapons as dangerous relics of the cold war, long-overdue for permanent retirement. On this International Day against Nuclear Tests, I call on all States to take a bold step towards a safer and saner world for all," said Ban in an emphatic statement. (IDN-InDepthNews | August 30, 2011) ■



Credit: Pierre Hennico | presenza



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What Others Say

Pentagon's 2011 China Report: Reducing Nuclear Transparency

By Hans M. Kristensen

Director of the Nuclear Information Project with the Federation of American Scientists (FAS)

The Pentagon has published its annual assessment of China's military power (the official title is *Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China*). I will leave it to others to review the conclusions on China's general military forces and focus here on the nuclear aspects.

Land-Based Nuclear Missiles

The most noticeable new development compared with last year's report is that the Pentagon this year has decided to significantly reduce the transparency of China's land-based nuclear missile force. For the past decade, the Pentagon reports have contained a breakdown of Chinese missiles showing approximately how many they have of each type. Not anymore. This year the details are gone and all we get to see are the overall numbers within each missile range category: ICBMs, IRBM, MRBM, SRBM, and GLCMs.

This is something one would expect the Chinese government to do and not the Pentagon, which has spent the last decade criticizing China for not being transparent enough about its military posture.

What the numbers we're allowed to see indicate is that China's missile force has been largely stagnant over the past year. The changes have been in minor adjustments, probably involving:

- Phasing out a few older DF-4s and introducing a few more DF-31 and DF-31A ICBMs.
- Reducing the DF-3A force and replacing it with the DF-21 MRBMs (which appears largely unchanged but with greater uncertainty).
- Essentially no increase in number of SRBMs off Taiwan.
- The same number of DH-10 GLCMs.

Trying to reconstruct the table the way it should have been comes with considerable uncertainty, but here is my best estimate (for corrections I will have to rely on individuals in the Pentagon who think that buying into Chinese government secrecy does not advance U.S. or Northeast Asian interests):

Ballistic Missile Submarines

The new Jin-class (Type 094) SSBN appears ready but the Pentagon report states that its JL-2 SLBM "has faced a number of problems and will likely continue flight tests." The Pentagon previously estimated that the Jin/JL-2 system would become operational in 2010 but the new report now states that it is "uncertain" when the new system will become fully operational.

The range of the JL-2 SLBM is extended, somewhat, from 7,200+ km in the 2010 report to 7,400 km in the 2011 report. This does not change the fact that a Jin-class SLBM would have to deploy deep into the Sea of Japan for its JL-2 to be able to strike the Continental United States. Alaska is within range from Chinese waters, but not Hawaii.

The operational status of the old Xia-class (Type 092) SSBN and its JL-1 SLBM "remain questionable." Neither class has conducted any deterrent patrols yet.

As a result, China does not appear to have any operational sea-launched ballistic missiles at this point. The report lists only five nuclear attack submarines with the three fleets, down from six last year, suggesting that retirement of the Han-class (Type 091) continues. The Shang-class (Type 093) is operational, and the Pentagon report states that "as many as five third-generation Type 095 SSNs will be added in the coming years." The U.S. Navy's intelligence branch estimated in 2009 that the Type 095 will be noisier than the Russian Akula I but quieter than the Victor III. ☺

Read complete version of the analysis > <http://www.fas.org/blog/ssp/2011/08/china2011.php>



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What Others Say

Chinese attack submarines conducted 12 patrols during all of 2010, the same level as the previous two years.

Underground Facilities

While there has recently been some sensational reporting that China since 1995 has built a 5,000-km “great wall” of tunnels under Hebei mountain in the western parts of the Shaanxi province to hide “all of their missiles hundreds of meters underground,” including the DF-5 (CSS-4) ICBM, the reality is probably a little different.

First, as anyone who has spent just a few hours studying satellite images of Chinese military facilities and monitoring the Chinese internet will know, the Chinese military widely uses underground facilities to hide and protect military forces and munitions. Some of these facilities are also used to hide nuclear weapons. The old DF-4, for example, reportedly has existed in a cave-based rollout posture since the 1970s.

