



BEYOND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

NEWSLETTER FOR STRENGTHENING AWARENESS OF NUCLEAR ABOLITION WITH MAY 2012 ARTICLES

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Opposition to Iranian Nuclear Arms Widespread: Global Poll

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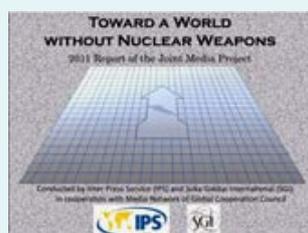
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<http://www.nuclearabolition.net/documents/Toward a World without Nuclear Weapons.pdf>



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Opposition to Iranian Nuclear Arms Widespread: Global Poll

By JIM LOBE



WASHINGTON (IPS) - Opposition to Iran's possible acquisition of nuclear weapons is widespread, although support for taking military action to prevent it appears to have fallen in several key countries over the past two years, according to a new poll of public opinion in 21 countries released here Friday by the Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project.

The poll, some of whose questions were sharply criticised as biased by several experts, was released just five days before Iran meets with the so-called P5+1 nations – the U.S., Britain, France, China, Russia, and Germany – in Baghdad to discuss the future of its nuclear programme.

Hopes that the Baghdad meeting could produce agreement on a number of confidence-building measures, including a possible freeze by Iran of its enrichment of uranium to 20 percent, have risen since the two sides met in Istanbul last month.

The announcement in Vienna Friday that the director-general of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Yukiya Amano will travel to Tehran Sunday – apparently to sort out the terms for a visit by his inspectors to a military base suspected of housing a nuclear-related testing facility – has fuelled those hopes.

The poll, which was conducted between mid-March and mid-April, was part of Pew's annual series on global attitudes that has run over the last 12 years.

The latest survey questioned more than 26,000 people in 21 countries about a range of issues beyond those having to do with Iran and its nuclear programme. Other findings by the survey are expected to be released in the coming weeks and months, but Pew released the Iran-related results in light of heightened public interest surrounding next week's meetings.

In addition to the P5+1 countries themselves, the countries covered by the poll included five other European countries – Spain, the Czech Republic, Italy, Poland, and Greece; six predominantly Muslim nations – Turkey, Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon, Tunisia, and Pakistan; as well as Japan, India, Brazil, and Mexico.

Critics of the survey charged that key questions about Iran's nuclear programme and what to do about it contained factual assumptions – for example, that Iran's nuclear programme is designed to develop nuclear weapons – that were themselves questionable.

Tehran has steadfastly insisted – most recently by Iran's Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Khomeini – that its programme is intended for civilian uses only. The U.S. and Israeli intelligence communities have also assessed that no decision has been taken by Iran's leadership to build a weapon, although aspects of its nuclear programme – notably its enrichment of uranium – would certainly be relevant if such a decision were taken.

In its poll, Pew found majorities ranging from 54 percent (China and Turkey) to 96 percent (Germany and France) in 18 of the countries said they were opposed to Iran "acquiring nuclear weapons". The three exceptions were Pakistan, where only 11 percent said they opposed such a development; India, where 34 percent opposed a nuclear-armed Iran, and 51 percent said they had no opinion; and Tunisia where opponents and supporters were evenly split.

When respondents who said they opposed a nuclear-armed Iran were asked how such an eventuality might be prevented, there was far less agreement. ↻

Picture above: Iranian President Ahmadinejad | Credit: Wikimedia Commons



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Asked about using “tougher international economic sanctions on Iran to try to stop it from developing nuclear weapons,” majorities in 16 countries ranging from 56 percent in India to 80 percent in the U.S. and Germany said they approved. But majorities in Tunisia, Turkey, Pakistan, and, significantly, China (54 percent) disapproved, while in Russia, a slight plurality said they approved.

Particularly notable, however, was the fact that, compared to the answers to the same question two years ago, support for sanctions has generally declined, most dramatically in Russia (from 67 percent approval to 46 percent); China (from 58 percent to 38 percent), and Turkey (from 44 percent to 34 percent) despite the deterioration in Ankara’s relations with Tehran over the past year.

