



# BEYOND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION



Number 03 | 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.

## White House Low-Key on China-Pakistan Nuke Deal

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## 'Nuclear-Free Middle East Not Easy'

A meeting called for 2012 on a Middle East free of nuclear weapons is likely to run into difficulties, says Daisaku Ikeda, president of the Buddhist association Soka Gakkai International (SGI).

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### Buddhist Leader Pushes for Nuclear Abolition Treaty

An eminent Buddhist thinker, Daisaku Ikeda, has called for an early start of negotiations for a global treaty to abolish nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction, to coincide -- ideally -- with the 70th anniversary of the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

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## Civil Society's Perspective

## What Others Say



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### **White House Low-Key on China-Pakistan Nuke Deal**

By Eli Clifton

WASHINGTON, Jun 30, 2010 (IPS) - The meeting of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) June 21-25 in New Zealand brought statements of concern over China's planned nuclear deal with Pakistan, but U.S. State Department officials avoided taking a strong position on the deal when pressed by reporters.

China's proposed sale of two nuclear reactors to Pakistan would, in theory, stand in violation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) - of which China is a signatory - but the Barack Obama administration's finalisation in March of an agreement to reprocess spent nuclear fuel from India could face similar criticism.

Critics charge that both the China-Pakistan and U.S.-India deals violate the NPT by facilitating nuclear programmes in states which are not parties to the NPT.

U.S. State Department officials avoided questions from reporters about the China-Pakistan deal during the NSG meeting. When questioned on June 28, State Department spokesperson PJ Crowley said that issues surrounding China's nuclear deal had been brought up at the NSG June 21-25 meeting but that the U.S. "[continues] to seek information from China regarding its future plans".

On June 28, Crowley told reporters, "We're looking for more information from China as to what it is potentially proposing. We have a view that this initiative, as it goes forward, would need the agreement of the Nuclear Suppliers Group."

Other members of the NSG were not as restrained in their response to the possible transfer of nuclear technology to Pakistan.

The British government expressed the opinion that "the time is not yet right for a civil nuclear deal with Pakistan".

The Obama administration has numerous reasons to abstain from joining the condemnation of the Chinese plan to sell nuclear reactors to Pakistan.

The White House has worked hard in recent months to improve relations after a difficult winter in which pressures grew on the administration to declare China a currency manipulator and the announcement of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan provoked angry statements from Beijing. The ongoing war against the Taliban and al Qaeda in Afghanistan necessitates good U.S. relations

with Pakistan in order to maintain supply routes into Afghanistan and assure cooperation in facilitating operations against Taliban havens in Pakistan.

Experts in Washington have concluded it to be unlikely that the White House will offer any public opposition to the China-Pakistan nuclear deal.

"The United States and other NSG states may object to the pending transaction but they cannot prevent China from exporting the reactors," Mark Hibbs, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment's Nuclear Policy Programme, wrote in April.

"Senior officials in NSG states friendly to the United States said this month they expect that President Barack Obama will not openly criticise the Chinese export because Washington, in the context of a bilateral security dialogue with Islamabad, may be sensitive to Pakistan's desire for civilian nuclear cooperation in the wake of the sweeping U.S.-India nuclear deal which entered into force in 2008 after considerable arm-twisting of NSG states by the United States, France, and Russia," he wrote.

When the U.S. announced in 2008 its intention to push through an exemption in the NPT to permit the sale of civilian nuclear technology to India, arms control advocates widely condemned the agreement as weakening the NPT, while others charged that the NPT maintained a double-standard for close allies of the U.S.

Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has complained of the hypocrisy in the restrictions put on the export of civilian nuclear technology while the U.S. pushed for a loophole for India, a country which has not signed the NPT and has developed nuclear weapons.

The Obama administration has repeatedly made clear that the challenges surrounding nuclear non-proliferation and the reduction of nuclear weapons stockpiles are one of the top international initiatives that the White House is seeking to address. ➤



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Obama has spoken about his goal of a world "without nuclear weapons" and has emphasised the three pillars - disarmament, nonproliferation and peaceful uses of nuclear technology - which form the framework for a global reduction in the threat from nuclear weapons.

The NPT has been seen as the most effective avenue to channel U.S. efforts to reduce the risk of proliferation but some experts are concerned that the U.S. and China's attempts to sidestep the NPT and engage in nuclear deals with non-NPT signing countries will weaken the treaty.

While the Chinese attempts to seek an exemption for their nuclear deal with Pakistan may garner some criticism, it seems unlikely that the White House will risk a public spat with China over the proposed sale. Earlier this month, experts warned that the China-Pakistan nuclear deal could be a difficult issue

at the NSG meeting but that a pre-2004 Sino-Pakistan nuclear cooperation agreement, signed before China joined the NSG, could be used by Beijing to allow the nuclear reactors sale to be "grandfathered" in.

"In the aftermath of the U.S.-India deal and the group's decision to accommodate it, the NSG will have to perform a delicate balancing act to find the least unsatisfactory solution to China's challenge," Hibbs said on June 17.

"In the view of some NSG states, an agreement permitting China to grandfather the exports under the 2004 nuclear cooperation agreement with Pakistan would be the least damaging outcome, but it may not be credible," he said. "If China seeks an exemption, NSG countries could urge Beijing to provide nuclear security and non-proliferation benefits in exchange for limited commerce with Pakistan." ■

## 'Nuclear-Free Middle East Not Easy'

Ramesh Jaura interviews DAISAKU IKEDA, president of Soka Gakkai International

BERLIN, Jun 20, 2010 (IPS) - A meeting called for 2012 on a Middle East free of nuclear weapons is likely to run into difficulties, says Daisaku Ikeda, president of the Buddhist association Soka Gakkai International (SGI).

"The issues involved are complex and not likely to be resolved through the convening of a single conference," Ikeda tells IPS in an email interview.

"In fact, given the history of war and violence and the deep-seated animosities in the region, it will be anything but easy even to bring the conference together. But the current situation is clearly intolerable and could dramatically worsen at any moment. For these reasons, there is a need to develop avenues of dialogue and to find ways to start defusing tensions."

The treaties establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones in Central Asia and Africa last year are "an important source of hope," he says.

Following are excerpts from the interview:

**Q: Has the conference (the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons held in May that also called for a conference on the Middle East) paved the path for the world to move towards nuclear abolition? Or is it just promises and platitudes?**

A: As you mention, people are now trying to assess the outcome of the Review Conference and there are a wide range of views on this. It was regrettable, for example, that key differences

between nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon states could not be overcome. As a result, the proposal in the draft report that would have required the start of negotiations on nuclear disarmament within a time-bound framework didn't find its way into the final document. Beyond this, many other issues were left unresolved.

Still, however, the kinds of divisions that paralyzed the 2005 NPT Review Conference were avoided, and the final document includes specific action plans. To me this is clear evidence of the growing awareness among governments that we cannot waste the opportunity to renew progress towards a world free of nuclear weapons.

**Q: What would you describe as significant achievements?**

A: I think the conference had three particularly noteworthy achievements. First, after affirming that all states need to make special efforts to establish the necessary framework to achieve and maintain a world without nuclear weapons, the final document refers to, for the first time ever, proposals for a Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC).

Second, the conference acknowledged that the only absolute assurance against the threat posed by nuclear weapons is their abolition. And third, the conference called for countries to ➤



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observe International Humanitarian Law in light of the catastrophic effects of any use of nuclear weapons.

Calls from non-nuclear-weapon states and NGOs for a Nuclear Weapons Convention that would comprehensively ban these weapons of mass destruction have until now been rejected on grounds that this was premature, or that an NWC was ill-matched to the realities of international relations.

As a result, it was never directly taken up in international negotiations, and this makes the reference to an NWC in the final document of the NPT Review Conference all the more significant.

I believe this was realised by the coming together of a range of actors, starting with the president of the review conference, relevant UN agencies such as the Office for Disarmament Affairs, and governments committed to nuclear abolition, and also the passionate, determined efforts of many civil society organisations. The youth members of the Soka Gakkai, for example, collected more than 2.2 million signatures in Japan in support of an NWC, presenting these to the president of the conference and the UN Secretary- General.

**Q: Where do we go from here?**

A: We need to build on this momentum. I urge the early start of negotiations on a Nuclear Weapons Convention, with an eye on the next Review Conference in 2015, which will mark the 70th anniversary of the use of atomic weapons against Hiroshima and Nagasaki. There are many obstacles to be overcome, but I

am convinced that the time is ripe for the comprehensive prohibition of nuclear weapons.