The Pentagon report states that China has “developed and utilized UGFs [underground facilities] since deploying its oldest liquid-fueled missile systems and continue today to utilize them to protect and conceal their newest and most modern solid-fueled mobile missiles.” So it is not new but it is also being used for modern missiles.



A Chinese mobile missile launcher, possibly for the DF-11 or DF-15 SRBM, emerges from an underground facility at an unknown location. *Image: Chinese TV*

Second, the particular facility under Hebei mountain appears to be China’s central nuclear weapons storage facility, as recently described by Mark Stokes. The missiles themselves are at the regional bases, although it cannot be ruled out that some may be near Hebei as well. But Stokes estimates that the warheads are concentrated in the central facility with only a small handful of warheads maintained at the six missile bases’ storage regiments for any extended period of time. The missile regiments themselves could also have nearby underground facilities for storing launchers and missiles, although specifics are not known.

One of the Chinese bases with plenty of underground facilities is the large naval base near Yulin on Hainan Island, which I described in 2006 and 2008. The Pentagon report concludes that this base has now been completed and asserts that it is large enough to

accommodate a mix of attack and ballistic missile submarines and advanced surface combatants, including aircraft carriers. The report adds that, “submarine tunnel facilities at the base could also enable deployments from this facility with reduced risk of detection.” That would seem to require the submarine exiting from the tunnel *submerged*; a capability I haven’t seen referenced anywhere yet.

Conclusions

The 2011 Pentagon report shows that China’s nuclear missile force changed little during the past year but appears to continue the slow replacement of old liquid-fueled missiles with new solid-fueled missiles. China’s efforts to develop a sea-launched ballistic missile capability have been delayed.

In an unfortunate change from previous versions of the Pentagon report, the 2011 version significantly reduces the transparency of China’s nuclear missile forces by removing numbers for individual missile types. This change is particularly surprising given the Pentagon’s repeated insistence that China must increase transparency of its military posture. In this case, military secrecy appears to contradict U.S. foreign policy objectives.

The decision to reduce the transparency of China’s missile force is even more troubling because it follows the recent U.S.-Russian decision to significantly curtail the information released to the public under the New START treaty.

The combined effect of these two decisions is that within the past 12 months it has become a great deal harder for the international community to monitor the development of the offensive nuclear missile forces of the United States, Russia and China.

Tell me again whose interest that serves? ■



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ICAN International Conference

Geneva, Switzerland, 17-19 September 2011

The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons is organizing an international conference in Geneva, Switzerland, from 17 to 19 September 2011. The conference will focus on broadening and strengthening the will to abolish nuclear weapons and building the pressure on the governments to negotiate a ban. Plenary sessions, workshops and forums will give all participants the opportunity to exchange ideas and experiences, learn from experts and strategize for the future. Registration: alexandra@icanw.org ■

Conference Programme is available at > www.icanw.org/files/PROGRAMME_0.pdf

Million Pleas Campaign Launched on the 65th Anniversary of Hiroshima Bombing

Media Release, Australia: August 6, 2010: Australians are being urged to help create the world's longest video chain letter to appeal to world leaders to abolish nuclear weapons.

The unique grassroots 'Million Pleas' campaign, initiated in Australia, is being launched to mark the 65th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima.

Organisers want to give millions of people around the world the chance to voice their support for nuclear disarmament by uploading their image and personal plea at www.millionpleas.com.

Ambassadors of the campaign include South Africa's Nobel Peace laureate **Archbishop Desmond Tutu**, Nobel Peace Prize laureate **Jody Williams** and Australian former Prime Minister **Malcolm Fraser**.

Archbishop Tutu urged people to help bring an end to the nuclear threat that has hung over the world now for three generations, saying:

"You can build the groundswell of support for a nuclear abolition treaty right from your home or school by adding your voice now to the world's largest video chain message to leaders. Sixty-five years since the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It's time we retired nuclear weapons."