As might be expected, Pew found less support among those respondents opposed to a nuclear-armed Iran about using military force to prevent it from acquiring a weapon.

Asked which was more important: “preventing Iran from developing nuclear weapons, even if it means taking military action or avoiding a military conflict with Iran, even if it means they may develop nuclear weapons,” pluralities or majorities ranging from 46 percent (Lebanon) to 55 percent (Brazil) in 14 countries, including Mexico, Egypt, Jordan, and all but Russia in Europe chose the military option. In addition, the U.S. was the most hawkish by far at 63 percent.

On the other hand, a 69 percent majority in Tunisia gave greater importance to avoiding military conflict, as did pluralities in Pakistan (29 percent), China (39 percent), Turkey (42 percent), Russia (41 percent), and Japan (49 percent).

Remarkably, support for military action fell in most of the countries that were polled on the same question in 2010; most notably in four of the six P5+1 countries, including Russia (from 32 percent to 24 percent), China (from 35 percent to 30 percent), France (from 59 percent to 51 percent), and the U.S. (from 66 to 63 percent).

The question itself, however, came under fire from a number of critics here who said that its “either/or” phrasing presents a false choice: military action that would prevent a nuclear-armed Iran or living with a nuclear-armed Iran.

“There are non-military options for preventing a nuclear-Iran,” said Daryl Kimball, executive director of the Arms Control Association (ACA) here.

He also noted that the question assumed that the use of force “would be successful in preventing a nuclear-armed Iran, while the consensus among U.S. European, and Israeli military experts is that a military attack on Iran’s nuclear facilities would at best delay Iran’s programme by a couple of years or so, but would not ‘prevent a nuclear-armed Iran’.”

Similarly, Steven Kull, the director of the University of Maryland’s Program on International Polling Attitudes (PIPA), criticised the questions, noting that “other polls (including some that PIPA has conducted) that offer a menu of options (for dealing with Iran’s nuclear programme), including diplomacy and sanctions, have found that only small minorities elect to take military action.”

Moreover, he said, the question about economic sanctions – do you approve or disapprove of tougher international economic sanctions on Iran to try to stop it from developing nuclear weapons – “implies that Iran is in the process of developing nuclear weapons. This is actually contrary to the conclusions of the U.S. intelligence community. It is implicitly making a statement about Iran’s intentions.”

Richard Wike, the Pew Project’s associate director, told IPS: “As with all of our polls, the questions in this study are worded to explore people’s opinions about issues being debated; their formulation is similar to questions used in past polls in order to examine and maintain trends.” [IPS - May 18, 2012]

Original: <http://www.ipsnews.net/2012/05/opposition-to-iranian-nuclear-arms-widespread-global-poll/>

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Nagasaki Mayor Campaigns for a Nuke-Free World

By JAMSHED BARUAH



BERLIN | VIENNA (IDN) - "I urge you all, as human beings, to consider again the inhumanity of atomic weapons," Tomihisa Taue, the Mayor of Nagasaki and Vice President of the Mayors for Peace organisation told government representatives participating in a crucial event well in time for an international conference in 2015 to review the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Initiated in 1982 by the mayors of Japanese cities Nagasaki and Hiroshima – on which the U.S. dropped atomic bombs in August 1945 killing more than 200,000 women, children and elderly – the Mayors for Peace group comprises 5,000 cities that are home to nearly a billion people. Those who survived the first atom bombs in history suffer even now from the aftereffects of radiation.

Before the start of the First Preparatory Committee (Prepcom) for the 2015 NPT Review Conference April 30 to May 11, 2012 in Vienna, the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) held a meeting on April 28-29, to strategize for the upcoming event and exchange ideas and plans. The meeting was supported by the governments of Austria and Norway and Soka Gakkai International (SGI), a Tokyo-based Buddhist organisation, wedded to the cause of a world without nuclear weapons.