Two principles given voice by statements in the final document make this perfectly clear. "The conference reaffirms and recognises that the total elimination of nuclear weapons is the only absolute guarantee against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons...."

The second is: "The conference expresses its deep concern at the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons and reaffirms the need for all states at all times to comply with applicable international law, including international humanitarian law."

Whereas inter-governmental debate on the nuclear issue has often been framed in terms of political or military logic, this gives clear priority to humanitarian values and the imperative to respect the inherent dignity of life.

**Q: In what particular ways are nuclear weapons a humanitarian issue?**

A: Survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki shared their experiences at the review conference, urging nuclear abolition. The suffering wrought by the use of nuclear weapons is not limited to the immediate aftermath. Nuclear weapons are the ultimately inhumane weapon, whose impacts continue to cause pain, and assault the very foundation of human dignity for generations.

(This report comes in partnership with IDN-InDepthNews) ■

## Buddhist Leader Pushes for Nuclear Abolition Treaty

IDN-InDepth News Interview of Daisaku Ikeda



BERLIN/TOKYO - An eminent Buddhist thinker, Daisaku Ikeda, has called for an early start of negotiations for a global treaty to abolish nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction, to coincide -- ideally - with the 70th anniversary of the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

An international treaty in the form of a Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC) would prohibit the development, testing, production, stockpiling, transfer, use and threat of use of nuclear weapons, as well as provide for their elimination. It would be similar in form to existing conventions outlawing other categories of weapons, such as biological weapons, chemical weapons and anti-personnel mines.

Proposals for a Nuclear Weapons Convention are being discussed since 1996. For the first time now NWC has found a reference in the final document emerging from the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) that convened from May 3 to 28 at the UN headquarters in New York.

"We need to build on this momentum," says Ikeda, president of the Buddhist association Soka Gakkai International (SGI), who has for years been campaigning for elimination of atomic arsenal. He formulated a five-point plan early September 2009 aimed at nuclear abolition. ➤



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Following is full text of an email interview of the SGI president by Ramesh Jaura for IDN-InDepthNews in partnership with Inter Press Service news agency.

*Q: Dr. Ikeda, what do you think of the outcome of the NPT Review Conference? Does it really pave the path for the world to move toward nuclear abolition? Or is it just plenty of promises and platitudes, as some observers maintain?*

A: As you mention, people are now trying to assess the outcome of the Review Conference, and there are a wide range of views on this. It was regrettable, for example, that key differences between nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon states could not be overcome. As a result, the proposal in the draft report that would have required the start of negotiations on nuclear disarmament within a time-bound framework didn't find its way into the final document. Beyond this, many other issues were left unresolved.

Still, however, the kinds of divisions that paralyzed the 2005 NPT Review Conference were avoided, and the final document includes specific action plans. To me this is clear evidence of the growing awareness among governments that we cannot waste the opportunity to renew progress toward a world free of nuclear weapons.

I am very fond of the words of the Chinese literary giant Lu Xun (1881-1936), who said that hope is like a path in the countryside: originally there was no path – yet, as people continue walking over the same spot, a way appears. I think this very much applies to the process going forward. The key will be for all governments to come together, making the final document the basis for their endeavors, forging ahead, one step at a time, on this untrodden path. At the same time, it is crucial to build international opinion calling for the prompt implementation of all agreements. One key here will be to secure ongoing venues for dialogue between civil society and policymakers.

*Q: What would you describe as significant achievements?*

A: I think the conference had three particularly noteworthy achievements. First, after affirming that all states need to make special efforts to establish the necessary framework to achieve and maintain a world without nuclear weapons, the final document refers, for the first time ever, to proposals for a Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC).

Second, the conference acknowledged that the only real assurance against the threat posed by nuclear weapons is their abolition.

And third, the conference called for countries to observe International Humanitarian Law in light of the catastrophic effects of any use of nuclear weapons.



Calls from non-nuclear-weapon states and NGOs for a Nuclear Weapons Convention that would comprehensively ban these weapons of mass destruction have until now been rejected on grounds that this was premature, or that an NWC was ill-matched to the realities of international relations.

As a result, it was never directly taken up in international negotiations, and this makes the reference to an NWC in the final document of the NPT Review Conference all the more significant.

I believe this was realized by the coming together of a range of actors, starting with the President of the Review Conference, relevant UN agencies such as the Office for Disarmament Affairs, and governments committed to nuclear abolition, and also the passionate, determined efforts of many civil society organizations. The youth members of the Soka Gakkai in Japan, for example, collected more than 2.2 million signatures in support of an NWC, presenting these to the President of the Conference and the UN Secretary-General.

*Q: Where do we go from here?*

A: We need to build on this momentum. I urge the early start of negotiations on a Nuclear Weapons Convention, with an eye on the next Review Conference in 2015, which will mark the 70th anniversary of the use of atomic weapons against Hiroshima and Nagasaki. There are many obstacles to be overcome, but I am convinced that the time is ripe for the comprehensive prohibition of nuclear weapons.

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SGI representatives submit anti-nukes signatures at the United Nations. Credit: SGI

Whereas intergovernmental debate on the nuclear issue has often been framed in terms of political or military logic,

this gives clear priority to humanitarian values and the imperative to respect the inherent dignity of life.

*Q: In what particular ways are nuclear weapons a humanitarian issue?*

A: Survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki shared their experiences at the Review Conference, urging nuclear abolition. The suffering wrought by the use of nuclear weapons is not limited to the immediate aftermath. Nuclear weapons are the ultimate inhumane weapon, whose impacts continue to cause pain and undermine the foundations of human dignity for generations.

It was for this reason that my mentor Josei Toda (1900-58), the second president of the Soka Gakkai, denounced them as an absolute evil. He was convinced that we could not leave any room for considering them in the same context as conventional weapons, as a necessary evil to be used if conditions require.

Nuclear weapons are entirely impermissible -- both in terms of the grave threat they pose to peace and for their profoundly inhumane nature as an assault on human dignity. This understanding should undergird efforts to establish a Nuclear Weapons Convention. The work of applying the spirit and principles of International Humanitarian Law to nuclear weapons is crucial in bringing down the curtain on the nuclear age.

*Q: Dr. Jayantha Dhanapala, president of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, has described the conference agreement on implementing the 1995 resolution on the Middle East as "the most significant achievement" of the conference. But whether this agreement will lead to a nuclear-weapon-free Middle East zone is doubted by experts. Isn't this scepticism justified in view of the U.S. and Israeli reservations on some crucial points?*

A: The treaties establishing Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones (NWFZ) in Central Asia and Africa that entered into force last year are an important source of hope. These regions join Latin America, the South Pacific and Southeast Asia in establishing NWFZs. This is especially significant because the two new NWFZs include

countries that either developed or possessed nuclear weapons in the past.

The next challenge is to promote denuclearization in other regions of the globe. As is the case in Northeast Asia and South Asia, the path toward this goal in the Middle East is strewn with difficult challenges.

This was the background against which the NPT Review Conference called for a conference in 2012 to establish a Middle East zone free of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction. Needless to say, the issues in the Middle East are complex and not likely to be resolved through the convening of a single conference. In fact, given the history of conflict and violence and the deep-seated animosities in the region, it will be anything but easy even to bring the conference together.

But the current situation is clearly intolerable and could dramatically worsen at any moment. For these reasons, there is a need to develop avenues of dialogue and to find ways to start defusing tensions.

Regarding the perils of the nuclear age, the British historian Arnold Toynbee (1889-1975) called this a "Gordian knot that has to be untied by patient fingers instead of being cut by the sword." Resolving the long-standing stalemate in the Middle East and dismantling the structures of confrontation will require a persistent effort at dialogue, undoing the tangled threads of fear, suspicion and mistrust. The most basic point to keep in mind, however, is that conflict does not make dialogue impossible, it makes it necessary.

*Q: What does that concretely involve?*

A: In the search for a world free from nuclear weapons, we need to move away from stances of mutual threat, toward shared efforts to reduce threat and threat perception. Trust needs to be restored and confidence fostered. All actors need to work to create expanding circles of physical and psychological security. I believe this formula applies equally to Northeast and South Asia as to the Middle East. By engaging in future-oriented dialogue, we can bring into view the next step toward peaceful coexistence.