Nobel Peace Prize winner Jody Williams joined calls for action through MillionPleas.com:

"No matter where you are, no matter what you do -- whether you live in a nuclear-armed nation or not -- I urge you to upload your plea today at MillionPleas.com. ... Your voice can make an enormous difference."

The campaign is a partnership between the International Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) and Melbourne advertising agency Whybin TBWA.

It features a special promotion filmed in Hiroshima – where the world's first nuclear bomb was dropped on August 6, 1945, killing up to 100,000 people. Tens of thousands more were killed when a second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki just three days later.

The 45-second film features a group of Hiroshima school children and Nakanishi Iwao, an 80 year old survivor of the blast, calling on the world's nuclear powers to ensure no other city on earth ever faces such devastation.

"It's an incredibly moving message," said ICAN spokesperson Dr Bill Williams. "Banning nuclear weapons would be the ultimate mark of respect to those who died at Hiroshima and Nagasaki." ■

The Million Pleas video and campaign can be viewed at: www.millionpleas.com.



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Reflections on Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and Fukushima: Are we witnessing the beginning of the end of the nuclear age?

By Masao Tomonaga, MD



(August 6, 2011) -The 66th anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki arrives as Japan tries to recover from the ongoing nuclear power plant disaster at Fukushima Daiichi, which has exposed almost two million people to chronic low dose radiation.

On March 11, a powerful tsunami in northeast Japan, triggered by a devastating earthquake, struck the electric supply apparatus at Fukushima and induced meltdowns in two of the plant's reactors, along with hydrogen explosions in the reactor buildings. During the next two weeks, high levels of radioactive iodine and cesium were released into the air. The soil of Fukushima Prefecture was widely contaminated with radioactive nuclides, as were coastal waters. Residents, including a few hundred thousand children, were chronically exposed to low-dose radiation. More than 20,000 residents were evacuated from their home towns, where the estimated annual exposure dose exceeds 20 millisieverts (mSv). Many farmers abandoned their cattle. Five months after the onset of the disaster, a prefecture-wide mass medical survey has been started to determine the

health impact on the two million residents of Fukushima.

This new nuclear tragedy now forms the backdrop of Japan's first terrible experience with the destructive forces of the nuclear age, commemorated each year at this time.

I was born in 1943 in Nagasaki City and encountered the second atomic bombing from a distance of 2.7 kilometers from ground zero—far enough to escape harm to my body. After becoming a physician in 1968, I chose hematology as my specialty and cared for leukemia patients, including atomic bomb survivors. My major interest as an academic physician has been to explore how atomic bomb irradiation induces leukemia and cancers.

There were approximately 250,000 atomic bomb survivors in Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the end of 1945. That number has decreased today to 150,000 after 66 years. Most of these survivors were under age 10 at the time of bombing. Amazingly, the long-term epidemiological survey clearly shows that an elevated plateau of excess risk of cancers and leukemias persists. Moreover, we have confirmed a linear dose-dependent curve above 100 mSv. This trend is expected to continue throughout the lives of the remaining survivors.

The accumulated evidence of medical research on those survivors indicates that their organ stem cells—such as hematopoietic stem cells—might have been irradiated and acquired genetic mutations in 1945. Those wounded stem cells may have survived over a half century with genetic instability, and eventually transformed to cancer or leukemia cells. Some individuals also suffer from more than two primary cancers or leukemia, suggesting multiplicity of carcinogenesis in different organs due to whole body irradiation that is typical of nuclear bombs. Thus, the atomic bomb affects human beings for their entire lives, proving its inhuman and illegal nature.