In fact, Kazumi Matsui, mayor of Hiroshima, has been exploring the possibility of holding the 2015 NPT Review Conference in Hiroshima city. The merit of this proposal lies in the fact that it would bring the leaders of the nuclear powers to the first city where an atomic bomb was dropped to discuss the abolition of nuclear weapons. Supporting the move, the Nagasaki mayor asked government representatives in the Prepcom: "... is there any location more appropriate than Hiroshima to discuss completely eliminating the threat of nuclear weapons and creating a world without them?"

In an eminent civil society presentation to the Prepcom on May 2, 2012 in Vienna, the Nagasaki Mayor asked government representatives: "Isn't it absurd that investing the immense sum of 1.63 trillion dollars worldwide on military expenditures such as in 2010 in the name of national security has only led to a more dangerous world? Is it not time now to display the strong will required to free us from that danger?"

Taue was not being rhetorical: The Final Document emerging from the 2010 NPT Review Conference expresses deep concern for the catastrophic humanitarian consequences from any use of atomic weapons, and all States Parties unanimously reaffirmed the need to observe international law. But debates on nuclear weapons continue to start and end with the so-called national interests, the balance of military force, and the effectiveness of military technology. "I wonder if representatives from the nuclear powers understand the true horror of nuclear weapons," said Taue.

"It is the atomic bomb survivors whose voices bring us back to seeing and discussing the humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons and it is imperative that all parties listen to those voices and come to understand why they appeal so desperately for a world free of nuclear weapons," he added.

Several atomic bomb survivors from Japan were in Vienna on the occasion of the First Preparatory Committee for the 2015 NPT Review Conference. An atomic bomb exhibition was on display at the Vienna International Centre and it was also held at Vienna City Hall.

The Nagasaki city mayor's impassioned plea for "fulfilling our responsibility to pass on to future generations a world without nuclear weapons" sounds compelling for yet another reason. At the 2010 NPT Review Conference, the first chairman's draft from Committee One included ground-breaking measures to obligate nuclear powers to make concrete efforts to establish a world free of nuclear weapons and to empower the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon to convene a meeting as early as 2014 for the creation of a roadmap to the complete abolition of nuclear weapons. ☺

Picture above: Tomihisa Taue, the Mayor of Nagasaki



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This was inspired by Ban's 2008 five-point proposal that included a Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC), and when this proposal was tabled, the world appeared to be finally getting closer to the goal of eliminating all nuclear weapons.

However, while there were references to the NWC in the Final Document, the part regarding the convening of a meeting for a roadmap was removed. Despite the clear indication of the unanimous desire for a world without nuclear weapons, no concrete timeframes or methods to this end were stated.

Roadmap Meeting

Mayors for Peace is calling for immediate preliminary arrangements and the speedy convening of this roadmap meeting. In February 2012, 33 heads of state from Latin America and the Caribbean expressed their strong commitment to work on convening an international high-level conference to set forth a program in stages for the total elimination of nuclear weapons within a specified framework of time.

In a clarion call, Taue urged the leaders of nuclear powers to listen to the voices from civil and international society. "We urge you to make efforts at this preliminary conference to ensure that the 2015 NPT Review Conference will become the starting point for the realization of this roadmap meeting and the place to gain the consensus to conclude a Nuclear Weapons Convention. We trust that the 2015 NPT Review Conference will clearly show how and in what timeframe a world without nuclear weapons will be realized," the Nagasaki mayor added.

Such a timeframe is quite realistic. Treaties concluded among nations have created nuclear-weapon-free zones where the stationing, production, acquisition, possession, and control of nuclear weapons are prohibited. Given the political will, nuke-free zones are one concrete method towards the abolition of nuclear weapons.

There is also an agreement to hold a meeting for the establishment of such a nuclear-weapon free zone in the Middle East this year. In Northeast Asia, the international community is faced with the North Korean nuclear issue and keenly aware of the importance of establishing this nuclear-weapon-free zone. "Leaders of the world, let's work together to create more of these zones to bring us closer to the goal of a world free of nuclear weapons," said Taue. He urged them to make additional efforts for nuclear disarmament as mandated in Article 6 of the NPT.