The difficulties facing a Middle East conference underline the need for international society as a whole, including global civil society, to offer its support. The Review Conference final document calls for the conference to be convened "with the full support and engagement of the nuclear-weapon States." ➤



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In addition to the support of the nuclear-weapon states, I hope that Japan, as a country with direct experience of nuclear war, will work with other non-nuclear-weapon states to create the conditions for sustained and fruitful dialogue in the Middle East.

*Q: What would you advise civil society to do so that promises become a reality and platitudes, binding commitments -- particularly as far as the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT) and a Nuclear Weapons Convention are concerned?*

A: Despite repeated calls, the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), adopted in 1996, has yet to enter into force. In the case of the Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT), negotiations have not yet even begun. I don't, however, consider the situation devoid of hope.

Even given the non-binding status of the CTBT, since it was signed the five recognized nuclear-weapon states have observed a moratorium on further nuclear weapons tests, as have India and Pakistan since 1998. Further, the CTBTO Preparatory Commission has continued to develop the verification regime needed to ensure no country conducts tests.

At the NPT Review Conference, Indonesia expressed its intention to ratify the CTBT. If the United States also ratifies, this will leave only seven states that are required to ratify for the treaty to enter into force. With regard to the FMCT, the five nuclear-weapon states have agreed to suspend the production of fissile materials pending the start of negotiations.

*Q: What is required to move these important treaties toward implementation?*

A: More than anything, we need to bring together the force of popular will and international public opinion. These alone can create the conditions in which government leaders feel genuinely compelled to make progress.

At this point, however, real passion and interest in civil society is confined mostly to people involved with NGOs directly engaged with the issue. But this is a matter of far too much importance – the fate of humankind literally hangs in the balance – to be left up to a handful of government policymakers.

The movements for treaties banning landmines and cluster munitions were driven by ordinary people, people whose sense of humanity was outraged by the horrific nature of these

weapons, whose sense of urgency was propelled by the need to prevent further suffering. In the same way, when people understand how important the CTBT and FMCT are for reducing the threat of nuclear weapons, we will see a powerful groundswell in international public opinion.



Dr. Javantha Dhanapala

From January to March of this year, youth and student members of the SGI in eight countries surveyed their peers regarding attitudes toward nuclear weapons. Many interviewees at first wondered about the reason for this activity, suggesting the degree to which people feel that nuclear weapons are essentially unrelated to their lives.

Still, nearly 70 percent of respondents said that the use of nuclear weapons was unacceptable under any circumstance. More than half expressed the view that renewed debate on the nuclear issue could spur progress toward nuclear abolition.

The key, therefore, is persistent efforts within civil society to raise awareness and interest in nuclear issues, including stressing the importance of these treaties. Such efforts can break down the obstacles to progress and transform the most stubborn realities. This is what the SGI has been aiming to do through our People's Decade for Nuclear Abolition, launched in 2007.

*Q: What role would you assign to education?*

A: At the NPT Review Conference, 42 countries, including Japan, issued a joint statement on the importance of disarmament and nonproliferation education. It is our intention to continue to collaborate with the UN Office for Disarmament Affairs, treaty organizations such as the CTBTO Preparatory Commission as well as NGOs such as the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN).

Together, we can lay the foundations within international society for a world without nuclear weapons. Young people are already taking the lead. When ordinary people join together in solidarity, they have the power to close the gap between reality and ideals. This is our determination as we work for the realization of these treaties and, even more, for a Nuclear Weapons Convention that will comprehensively and effectively ban all nuclear weapons. (IDN-InDepthNews/21.06.2010) ■



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الصفقة تنتهك معاهدة حظر إنتشار السلاح النووي  
حذر أمريكي تجاه الصفقة الذرية الصينية الباكستانية  
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### 'Nuclear-Free Middle East Not Easy'

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زعيم منظمة سوكا غاكاي البوذية الدولية  
"من الصعوبة بمكان تحرير الشرق الأوسط من الأسلحة  
النووية"  
بقلم راميش جاورا/وكالة انتر بريس سيرفس

### Buddhist Leader Pushes for Nuclear Abolition Treaty

JAPANESE

仏教指導者、核兵器禁止条約の早期実現を訴える（池田大作SGI会長インタビュー）

【ベルリン/東京IDN＝ラメシュ・ジャウラ】

著名な仏教思想家池田大作博士は、核兵器及び全ての大量破壊兵器を禁止する国際条約の交渉開始を早期に一理想的には広島と長崎への原爆投下から70年目にあたる2015年を目標に一実現させるよう呼びかけている。

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=115:sgi&catid=1:news](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=115:sgi&catid=1:news)

GERMAN

#### Anti-Atomwaffen-Konvention bis 2015 – Buddhistenführer Ikeda im Interview

Der prominente buddhistische Denker, Daisaku Ikeda, hat die Weltgemeinschaft zu einer frühzeitigen Aufnahme der Gespräche über ein globales Abkommen zur Abschaffung von Atomwaffen und allen anderen Massenvernichtungswaffen aufgefordert. Stehen sollte die Konvention seiner Meinung nach spätestens 2015 – 70 Jahre nach Abwurf der Atombomben auf Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=117:anti-atomwaffen-konvention-bis-2015--buddhistenfuehrer-ikeda-im-interview&catid=1:news](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=117:anti-atomwaffen-konvention-bis-2015--buddhistenfuehrer-ikeda-im-interview&catid=1:news)

TURKISH

#### Budist Lider Nükleer Silahsızlanma Anlaşması İçin Bastırıyor

Önde gelen Budist düşünürlerden Daisaku Ikeda, Hiroşima ve Nagazaki'nin bombalanmasının 70. yıl dönümü yaklaşırken, bu tarihle çakışacak biçimde nükleer silahları ve diğer kitle imha silahlarını yasaklayacak küresel bir anlaşma için müzakerelerin erkenden başlaması için çağrıda bulundu.

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=116:budist-lider-nuekleer-budist-lider-nuekleer-silahsyzlanma-anlamas-cin-bastryyor&catid=1:news](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=116:budist-lider-nuekleer-budist-lider-nuekleer-silahsyzlanma-anlamas-cin-bastryyor&catid=1:news)





# BEYOND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

People's Decade for Nuclear Abolition  
Act to make the world free of nuclear weapons



## Civil Society's Perspective

<http://www.icanw.org/files/RevCon2010.pdf>

### OVERVIEW

## The momentum builds for nuclear abolition

**Tim Wright**

**U**N Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon remarked to a crowd of one thousand disarmament campaigners on the eve of the 2010 Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference: "Nuclear disarmament is not a distant, unattainable goal; it is an urgent necessity. Here, now, we are determined to achieve it." In recent years, leaders of all political hues have expressed their hope and vision for a world free of nuclear weapons — including US president Barack Obama and Russian president Dmitry Medvedev. But is there a genuine commitment by the nuclear-armed states, and others, to make the goal of nuclear abolition a reality?

The NPT Review Conference, which was attended by representatives from almost every country in the world from May 3 to 28, presented the international community with an opportunity to formulate an ambitious action plan to banish nuclear weapons from global arsenals. But four of the five NPT nuclear-weapon states — the United States, Russia, France and the United Kingdom — vehemently rejected all attempts to attach timelines to disarmament obligations and, in the end, only managed to agree on a modest, largely aspirational, plan for implementing their four-decade-old undertaking to disarm.

On a more positive note, for the first time at an NPT review conference, an overwhelming majority of non-nuclear-weapon states expressed strong support for the negotiation of a Nuclear Weapons Convention — a global comprehensive legal framework to outlaw and eliminate nuclear weapons — in line with the chemical and biological weapons conventions. However, to the disappointment of civil society, the 189 parties to the NPT were ultimately

unable to commit themselves to begin work on a Nuclear Weapons Convention now. Pursuing a convention would fundamentally alter the discriminatory status quo of nuclear "haves" and "have-nots" by establishing a universal ban on nuclear weapons for all. It would put in place the legal and institutional framework required to achieve nuclear elimination in a verifiable manner under effective international control.

Although the final text from the Review Conference did not call on states to negotiate a Nuclear Weapons Convention, it did refer to a convention twice in the context of the UN Secretary-General's five-point plan on nuclear disarmament announced in 2008. Even these weak non-endorsing references to a convention were highly controversial. The nuclear-weapon states, with the exception of China, resisted a convention on the basis that they are already doing enough to fulfil their legally binding obligation to disarm. But 40 years after the NPT entered into force, we must seriously question whether it is acceptable that there are still more than 23,000 nuclear arms in the world and none of the nuclear-armed states appears to be preparing for a future without them.