A year before my retirement from Nagasaki University Medical School in 2009, I saw an elderly lady with acute myeloid leukemia. She has been one of the most active peace protesters among Nagasaki survivors. She had been 17 years old in 1945, and was heavily irradiated during the atomic bombing, as shown by total hair loss and a fracture of her hip joint. At the age of 79, she suddenly developed leukemia after a half century of healthy life. I treated her with new drugs for leukemia and she got into complete remission and was able to return to the peace movement. This is one recent example of what I have seen time and again as a physician and researcher: the life-long effect of nuclear weapons on human beings. ☺

Dr. Tomonaga, the president of the Nagasaki chapter of Japanese Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (JPPNW), retired in 2009 from Nagasaki University Medical School, where he was an academic internist and a professor of hematology. He is currently Director of the Japanese Red Cross Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Hospital. This article first appeared on <http://peaceandhealthblog.com/2011/08/06/hiroshima-nagasaki-fukushima>



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The Nuclear Age started at the Trinity site in New Mexico in July 1945, followed by the military use of two atomic bombs on Japanese cities on August 6 and 9. A nuclear arms race between the USA and the former USSR started in 1949, bringing the world to the brink of a nuclear catastrophe during the closing years of the last century. The Cold War has been over for many years, but there are still more than 20,000 nuclear warheads on the Earth.

The world's first nuclear power plant started operations in 1954 at Obninsk, Russia. There are now 439 nuclear power plants in the world, but no good technology to store nuclear waste or to dispose of it permanently. Three major nuclear power plant accidents have taken place during the past six decades: Three Mile Island in 1979; Chernobyl in 1986; and now Fukushima in 2011.

We human beings, by ourselves, invented the theory and technology to create nuclear weapons and nuclear plants. For 66 years the nuclear age has continued. Now, however, we see the beginning of its slow demise, because nuclear bombs and nuclear power plants have failed to bring safety and peace to global human society. We physicians should help them cease as early as possible. ■

How to Save a Quarter of a Trillion Dollars

By Lawrence Wittner

<http://peaceandhealthblog.com/2011/08/10/quarter-of-a-trillion/>

August 10, 2011 - In the midst of the current stampede to slash federal spending, Congress might want to take a look at two unnecessary (and dangerous) "national security" programs that, if cut, would save the United States over a quarter of a trillion dollars over the next decade.

The first of these is the Obama administration's plan to spend at least \$185 billion in the next ten years to "modernize" the U.S. government's nuclear weapons arsenal. At present, the U.S. government possesses approximately 8,500 nuclear warheads, and it is hard to imagine that this country would be safer from attack if it built more nuclear weapons or "improved" those it already possesses. Indeed, President Barack Obama has declared — both on the 2008 campaign trail and as President — that he is committed to building a world without nuclear weapons. This seems like a perfectly sensible position — one favored by most nations and, as polls show, most people (including most people in the United States). Therefore, the administration should be working on securing further disarmament agreements — not on upgrading the U.S. nuclear arsenal in preparation for future nuclear confrontations and nuclear wars.

In late June of this year, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, a Nobel Peace Prize laureate, wrote: "It is deeply troubling that the US has allocated \$185 billion to augment its nuclear stockpile over the next decade, on top of the ordinary annual nuclear-weapons budget of more than \$50 billion." Not only has the International Court of Justice affirmed that nations "are legally obliged to negotiate in good faith for the complete elimination of their nuclear forces," but "every dollar invested in bolstering a country's nuclear arsenal is a diversion of resources from its schools, hospitals, and other social services, and a theft from the millions around the globe who go hungry or are denied access to basic medicines." He concluded: "Instead of investing in weapons of mass annihilation, governments must allocate resources towards meeting human needs."

Another project worth eliminating is the national missile defense program. Thanks to recent Congressional generosity, this Reagan era carryover, once derided by U.S. Senator Edward Kennedy as "Star Wars," is currently slated for an increase in federal spending, which will provide it with \$8.6 billion in fiscal 2012.

The vast and expensive missile defense program — costing about \$150 billion since its inception — has thus far produced remarkably meager results. Indeed, no one knows whether it will work. As an investigative article in Bloomberg News recently reported: "It has never been tested under conditions simulating a real attack by an intercontinental ballistic missile deploying sophisticated decoys and countermeasures. The system has flunked 7 of 15 more limited trials, yet remains exempted from normal Pentagon oversight." ↻



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Carl Levin, the Michigan Democrat who chairs the Senate Armed Services Committee, reported that his committee was “deeply concerned” about the test failures of the nation’s missile defense program. He also implied that, given the disappearance of the Soviet Union, the United States might not need such a system to deter its potential enemies, which have a far inferior missile capability. “The threat we have now is either a distant threat or is not a realistic threat,” he remarked.