At the 2010 NPT Review Conference, 42 governments including Japan stressed the importance of arms reduction and non-proliferation education. Accordingly, the Japanese government will be holding a 'Global Forum on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Education' in Nagasaki in August 2012. The Forum is expected to provide a lively debate and attendance from many NGOs, government representatives, and specialists from around the world.

[IDN-InDepthNews - May 22, 2012] 2012 IDN-InDepthNews | Analysis That Matters



Nagasaki's waterfront area | Credit: Wikimedia Commons



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Scientists Spotlight Nuclear Famine Perils

By ERNEST COREA*



WASHINGTON (IDN) – Support for nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation suffered a set-back when Republican Senator Richard Lugar was defeated at a pre-election primary (May 8) in the state of Indiana. He was eliminated by a tea party supported contender, and will not be the Republican Party candidate for the Senate in November. Lugar has announced, as well, that he will not run as an Independent.

This removes from the federal legislature a widely recognized and respected legislative activist on nuclear disarmament related issues that most of his colleagues would prefer to tuck under their mattresses and forget. Among them: a timely caution on the serious risk of nuclear famine. Lesser beings are now left to focus on and bring good sense into decisions that impinge on security, stability, and survival.

Nuclear Alert

Issues high on the international agenda include consideration of NATO's Deterrence and Defence Posture Review, and the attempt in the US House of Representatives to adopt legislation that would restrict implementation of the new START agreement.

On top of all that, comes a new report which presents and analyses scientific evidence, to show that even a regional nuclear war – conflict between India and Pakistan is the example cited – could cause massive disruption of agriculture producing countries far removed from the theatre of war. As always in such circumstances, the poor would be the most harmed. The countries directly involved would obviously suffer directly and widely, and their painstakingly nurtured agricultural productivity would be lost, their crops and crop lands turned into radioactive dust. The warning now is that, in addition to direct results felt by nuclear combatants, repercussions would be felt elsewhere, too, with some major food producers hit hard.

The report, Nuclear Famine: A Billion People at Risk – Global Impact of Limited Nuclear War on Agriculture, Food Supplies, and Human Nutrition – was published by International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War and its US affiliate, Physicians for Social Responsibility.

(International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War is a non-partisan federation of national medical organisations in 63 countries who share the common goal of creating a more peaceful and secure world freed from the threat of nuclear annihilation. Physicians for Social Responsibility is the largest physician-led organization in the U.S. working to prevent nuclear war and proliferation and to slow, stop and reverse global warming. Dr. Ira Helfand, author of the report, is the North American vice president of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War and a past president of Physicians for Social Responsibility.)

Says Helfand: "The grim prospect of nuclear famine requires a fundamental change in our thinking about nuclear weapons. The new evidence that even relatively small nuclear arsenals of countries such as India and Pakistan could cause long lasting, global damage to the Earth's ecosystems and threaten hundreds of millions of malnourished people over a decade would be a disaster unprecedented in human history." ☞

Picture above: IPPNW

*The writer has served as Sri Lanka's ambassador to Canada, Cuba, Mexico, and the USA. He was Chairman of the Commonwealth Select Committee on the media and development, Editor of the Ceylon 'Daily News' and the Ceylon 'Observer', and was for a time Features Editor and Foreign Affairs columnist of the Singapore 'Straits Times'. He is Global Editor of IDN-InDepthNews and a member of its editorial board as well as President of the Media Task Force of Global Cooperation Council.



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The credentials of the author and of the institutions associated with the report, as well as its substance, make the report compelling. So, consider then, the world's current state of food security or, as the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) likes to put it, insecurity.

Food Insecurity

Food insecurity is generally beset by unpredictable conditions, more so in some years than in others, with the threats to human health and lives unevenly spread across the rich and poor countries of the world. Thus, approaches to issues that affect or are affected by food security and insecurity vary greatly. Where the wealthier nations grapple with the health risks of obesity, people in poor countries confront the challenges of hunger, and hidden hunger – malnutrition.

In addition, weather patterns including early signs of climate change, productivity, production, infrastructure, skewed trade practices, and investment all have a direct or indirect impact on food insecurity.