### Global campaigning

The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) was launched at the start of the last NPT review cycle in Vienna in 2007. Our goal has been to strengthen political support for the negotiation of a Nuclear Weapons Convention without further delay. We have a large network of active partner organizations in more than 60 countries, with dedicated campaigners educating the public about the urgent need to rid the world of nuclear weapons and holding dialogues with government officials,

### Supporters of a convention

The Non-Aligned Movement, representing 116 parties to the NPT, strongly supported a convention at the Review Conference. The following nations also called for a convention in their statements:

Algeria	Libya
Austria	Liechtenstein
Brazil	Malaysia
Chile	Mexico
China	Mongolia
Colombia	Morocco
Costa Rica	Norway
Cuba	Philippines
Egypt	Qatar
Holy See	Senegal
Indonesia	Switzerland
Iran	Thailand
Kenya	Tunisia
Lebanon	Yemen

parliamentarians and mayors to plot the path to zero. In dozens of countries, we have applied pressure on decision makers through the media, street demonstrations, face-to-face meetings and letter-writing campaigns. Rapidly, the idea of a global ban on nuclear weapons is catching on around the world, with a wide variety of initiatives helping to bring it to prominence.

In Canada, more than 500 recipients of the highest national honour — the Order of Canada — have signed a declaration of support for a Nuclear Weapons Convention, the first such politically oriented activity by the esteemed group. In Japan, community organizers knocked on doors and stood on street corners to collect more than 10 million petition signatures with one simple demand: abolish nuclear weapons now through a Nuclear Weapons Convention.



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In New York, 15,000 demonstrators marched from Times Square to the United Nations the day before the Review Conference began, with the mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki leading. It was a massive show of global solidarity to bring about a prompt end to the nuclear age by negotiating a Nuclear Weapons Convention. There are countless other examples of groups mobilizing in different parts of the world with the aim of influencing the outcome of the NPT Review Conference and effecting a monumental shift from nuclear arms control to nuclear abolition.

Since it was launched, ICAN has produced a raft of materials for different audiences, from diplomats and politicians to lobbyists, grassroots activists and school students, with the aim of raising awareness about the need for a Nuclear Weapons Convention. We have sought to reach out to as many people as possible in order to create a genuine and irresistible movement for change. Our call for a convention has been heard on the radio airwaves and seen on the pages of some of the world's most widely read newspapers and journals. ICAN coordinated and funded the 2007 updating and publication of a Model Nuclear Weapons Convention, which Secretary-General Ban described in 2008 as "a good point of departure" for actual negotiations on a convention.

### Campaigning at the UN

ICAN's strategy going into the NPT Review Conference was to increase substantially the number and diversity of countries advocating for a Nuclear Weapons Convention. We did this through dozens of national campaign initiatives and by engaging with diplomats at government missions to the United Nations in both New York and Geneva. In the three months leading up to the conference, we held a number of public events and informal discussions among national officials with the aim of putting a Nuclear Weapons Convention squarely on the NPT review conference agenda for the first time. We also had one-on-one meetings with roughly one-quarter of all NPT parties and kept all governments regularly updated on our work through mailouts. It was a comprehensive strategy that went well beyond trying to influence just the nuclear-weapon states. It is clear that, if we are to succeed in the campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Convention, we must generate a critical mass of support from across the world. In this regard, the UN Secretary-General's endorsement of a convention has been instrumental in strengthening global support for nuclear abolition.

During the Review Conference, ICAN held a number of well-attended events on the need for a convention. Our motto was "Nuclear Weapons Convention:

Now We Can". ICAN supporter Jody Williams, who won the Nobel Peace Prize for her efforts to ban landmines in the 1990s, made an urgent plea to diplomats to commit to begin work on a convention now. She said that specious arguments against nuclear abolition — the same ones made against a mine ban treaty — can and must be challenged and overcome. She offered words of hope and encouragement to those who support the aim of abolition: "Governments can change their positions seemingly in a heartbeat, particularly in response to collective pressure by civil society."

Archbishop Desmond Tutu also added his voice to the campaign during the Review Conference by penning an opinion article for London's *Guardian* newspaper, in which he argued that we should not listen to the sceptics who tell us that nuclear abolition is an impossible dream. "Successful efforts to prohibit other classes of weapons provide evidence that, where there is political momentum and widespread popular support, obstacles which may at first appear insurmountable can very often be torn down," he wrote. "Nuclear abolition is the democratic wish of the world's people, and has been ever since the dawn of the atomic age."

During the conference, ICAN also published daily advertisements and articles in *News In Review*, an NGO







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newsletter published by Reaching Critical Will, which is circulated to delegates. Our regular email updates were sent to representatives from every NPT party, as well as a large number of NGOs around the world.

### The path forward

Despite the ability of the NPT parties to adopt a consensus document at the Review Conference, it is clear that large obstacles remain on the path to a nuclear-weapon-free world. The weak disarmament commitments in the final document demonstrate a real lack of will among the five NPT nuclear-weapon states to honour their longstanding obligation to disarm, even though their rhetoric may give the impression that they are advocates for disarmament. A further concern is that none of the four nuclear-armed states outside the NPT — Israel, India, Pakistan and North Korea — has shown any interest in dismantling its nuclear arsenal, and no meaningful attempts have been made to engage them in multilateral negotiations for nuclear disarmament. The challenges we face are enormous, but so are the possibilities.

The lack of progress in nuclear disarmament has forced many governments to accept that we must pursue an alternative path to a nuclear-weapon-free world. The step-by-step, incremental approach by itself has proven unsuccessful, not only in advancing nuclear disarmament, but also in halting nuclear proliferation. The current system of nuclear apartheid — where different standards apply to different states — cannot be sustained indefinitely. Unless

we radically change our trajectory, the further proliferation and future use of nuclear weapons are all but inevitable.

The coming years may be the best opportunity we have to build pressure on all nuclear-armed and nuclear-allied states — as well as the dozens of states that ostensibly rely on nuclear weapons for their security — to take measurable steps for abolition. The failure of the NPT Review Conference to set out a clear roadmap to zero nuclear weapons must not be used as an excuse for inaction; it should be an impetus for urgent action.

Roughly two-thirds of governments are committed to beginning negotiations on a Nuclear Weapons Convention immediately, with the expectation that the last nuclear bomb will be dismantled by 2025. This may seem an unrealistic goal to some, but as Desmond Tutu reminded us during the Review Conference, "Systems and policies that devalue human life, and deprive us all of our right to live in peace with each other, are rarely able to withstand the pressure created by a highly organized public that is determined to see change." The question is: Are we committed to being the change we all wish to see in the world?

It would be foolish to expect the nuclear-weapon states to take the lead in pursuing a Nuclear Weapons Convention, as all of them seem intent on maintaining the status quo. Non-nuclear-weapon states, with the active encouragement of civil society, must begin the process now of establishing a global norm against the possession of nuclear weapons, with the aim of forcing the nuclear-armed states to end their addiction to the bomb.

### Major partner organizations

- Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy
- Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament UK
- International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms
- International Association of Lawyers and Engineers Against Proliferation
- International Peace Bureau
- International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War
- International Trade Union Confederation
- Mayors for Peace
- Nobel Women's Initiative
- Reaching Critical Will
- World Federation of United Nations Associations

### In this report

This report provides a day-by-day analysis of the month-long NPT Review Conference, with a focus on the growing support for a Nuclear Weapons Convention, and efforts aimed at delegitimizing nuclear weapons and bringing humanitarianism into the disarmament debate. It also includes a collection of articles and speeches by ICAN supporters during the conference, and a list of government references to a Nuclear Weapons Convention. We hope you find it a useful resource.

*Tim Wright is Nuclear Weapons Convention project coordinator for the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons.*





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### Australia marks Nuclear Abolition Day



Event, June 5, 2010

ICAN Australia [has] launched a new short film to mark Nuclear Abolition Day. The "Who By Fire" video is a retelling of the legend of Prometheus set against an iconic Melbourne landmark, Harold

Freedman's "Legend of Fire" mural located in the top end of Australia's second largest city.

"The story of Prometheus is an ancient classic," said Dimity Hawkins, Campaign Director of ICAN. "But Harold Freedman's mural is a marvellous retelling of the myth in a very modern context, and loans itself to the telling of the nuclear story."