Why, then, do other nations — for example, Russia — fiercely object to the deployment of a U.S. missile defense system near their borders? Perhaps they fear that, somehow, U.S. scientists and engineers will finally figure out how to build a system, often likened to hitting a bullet with a bullet, that makes the United States invulnerable while they are left vulnerable. Or perhaps they think that, one day, some U.S. government officials might believe that the United States actually *is* invulnerable and launch a first strike against their own nations. In any case, their favorite solution to the problem posed by U.S. national missile defense — building more nuclear-armed missiles of their own — significantly undermines the security of the United States.

Projecting the current annual cost of this program over the next decade, the United States would save \$86 billion by eliminating it.

Thus, by scrapping plans for nuclear weapons “modernization” and for national missile defense — programs that are both useless and provocative — the United States would save \$271 billion (well over a quarter of a trillion dollars) in the next ten years. Whether used to balance the budget or to fund programs for jobs, healthcare, education, and the environment, this money would go a long way toward resolving some of the nation’s current problems.

[Dr. Wittner, Professor of History at the State University of New York/Albany, spoke about the impact of civil society on nuclear policy at IPPNW's World Congress in Basel this past August. His latest book is *Confronting the Bomb: A Short History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement* (Stanford University Press).] ■

The Role of Public Health in a Robust Arms Treaty

By Robert Mtonga | IPPNW Co-President



August 11, 2011 - In 1996, the 49th World Health Assembly (WHA—the governing body of the World Health Organization {WHO}) Resolution WHA49.25 declared violence a leading public health problem worldwide and urged states to assess its extent. Subsequently, the WHO developed the landmark document *Small Arms and Global Health* prepared for the first UN Conference on Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in 2001. In it the WHO states that “Violence is....an important health problem – and one that is largely preventable. Public health approaches have much to contribute to solving it.” For this reason the WHO made securing treaties such as the ATT one of its nine priority recommendations in the landmark *2002 World Report on Violence and Health*, that is “to seek practical, internationally agreed responses to the global drugs trade and the global arms trade.”

Public health groups work with many sectors of society in public/public as well as public/private partnerships promoting a variety of measures that can reduce the frequency and severity of armed violence. The methods used are ones that have been developed and refined in preventing infectious and chronic diseases and injuries including polio, smallpox, and automobile fatalities in many countries. The same approach can also reduce deaths and injuries from armed violence. Although it is only one of many risk factors, we know that regions with more restrictive firearms policies tend to experience lower levels of firearm violence. ☺

Photo by Aki Morizono



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Armed violence has been recognized as a humanitarian crisis and a threat to development, but the dimensions of the problem are either poorly understood or under appreciated. Negotiations on the ATT have not explicitly recognized the huge health implications of the arms trade, although health is central to safety, security, stability and sustainable social and economic development. These are issues identified in the “principles” of why we need an ATT. The costs to health and the health care system are high.

In a small pilot study conducted by IPPNW on injuries from violence in hospitals in five African countries, the probability of death due to gunshot injuries was 46 times greater than death from other types of interpersonal violence, underscoring the lethality of firearms. We cannot afford to ignore the technical competencies of entire disciplines such as health that are centrally important to the issue – they need to be leveraged and supported by more than a minority of progressive donors.

National and international investment in combating armed violence diverts monetary and human capital from health care and other vital human needs. In Nigeria for instance, the average per capita health expenditure is \$50 per person per year. By contrast, in a recent gun injury case from Nigeria, treatment for a woman who was shot in the head cost \$700 and several hours of physician time spent not giving other care.

The cost was *only* \$700, because the woman died. Had she lived, the cost of continuing treatment and rehabilitation would have been thousands of dollars more. IPPNW hospital-based research in El Salvador on the costs of gun violence in one hospital showed that care for gunshot victims consumed nearly 11% of the hospital’s annual budget.