In 2011, the last year for which complete statistics are available, the world was not affected by the kind of crisis it experienced in 2006-2008. The aftermath of what was experienced at that time are, however, "challenging our efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of reducing the proportion of people who suffer from hunger by half in 2015" say the heads of the three food-related agencies headquartered in Rome. FAO, IFAD (International Fund for Agricultural Development) and WFP, (the World Food Program).

They added the caution that "even if the MDG were achieved by 2015 some 600 million people in developing countries suffering from hunger on a daily basis is never acceptable."

If extended food insecurity is already considered unacceptable, how should the international community respond to the greater danger of nuclear war-induced famine?

One Billion at Risk

Helmland and a team of experts in agriculture and nutrition worked with data produced by scientists who have studied the effects on climate of a hypothetical nuclear war between India and Pakistan. They determined, says Physicians for Social Responsibility, that "plunging temperatures and reduced precipitation in critical farming regions, caused by soot and smoke lofted into the atmosphere by multiple nuclear explosions, would interfere with crop production and affect food availability and prices worldwide."

In specific terms, a PSR statement points out, Helmland and his associates found that:

--In the US, corn (maize) production would decline by an average of 10 percent for an entire decade, with the most severe decline (20 percent) in fifth year. Soybean production would decline by about 7 percent, with the most severe loss, more than 20 percent, in the fifth year.

--China would experience a significant decline in middle-season rice production. During the first four years, rice production would decline by an average of 21 percent; over the next six years the decline would average 10 percent.

--Resulting increases in food prices would make food inaccessible to hundreds of millions of the world's poorest.

There is little left for the imagination, in this stark assessment, considering the fact that China and the US are the leading producers of those commodities.

The report itself states: "The 925 million people in the world who are chronically malnourished have a baseline consumption of 1750 calories or less per day. Even a 10 percent decline in their food consumption would put this entire group at risk.

"In addition the anticipated suspension of exports from grain growing countries would threaten the food supplies of several hundred million additional people who have adequate nutrition today, but who live in countries that are highly dependent on food imports. The number of people threatened by nuclear war-induced famine would be well over one billion." ☹



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The late S. Rajaratnam, Singapore's eloquent foreign minister and prescient political strategist, would say that "man does not live by bread alone but without bread he does not live at all." This is lightly stated but heavy in significance.

Agriculture lies at the core of development and of continued progress even in industrialised countries. That's why it is fair to say that a breakdown of food production and distribution in the dimensions spelled out by Helfland and his colleagues would result in unimaginable human suffering – over time, deaths – and eventually, in societal collapse across many countries that were not involved in the hypothetical regional conflict.

Consider This

The quick and easy response to the alert that has been sounded would go something like this: "Yes, the danger exists, but only if India and Pakistan actually engage in a nuclear war. They have unfortunately turned the sub-continent into a nuclear neighborhood but have exercised restraint and responsibility in not plunging the region into nuclear destruction. What is needed is for the international community to use all the leverage it can muster, to help both countries remain at peace."

Sure, but what is to prevent a militarized regime some day in the future from discarding the bonds of restraint? Besides, India and Pakistan are not the world's only regional powers with nuclear capacity. Israel, for instance, is widely believed to be a nuclear state. Others aspire to the same status in a volatile part of the world.

Efforts to persuade Middle East nations to talk to each other about keeping their region free of nuclear danger have fallen on politically deaf ears that have not been supplied with hearing aids. A preliminary regional conference scheduled for December 2012 is likely to be postponed.

The real safeguard against nuclear famine has to come not from some hit-or-miss "let's all keep the peace" process, with soothing songs warbled around a campfire, but with renewed international commitment to nuclear disarmament.

Jayantha Dhanapala, a Sri Lankan diplomat who was the UN Under Secretary General for Disarmament and is currently president of the Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, has spent much of his professional life beating out the message of nuclear disarmament. He sums up the situation succinctly:

"Scientific evidence continues to confirm empirically what we already know – that nuclear weapons are the most destructive weapon of mass destruction ever invented with unrivaled genetic and ecological effects. And yet, unlike biological and chemical weapons they have not been outlawed because of vested interests.