The mosaic mural, which ends with a nuclear explosion, is located on the outside of the Melbourne Metropolitan Fire and Emergency Services building in Melbourne.

"We have appreciated the support of the MFB and the United Firefighters Union in allowing us to use their beautiful landmark," said Dimity Hawkins.

The film was created as an adaptation of a special performance of the "Who by Fire" story, held on the eve of Nuclear Abolition Day, Friday 4 June. Footage of this event should be available shortly.

"The 'Who by Fire' video and event were a collaboration of very talented artists, musicians, singers and activists in Melbourne," explained Dimity Hawkins.

Events marking Nuclear Abolition Day were held all over Australia on Saturday 5 June, from Fremantle in Western Australia to Melbourne, from Launceston in the nation's Southern island to tropical Brisbane. ■

### An Urgent Plea for Elimination on Nuclear Abolition Day



Opinion: June 5, 2010, Tilman Ruff\*

The future of humanity and our world can only be free of nuclear weapons. There is no other way. It must be completed urgently, before our luck runs out. The bargain at the heart of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) is sound.

Those with nuclear weapons must eliminate them; those without nuclear weapons must not acquire them. One standard for all: zero nuclear weapons. The materials and means to produce these worst weapons of terror must be controlled or removed, everywhere.

The NPT review conference concluded last week in New York bore some edible fruit. Its final document for the first time mentions a comprehensive legal framework to eradicate nuclear weapons. It affirms the salience of international humanitarian law to nuclear weapons. It specifies actions needed to progress disarmament, and that the review conference in 2015 will consider next steps for full implementation of nuclear disarmament. Steps were agreed towards a zone free of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East.

But the conference made it painfully clear that, after 40 years, the NPT alone and the current piecemeal, step-by-small-step approach cannot deliver us to a world free of nuclear weapons, and that those who possess nuclear weapons and

their hangers-on suffer an addiction that they are not yet willing to give up. By what right do they violate every standard of ethics, humanity, law, justice and evidence to jeopardise the future of all of us and the earth that sustains all? The rest of us must help them overcome this terrible addiction.

Unfortunately, the NPT does not have the process, organisation, detailed plan, timelines or sanctions for getting the job of nuclear abolition done. The most important outcome of the NPT review conference was probably not the final document, but the unprecedented level of recognition and support by the majority of the world's governments — underpinned by the strong and coordinated voices of worldwide civil society — that a comprehensive, binding, phased, verified legal framework is needed to abolish nuclear weapons, and that preparations for





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negotiation of such a treaty should begin, not at the next NPT review conference in five years, but now.

We must not let positive recent developments and talk of the review conference's success in not going backwards falsely lull us into acting as if nuclear disarmament was in hand and on track. People of goodwill the world over must work together to add their diverse and unique voices to build an overwhelming tide that will help their leaders to work together to start negotiations on a global treaty to eliminate and outlaw nuclear weapons. Much work has already been done on how such a treaty will best be negotiated, and what its essential elements will be. More work and dialogue are needed. But to be clear, most of the work required is not technical, it is in changing policies of nuclear addiction.

Like smallpox, polio, pandemic influenza, HIV and other pathogens, nuclear weapons are common enemies. They seal our shared fate. The first global Nuclear Abolition Day — 5 June 2010 — coincides appropriately with World Environment Day. Nuclear weapons pose the greatest immediate threat to global survival and health. Abolishing nuclear weapons will stop adding to the vast toxic and radioactive legacy from nuclear weapons production and testing. It will also free enormous resources urgently needed to address climate change and other humanitarian needs.

One humanity, one world, one justice, one law: zero nuclear weapons. A nuclear weapons convention: now we can. ■

*\* Tilman Ruff is Chair of the Board of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (Australia) and the ICAN Working Group for International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.*

## UN Secretary-General Supports Nuclear Abolition Day

Press release: June 3, 2010

This Saturday (June 5) several thousand people will take part in 50 simultaneous actions in 25 countries as a response to the Non-Proliferation Treaty review conference, which concluded last Friday (May 28).

The demonstrators aim to build public and political support for the negotiation of a comprehensive treaty banning nuclear weapons -- a Nuclear Weapons Convention.

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon today released a video message of support to those who are participating in the global day of action. "I know how hard you work. It's not easy to swim against the tide. But the tide is turning. People everywhere are rejecting nuclear weapons," he said.

Mr. Ban first expressed support for a Nuclear Weapons Convention in October 2008. During last month's review of the NPT, more than two-thirds of all states called for such a treaty. However, four of the nuclear-weapon states -- the United States, Russia, France and the United Kingdom -- were unwilling to support the idea of a nuclear weapons ban.

Mr. Ban said today: "Critics and sceptics cannot imagine a world without nuclear weapons. People said the same about the struggle for civil rights and the fight against slavery. These were changes that also seemed impossible until they happened. The movement to abolish nuclear weapons is on the right side of history. We will continue to fight for this great cause."

The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), which represents more than 200 non-government organizations, is coordinating the day of action. "We have treaties outlawing biological weapons, chemical weapons, landmines and cluster bombs. It's time for governments to negotiate a treaty banning and eliminating the most destructive weapons of all, nuclear weapons," said Tim Wright, a spokesperson from the UN office of ICAN.

"The Non-Proliferation Treaty has now been in force for 40 years, yet there are still more than 23,000 nuclear weapons in the world, and not one nuclear-armed country appears to be preparing for a future without them. Clearly, we need a new approach. If governments are serious about achieving a world without nuclear weapons, they will begin negotiations now on a comprehensive nuclear disarmament treaty, with benchmarks and timeframes for implementation," he said.

Actions on Saturday will include a nuclear abolition rock concert in Stockholm, Sweden; demonstrations at nuclear weapons facilities in the United Kingdom; an anti-nuclear soccer match in Manzini City, Swaziland; an evening street performance in Melbourne, Australia; a protest at the Vandenberg air force base in California; a candlelight vigil in Hiroshima, Japan; silent protests across France; and a nuclear abolition workshop in Mozambique. ■



Action details and Secretary-General's message: [www.nuclearabolition.org](http://www.nuclearabolition.org)



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Act to make "Freeze" a reality



## Civil Society's Perspective

### Ministers Confirm 'Like-for-Like' Trident Replacement

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) 22 June 2010

Last year Nick Clegg said that "world has changed, the facts have changed, you've got to change with them. So like-for-like replacement for Trident is just not right" [see note 3] yet last night in Parliament the Lib Dem Defence Minister Nick Harvey confirmed that the will be no major re-thinking of the programme to replace Britain's nuclear weapons.

Harvey told MPs that "If the study were to conclude that a particular aspect of the existing plan did not represent good value for money, it might start looking at different ways of doing things, but I have to stress that it is not a review in which we look at all the possible alternative ways in which we might provide a successor, and see which works out the cheapest." [note 4]

Kate Hudson, Chair of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament said "This is a hugely disappointing missed opportunity, certain to distress the many voters who thought having Lib Dems in power would result in something better than this. Merely seeking to tweak aspects of the ruinously expensive plan will not deliver significant savings. There is to be no rethink of the rationale for, or requirements of such a system.

"Describing this as a 'value for money' review is nonsense - if you shave a few million off a project you never needed in the first place, how is that value for money? As Sir Ming Campbell said yesterday 'I do not see how one can have a value-for-money assessment unless one considers what alternatives are available' yet this is what the Coalition are proposing. It looks as though there has been no real concession to the Lib Dems, the wishes of their voters whose support allowed the creation of this government, or the majority of the population that polls consistently show oppose Britain's possession of nuclear weapons. The security challenges facing Britain are unrecognisable from those when Trident was ordered in the 1980s, yet it looks like we'll spend the next few decades paying for the 'like-for-like' replacement, the case for which Nick Clegg described as 'a complete fiction'. [note 3]

"It is all the more extraordinary that this decision is going ahead when the United States and Russia have agreed bilateral nuclear warhead reductions and the recent UN Non-Proliferation conference has resoundingly endorsed the goal of a world without nuclear weapons." ■

## After the NPT, New MPs to join CND at Downing St to Call for Action on Nuclear Disarmament

CND 4 June 2010

In an early show of opposition to Trident replacement, a number of newly-elected MP from different parties will join CND Chair Kate Hudson at Downing Street tomorrow to call for action on nuclear disarmament from the new government.