In Nairobi, Kenya medical care to repair a boy’s jaw shattered by a gunshot cost the equivalent of immunizations for 250 children or a year of primary education for 100 children. In Zambia, the cost of a single gunshot injury can prevent 100-300 people from receiving malaria medication. And the medical costs to treat a young girl in Nepal hit by a stray bullet in a firefight was the equivalent of 3.5 years of her father’s salary, or enough to equip an entire health center in her village.

Cases like these illustrate only direct health care costs but do not include the immeasurable socioeconomic costs of armed violence. Collecting more data on armed violence throughout regions is imperative to help inform where abuses are taking place.

Public health professionals can and do help in building the capacity of states to comply with a strong ATT. For example, the WHO’s Violence Prevention Alliance, of which IPPNW is an active member, has developed a project to enhance the capacities of law enforcement agencies through an innovative project whereby they are paired with health professionals to work on public health approaches for violence prevention. In the US, such a program in the state of Washington is called “Cops and Docs.”

Physicians deal first-hand with the human consequences of armed violence and may partner with a variety of actors over time in the treatment of patients; the health community stands ready to partner with other civil society, state, and international groups in assuring the viability of a strong ATT.

By recognizing the interconnectedness of the unregulated arms trade, armed violence and the undermining of human rights, including implicitly the right to health, a robust ATT would help prevent the misuse of arms and thus reduce resultant deaths and injuries. An ATT also has the potential of helping to reduce the diversion of resources from vital social services such as public health and social development that currently flow to arms management, security, defense and fighting criminality. A robust ATT will help to achieve better health, as it is impossible to maintain and promote health in the midst of armed violence. Public health oriented civil society organizations are resources that states can draw upon to help in the implementation of an ATT. ■

<http://peaceandhealthblog.com/2011/08/11/public-health-att/>



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IPPNW to Prime Minister Kan: “Place public health above all other interests” at Fukushima

By IPPNW

August 23, 2011 - IPPNW has sent a letter to Japanese Prime Minister Naoto Kan expressing concern about the ongoing nuclear reactor crisis at Fukushima Daiichi and calling on the government to take a number of specific steps to ensure that the health and safety of populations affected by releases of radiation from the crippled reactors are placed “unequivocally...above other interests.”

The letter, signed by the federation’s three co-presidents—Sergey Kolesnikov of Russia, Vappu Taipale of Finland, and Robert Mtonga of Zambia—conveys IPPNW’s “heartfelt sympathy” for the victims of the disaster, which began on March 11 when a massive earthquake damaged the large nuclear power station, eventually leading to meltdowns of three of the reactor cores.

“From the earliest weeks of the crisis,” the physicians wrote, “we have expressed our regret that the Japanese public and the international community do not seem to have been fully informed about the nature and extent of radioactive emissions from the crippled reactors; that affected populations may not have been monitored adequately for exposure to radiation; that residents may not have been evacuated from a wide enough area around the reactors; and that exposure limits seem to fall short of what is needed to protect the Japanese people—in particular vulnerable populations such as children and pregnant women—according to international best practice.”

Welcoming the fact that the Japanese and Fukushima prefectural governments, the National Institute of Radiological Sciences, and Fukushima Medical, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki Universities have recently begun to collaborate on comprehensive population health checks of people in Fukushima, IPPNW called for a number of other measures to ensure “a comprehensive, consistent, best-practice approach to radiation protection and care for the population in areas significantly contaminated.”

Included among these are ongoing long-term monitoring, a comprehensive population register of residents and workers, significant reductions in non-medical radiation exposure limit for the general population to 1 mSv per year, additional evacuations during “the period of highest environmental radioactivity,” relocation assistance for those who must be evacuated, and increased public education about how to reduce radiation exposure.

“We believe that these measures are medically necessary for safeguarding as much as possible the health of those exposed to Fukushima’s radioactive fallout, and future generations who will also be at risk,” the letter concluded.

The complete text of the letter from IPPNW to Prime Minister Kan, dated August 22, 2011, is available on:

http://ippnwupdate.files.wordpress.com/2011/08/ippnw_pmkan082211.pdf