The letter has been produced in response to the outcomes of the recent nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference at the UN and will ask the government to outline how it will make progress on reaching the objectives of the agreement, including when and by how much the UK will further reduce its warhead stockpile and how it will reduce the circumstances in which we may use nuclear weapons.

The conference's final agreement calls on the nuclear weapon states to

- 'undertake further efforts to reduce and ultimately eliminate all types of nuclear weapons'
- 'accelerate concrete progress on the steps leading to nuclear disarmament' and to

- 'rapidly move towards an overall reduction in the global stockpile of nuclear weapons [and] further diminish the role and significance of nuclear weapons in all military and security concepts, doctrines and policies'.

MPs joining Kate Hudson include the Liberal Democrats' Julian Huppert, the SNP's Eilidh Whiteford and the Green Party's first MP Caroline Lucas. The initiative is supported by newly elected Labour MP John Cryer.

Also handing in the letter will be CND Vice President Rebecca Johnson, who was a Senior Advisor to the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission (WMDC), chaired by Dr Hans Blix (2004-2006) and General Sir Hugh Beach.

The letter hand in takes place at 4pm at Downing Street, following Prime Ministers Questions.



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CND Chair Kate Hudson said: "The support we've received from newly-elected MPs is a reflection of the strong demand for action from the new government on nuclear disarmament. This was demonstrated in the general election, where discussion of nuclear weapons had a higher profile than in any election for decades.

The government has signed up to accelerated progress towards nuclear disarmament, yet has declared its commitment to a

new nuclear weapon system that will keep Britain nuclear-armed until the 2050s.

Given that we signed the NPT forty years ago, the commitment to another forty years of nuclear weapons does not sound like an acceleration. The government needs to outline how it will achieve this - a good first step is to include Trident in the Strategic Defence Review, with the option of No Trident Replacement firmly on the table." ■

## What Price Trident?

Blog by Dr Kate Hudson, CND Chair , 28 June, 2010

Kate Hudson has been chair of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament since 2003. She is a leading anti-nuclear and anti-war campaigner nationally and internationally. She is also author of 'CND Now More than Ever: The Story of a Peace Movement'.

After Vince Cable's extraordinary statement on *Question Time* last week, that Trident doesn't cost us anything, I think it is worth setting the record straight. Currently the government spends over £2 billion a year on nuclear weapons. By 2013 that figure will rise to £3 billion a year. Given that the government's first stated cuts goal when it came into office was to save £6 billion, it is hard to see how this level of spending could be described as nothing. This and other issues on 'defence' spending will be discussed at CND's public meeting in parliament tonight - Monday 28th June, organised together with the Stop the War Coalition. See our website diary for full details.

The current amount is primarily to maintain the existing system but of course one has to add to that the cost of the replacement of the current system. That will add in excess of £76 billion to the bill. Like many others, I wouldn't want nuclear weapons even if they were free - they provoke proliferation and make us less safe, doing nothing to meet the security challenges that we face. So scrapping the existing system and cancelling Trident replacement makes sense on every count.

Think of what the money could be spent on instead, and how many skilled sustainable jobs could be created. The current figures in employment in the nuclear weapons sector are around 11,000 on four sites. That is a cost of several million pounds per job. In employment terms, that is not a good return on investment. But a major programme of offshore wind and wave power could generate 50% of the UK's energy needs, substantially reducing carbon emissions and enhancing security of supply. It would also create new industries generating 25-30,000 skilled jobs.

It is about time the government thought about the best ways of regenerating Britain's economy, investing in growth and industries for the future, not obsessively clinging to the one area of public spending that actually would be a good cut. ■





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**What Others Say**

**Shifting the Paradigm:  
Time to Replace Article IV of the Non-Proliferation Treaty  
with Universal Membership in the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA)**

**By Alice Slater  
New York Director of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation and  
Convener of the Abolition 2000 Sustainable Energy Working Group**

While the world applauds the growing recognition that the abolition of nuclear weapons seems to be an idea whose time has finally come—from the calls by rusty cold warriors and former statesmen and generals to eliminate nuclear weapons—to the recent modest START negotiated by President Obama and Medvedev to cut nuclear arsenals under new verifications procedures, there are appalling countervailing forces, born from the old 20th century paradigm of war and terror, that undercut the growing positive pressures to end the nuclear scourge.

In addition to the pushback from the military and the Republican party in the US Congress to hold the START agreement hostage to billions of new dollars for the weapons labs to build new plutonium cores for the atom bombs, continue sub-critical explosions of plutonium and chemicals at the Nevada test site, and erect new buildings in the weapons complex, as well as continued expansion of destabilizing missile “defenses” and space warfare programs, there is a growing global proliferation of so-called “peaceful” nuclear reactors, metastasizing around the planet and spreading their lethal technology as incipient bomb factories.

Ironically as new calls come from the nuclear sophisticated “haves” to control the nuclear fuel cycle, there has been an explosion of interest from nations that never sought “peaceful” nuclear power before to achieve the technical know-how that will allow them to play in the nuclear club with the big boys. Thus we see countries like El Salvador, Ghana, Burma and Indonesia declaring their intention to build nuclear power plants as well as hearing expressions of interest from Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates and Yemen!

Fueled by commercial interests, the western patriarchal network of industrialized nations is now vigorously promoting a “nuclear renaissance” of civilian power. There has been an explosion of interests in licensing new uranium mines around the world, in Africa, Australia, Canada, Kazakhstan, India, the United States—even at the very rim of the sacred land surrounding the awesome Grand Canyon, despite the known tragic consequences of mining on the health of indigenous peoples who bear the brunt of the toxic activity with higher birth defects, cancer, leukemia and mutations in every community where uranium is mined.

The nuclear crisis we face today is a direct result of the export of peaceful nuclear technology to countries such as Iraq, Iran, and North Korea. Indeed, every nuclear reactor enables a country to develop its own nuclear weapons, as we have seen in the case of India, Pakistan, and Israel, who never joined the Non-Proliferation Treaty and now North Korea, which exploited the fruits of “peaceful” technology and then quit to develop its own deterrent against US bullying. Under the guise of “peace”, other countries, such as South Africa, Argentina, Brazil, and Libya were also well on their way to developing nuclear bombs, which they later abandoned. Former IAEA Director, Mohammed ElBaradei stated “We just cannot continue business as usual that every country can build its own factories for separating plutonium or enriching uranium. Then we are really talking about 30, 40 countries sitting on the fence with a nuclear weapons capability that could be converted into a nuclear weapon in a matter of months.”

The signers of the CTB were well aware that by having a nuclear reactor, a nation had been given the keys to a bomb factory and would need to be included in any effort to ban nuclear tests, regardless of whether they proclaimed any intention to develop weapons. And former US CIA Director, George Tenet, said, “The difference between producing low-enriched uranium and weapons-capable high-enriched uranium is only a matter of time and intent, not technology.”

There are nearly 200 million kilograms of reactor wastes in the world—with only 5 kilograms needed to make one nuclear bomb. The US is planning to build 50 more reactors by 2020; China plans 30; with 31 more now under construction—to churn out more toxic poisons; on tap for bomb-making, with no known solution to safely containing the tons of nuclear waste that will be generated over the unimaginable 250,000 years it will continue to threaten life on earth. ➤





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## What Others Say

Countless studies report higher incidences of birth defects, cancer, and genetic mutations in every situation where nuclear technology is employed—whether for war or for “peace.” A National Research Council 2005 study reported that exposure to X-rays and gamma rays, even at low-dose levels, can cause cancer. The committee defined “low-dose” as a range from near zero up to about... 10 times that from a CT scan. “There appears to be no threshold below which exposure can be viewed as harmless,” said one NRC panelist. Tens of thousands of tons of nuclear waste accumulate at civilian reactors with no solution for its storage, releasing toxic doses of radioactive waste into our air, water and soil and contaminating our planet and its inhabitants for hundreds of thousands of years.

An April, 2010 study released by the New York Academy of Sciences, authored by noted Russian scientists, concludes that based on records now available, some 985,000 people died of cancer caused between 1986 by the Chernobyl accident through 2004. The industry-dominated IAEA, has been instrumental in covering up the disastrous health effects of the Chernobyl tragedy, understating the number of deaths by attributing only 50 deaths directly to the accident. This cover-up was no doubt due to the collusive agreement between the IAEA and the World Health Organization, which under its terms provides that if either of the organizations initiates any program or activity in which the other has or may have a substantial interest, the first party shall consult with the other with a view to adjusting the matter by mutual agreement. Thus our scientists and researchers at the WHO are required to have their work vetted by the industry’s champion for “peaceful” nuclear technology, the IAEA.

The industrialized nations have the hubris to think they can manage a whole new regime of nuclear apartheid, despite their recent and most welcome acknowledgement by their leadership of the breakdown of the nuclear weapons arms control regime. They’re planning a top-down, hierarchical, central control of the nuclear fuel cycle, in a mad plan to reprocess the irradiated fuel rods in the “nuclear have” countries, such as the US, Russia, China, UK, France, Japan and India, who are to be members of a new Global Nuclear Energy Partnership. The Partnership will ship toxic bomb-ready materials to the four corners of the world and back, in a nightmare scenario of plutonium in constant transit, subject to terrorist theft and negligent accidents on land and on sea, while creating a whole new class of nuclear “have nots” who can’t be trusted not to turn their “peaceful” nuclear reactors into bomb factories. It’s just so 20th century! Time for a paradigm shift to safe, sustainable energy.

Every 30 minutes, enough of the sun’s energy reaches the earth’s surface to meet global energy demand for an entire year. Wind can satisfy the world’s electricity needs 40 times

over, and meet all global energy demands five times over. The geothermal energy stored in the top six miles of the earth’s crust contains 50,000 times the energy of the world’s known oil and gas resources. Tidal, wave and small hydropower, can also provide vast stores of energy everywhere on earth, abundant and free for every person on our planet, rich and poor alike. We can store hydrogen fuel in cells, made from safe, clean energy sources, to be used when the sun doesn’t shine and the wind doesn’t blow. When hydrogen fuel is burned, it produces water vapor, pure enough to drink, with no contamination added to the planet.

Last year the governments of Germany, Spain and Denmark launched the International Renewable Energy Agency, IRENA, which would empower developing countries with the ability to access the free energy of the sun, wind, marine, and geothermal sources, would train, educate, and disseminate information about implementing sustainable energy programs, organize and enable the transfer of science and know-how of renewable energy technologies, and generally be responsible for helping the world make the critical transition to a sustainable energy future. IRENE is the Greek word for peace, so this new initiative is especially well named.

While the NPT purports to guarantee to States who agree to abide by its terms an inalienable right to so-called peaceful nuclear technology, it is highly questionable whether such a right can ever be appropriately conferred on a State. Inalienable rights are generally distinguished from legal rights established by a State because they are moral or natural rights, inherent in the very essence of an individual. The notion of inalienable rights appeared in Islamic law and jurisprudence which denied a ruler “the right to take away from his subjects certain rights which inhere in his or her person as a human being” and “become Rights by reason of the fact that they are given to a subject by a law and from a source which no ruler can question or alter”. John Locke, the great Enlightenment thinker was thought to be influenced in his concept of inalienable rights by his attendance at lectures on Arabic studies.

During the Age of Enlightenment natural law theory challenged the divine right of kings. The US Declaration of Independence spoke of “self-evident truth” that all men are “endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights ...life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” Where does “peaceful nuclear technology” fit in this picture? Just as the Comprehensive Test Ban cancelled the right to peaceful nuclear explosions in Article V of the NPT, a protocol to the NPT mandating participation in IRENA would supercede the Article IV right to “peaceful” nuclear technology. There are now 144 nations participating in IRENA. [www.irena.org](http://www.irena.org) We urge you to insure that your nation joins as well.



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**What Others Say**

**Civil Society, Disarmament and the Need for New Beginnings**

By Andrew Lichterman | Published in Disarmament Times

In May, disarmament organizations will assemble alongside government delegations meeting for the 2010 Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty Review Conference. Coming together in side events between attempts to pursue and persuade diplomats has become a familiar practice among the world's nongovernmental organizations, and should provide an opportunity to reflect and to develop strategies together. The focus on governments, however, often overshadows our own discussions, limiting their scope to what those in power might be persuaded to do in the near term and how we might persuade them to do it.

As we gather this year, humanity is confronted with several crises, each different but all ultimately intertwined. We face the decline of our natural environment, with climate change being only one of the human-induced transformations destroying natural and man-made systems from which we draw our sustenance today, and limiting our options for how we will live in the future.

These changes strike the poorest first — those who cannot afford to move, build expensive new infrastructure, or import the means of existence from afar when their locale is devastated by a global mode of production dedicated to short-term growth heedless of the long-term consequences. As competition for key nonrenewable resources intensifies, essentials of food and energy devour an increasing portion of their income, creating a rising cycle of misery exacerbated by a two tier global economy in which immensely powerful private corporations destroy local markets while ultimately raising the price of many necessities, pumping up profits by pushing costs off on ecosystems and future generations.

At the same time, the economic crisis persists, precipitated by the collapse of the latest and largest financial bubble and prolonged by the immense gulf between those few who control most of the world's wealth and productive assets and the millions who can neither find productive work nor pay for what might be produced by others. What recovery there has been consists mainly of securing more of the world's wealth and social product for the top 20 percent or so, the increasingly self-contained top-tier economy of government organizations and giant corporations that buy and sell most of the world's goods to each other and their upper echelons, inhabiting fortified islands of wealth amidst a global sea of poverty.

The growing chasm between the minority who hold secure places in the economy of large — and largely authoritarian — organizations and the rest of humanity is the defining social fact of our time. Unless it is directly confronted and overcome it will define the limits of the politically possible, driving increased conflict and with it expenditure by the wealthy sectors of society on "security." Both pervasive conflict and the misdirection of ever more resources in an effort to contain it (rather than removing its causes) will make the transformation of global energy, transportation, agriculture, and industrial systems essential for long-term human survival more difficult, perhaps impossible.

IN THE FIRST DECADE of the new century, we have wars and threats of wars, with nuclear weapons moving ever closer to the center of conflict. Nuclear weapons and nuclear "nonproliferation" serve as the justification for wars and as the stalking horse for the economic and geopolitical agendas of largely unaccountable elites who control the most powerful states. They are already nuclear armed and have shown themselves, as in the case of the United States, ready to threaten nuclear weapons use against those who have none. And nuclear weapons — the all too real national arsenals, not the theoretical ones that the demonized states du jour or "terrorist" groups might or might not be trying to acquire — remain the machinery of ultimate catastrophe. They are still there, waiting at the end of some as yet unforeseen chain of great power elite contention and confrontation as those in power attempt to "manage" the multiple crises in ways that apply ever more technology and violence, while stubbornly refusing to address the fundamental causes of deteriorating ecosystems and proliferating social conflict. This systematic exclusion of discussion about root causes, enforced myriad ways in forums world wide, creates a pervasive feeling of inertia, a sense that political systems everywhere are not working.

DESPITE ALL OF THIS, most of the visible "disarmament work" generated by "civil society" organizations, proceeds with little change from one year, and one decade, to the next. The principal focus remains on three kinds of things:

The first is the weapons themselves: the effects of their use, their legal status, the effects on "stability" of various weapons systems when possessed by one or another combination of adversaries, the ecological effects of designing, testing, and producing them.

\*Andrew Lichterman has worked on peace and disarmament issues for decades, both in paid and volunteer positions. He is a member of the boards of the Western States Legal Foundation and the Los Alamos Study Group. The opinions expressed here are his own.



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## What Others Say

The second is the mechanics of disarmament: how to dispose of weapons when no longer desired, how to verify their destruction or their continued existence, how to track the materials and technologies that can be used for their manufacture.

The third is how to prevent anyone new from obtaining them. Efforts to mobilize support for elimination of nuclear arsenals concentrates on long-familiar litanies within these limits: the horrors we already know from the U.S. atomic bombings of Japan, informed speculation regarding their civilization-destroying capacity, the elaboration of convincingly plausible, and by now endlessly tweaked and refined, proposals for verifiable step-by-step elimination of nuclear arsenals, and a shifting array of related issues regarding the economic, social, and ecological costs of maintaining them.

WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, the analysis and recommendations offered by the visible layers of "civil society" stay on the terrain favored by professionals and experts: the description of social ills, and technical prescriptions for their elimination. Even moral appeals have narrowed to a kind of specialization, with only those expert in religion or who hold irrefutable status as victims qualified to be heard.

When connections between issues are made, they usually are made regarding the effects of nuclear weapons and the institutions that sustain them, rather than the causes for their existence. Mirroring the top-down "management" approaches to controlling the "nuclear danger" of those who control the most powerful states, scrutiny of fundamental causes is consigned to the margins.

The questions of precisely who finds it useful to devote vast resources to maintaining civilization-destroying arsenals and the immense array of institutions that sustain them, and exactly what they find them useful for, are seldom asked. Rather than holding those in power to account for their actions, the experts and professionals who dominate "civil society" arms control and disarmament discourse look for every opportunity to take them at their word. They grasp eagerly at the latest endorsement of "disarmament" by those who hold or have held power, no matter how abstract or contradictory. This year no doubt we will hear repeated quotations from U.S. President Barack Obama echoing in the halls of the United Nations, as a few hundred miles south his administration's proposals for massive increases in funding for nuclear weapons research and production march in bipartisan lockstep through the halls of the U.S. Congress.

MARTIN LUTHER KING OBSERVED that "all too many people find themselves living amid a great period of social change, and yet they fail to develop the new attitudes, the new mental responses, that the new situation demands." We are in another moment like that now, a time of great dislocation and upheaval. We need a new conversation amongst ourselves about how we must order our societies and economies if we are going to make it through these times. We need to stop looking always upward towards those in power for what they might be willing to give us.

Moments of great social transformation are characterized — in many ways, defined — by the failure of the existing political, cultural and intellectual institutions to meet the needs of the majority of the population and to make decisions in ways we believe legitimate. Today, the professionals who inhabit these institutions have little to say about what is most important. The "practical" too often has come to be equated with asking only for what can be had within the existing

institutional contexts, which means not challenging the existing distribution of wealth and power. If these constitute fundamental causes of the problems we are trying to solve or key obstacles to their solution, this is a doomed strategy.

We need to have the courage to turn our attention and our efforts away from the states and their forums and back to each other. The discussion, analysis, and political course of action that bring real disarmament will not come from refining the discourses dominated by those who currently hold power and control debate, but by rendering them irrelevant. We must focus our efforts on building and sustaining solidarity, mutual support, and a common political program amongst those who suffer from an unjust and undemocratic global order of things that is enforced by overwhelming violence. As long as that order of things remains, nuclear weapons will be there, and likely in civilization-destroying numbers. The work of "reducing the nuclear danger" needs to be less about fewer weapons and more about greater justice.

How do we accomplish this? No one person can point the way forward; the kinds of work that are needed will vary from place to place. The first step is to admit that the predominant professionalized single-issue politics is not working. In addition to beginning a new conversation, we need to redirect our time and resources to the settings and kinds of activities where that conversation might actually take place.

Here in the United States, we need to take our resources and our attention back down from the centers of power to the cities, towns and neighborhoods where the effects are felt of decisions made at a distance (often geographically and always socially). This is necessary because human scale organizations where people can build trust and support, and can practice the skills of democracy — of making decisions together about things that matter — are the essential building blocks of any larger, sustainable movement for a world that is more fair and democratic. It is necessary because propaganda thrives in social settings where people are fearful and isolated, and places where we work together to understand the world and to support one another in the face of violence and injustice are the strongest defense against the powerful institutions that ceaselessly strive to manipulate us. Finally, it is necessary because the hard questions about how we will remake a failing social order from within ultimately are felt and understood in the way they affect our livelihoods and the people and places we love.

Whether our community should accept the lure of the next military contract or the next manufacturing link in a global chain of corporate production making ecologically unsustainable products that only a minority of human beings can afford, or instead should start to discuss and plan for a future that might allow us to live well within the ecological limits of our locale, region, and planet is a hard conversation to start, and harder to sustain. But it is also the kind of conversation from which a new way forward might emerge. When the debates that matter are limited to NGO experts, corporate lobbyists and professional politicians hovering around the apex of power in political systems dominated by concentrated wealth, the first order of business is to assure that the most powerful interests will be taken care of. After that, those who claim to represent the rest of us go forth and portray the dividing up of the remaining scraps as the only "practical" steps towards a better world. ■





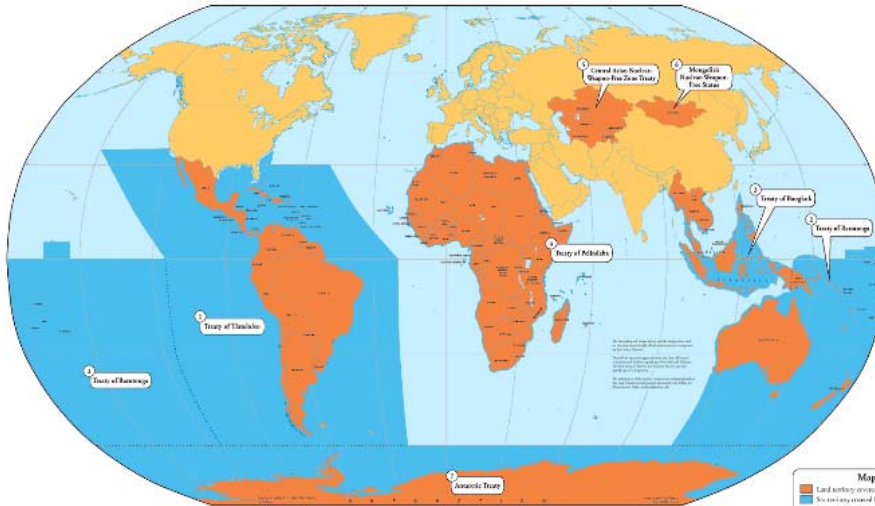
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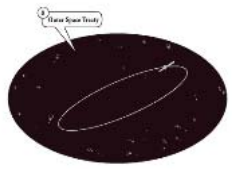


## NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE AREAS

Demarcation of nuclear-weapon-free zones, nuclear-weapon-free status and nuclear-weapon-free geographical regions

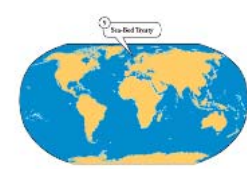


### TREATIES ESTABLISHING NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE AREAS



- Nuclear-weapon-free zones**
- 1 The 1967 Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean
  - 2 The 1985 South Pacific Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty
  - 3 The 1995 Treaty on the South-East Asia Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone
  - 4 The 1996 African Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty
  - 5 The 2006 Treaty on a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in Central Asia
- Nuclear-weapon-free status**
- 6 In 1992, Mongolia declared its nuclear-weapon-free status, later also with nuclear-weapon-free status for the respective territories of the zones, including the acquisition, possession, placement, testing and use of such weapons.

- Nuclear-weapon-free geographical regions**
- 7 The 1999 Antarctic Treaty, which prohibits any testing of nuclear weapons on the continent of Antarctica, including any testing of nuclear weapons.
  - 8 The 1967 Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, which prohibits placing nuclear weapons in outer space, including on the Moon and other celestial bodies as well as launching these weapons in outer space in any other manner.
  - 9 The 1971 Treaty on the Prohibition of the Employment of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof, which prohibits the employment of nuclear weapons on the bottom of the sea-bed and in the subsoil thereof.
- As of 2007, the above nine treaties are in effect, except with regard to their signature, ratification and entry into force, as well as with regard to the signature and ratification of their related protocols regarding assistance from the nuclear-weapon States.





## 2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)

3-28 May 2010

NPT Text	UN & Disarmament	Disarmament Issues	Resources
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"A world free of nuclear weapons would be a global public good of the highest order."

*United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon  
in his address to the East-West Institute, 24 October 2008*

The 2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) will be held in May 2010 at UN Headquarters in New York. The President-elect of the Review Conference is Ambassador Libran N. Cabactulan of the Philippines.

The NPT is a landmark international treaty whose objective is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology, to promote cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to further the goal of achieving nuclear disarmament and general and complete disarmament. The NPT represents the only binding commitment in a multilateral treaty to the goal of disarmament by the nuclear-weapon States.

Conferences to review the operation of the Treaty have been held at five-year intervals since the Treaty went into effect in 1970. Each conference has sought to find agreement on a final declaration that would assess the implementation of the Treaty's provisions and make recommendations on measures to further strengthen it.

The 2010 Review Conference is expected to consider a number of key issues, including: universality of the Treaty; nuclear disarmament, including specific practical measures; nuclear non-proliferation, including the promoting and strengthening of safeguards; measures to advance the peaceful use of nuclear energy, safety and security; regional disarmament and non-proliferation; implementation of the 1995 resolution on the Middle East; measures to address withdrawal from the Treaty; measures to further strengthen the review process; and ways to promote engagement with civil society in strengthening NPT norms and in promoting disarmament education.

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