"Nine countries have 20,530 nuclear warheads among them, 95 percent with the US and Russia. As long as these weapons exist others, including terrorists, will want them. As long as we have nuclear weapons their use by intention or accident; by states or by non-state actors is inevitable. Their total elimination through a Nuclear Weapons Convention is therefore the only solution."

A tough sell? Indeed. But consider this: what an outstanding outcome awaits the sale.
[IDN-InDepthNews – May 19, 2012]

Image above: arabnews.com

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What Others Say

U.S. Asked to Abandon Cold War Nuke Strategy

By JAMSHED BARUAH

A new report is calling for abandoning the Cold War rationale and ushering in a systemic change in U. S. nuclear force structure, strategy and posture in order to address the security threats in the 21st century.

The impassioned plea has been made by the U.S. Nuclear Policy Commission of Global Zero, an international movement for the elimination of all nuclear weapons.

According to General James E. Cartwright, who heads the Commission, the U.S. nuclear deterrence could be guaranteed with a total arsenal of between 500 and 900 warheads, and with only half of them deployed at any one time.

Even those in the field would be taken off hair triggers, requiring 24 to 72 hours for launching, to reduce the chance of accidental war, says General Cartwright, the retired vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and a former commander of the United States' nuclear forces.

The Obama administration is reportedly considering at least three options for lower total numbers of deployed strategic nuclear weapons: reducing their numbers to 1,000 to 1,100; 700 to 800; or 300 to 400. The Global Zero report calls for such weapons to be reduced to about 450, while maintaining an equal number of stored weapons.

The U.S. and Russia have an estimated 5,000 nuclear weapons each, either deployed or in reserve. The two countries are already on track to reduce to 1,550 deployed strategic warheads by 2018, as required by the New START treaty.

"The strategy inherited from the Cold War which remains in place artificially sustains nuclear stockpiles that are much larger than required for deterrence today and that have scant efficacy in dealing with the main contemporary threats to U. S. and global security – nuclear proliferation, terrorism, cyber warfare and a multitude of other threats stemming from the diffusion of power in the world today," says the report.

The 26-page report *Modernizing U.S. Nuclear Strategy, Force Structure and Posture Current* avers that U. S. nuclear policy "focuses too narrowly on threats rooted in Cold War thinking, incurring excessive costs to prepare for an implausible contingency of nuclear war with Russia when there is no conceivable circumstance in which either country's interest would be served by deliberately initiating such a conflict."

The report warns that current U. S. nuclear policy also unnecessarily incurs risks of unintentionally initiating a nuclear conflict. By maintaining launch-ready nuclear postures just as they did during the Cold War, the United States and Russia run risks of nuclear mistakes that could have catastrophic consequences.

Continue reductions

The Global Zero report notes that the U. S. and Russian arsenals have been steadily shrinking since the end of the Cold War 20 years ago and pleads for continuing these reductions. "Steep bilateral reductions in all categories of weapons in their stockpiles are warranted and should be pursued in the next round of U. S.- Russian negotiations. An arsenal of 500-900 total weapons on each side would easily meet reasonable requirements of deterrence and would set the stage to initiate multilateral nuclear arms reductions involving all countries with nuclear weapons," says the report.

The United States should seek to achieve such reductions in ten years and plan to base its arsenal on a dyad of nuclear delivery vehicles, the report advises. The optimal mix of carriers would consist of ten Trident ballistic missile submarines and eighteen B-2 bombers. ➡

Picture: General James E. Cartwright | Credit: Wikimedia Commons





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General Cartwright and his team are of the view that under normal conditions, one-half of the warhead stockpile would be deployed on these carriers; the other half would be kept in reserve except during a national emergency.

All land-based intercontinental missiles armed with nuclear payloads would be retired along with the carriers of non-strategic nuclear warheads, all of which would be eliminated from the stockpile. B-52 heavy bombers would be completely dismantled or converted to carry only conventional weapons.

Increase warning time

The report further asks the U.S. and Russia should to devise ways to increase warning and decision time in the command and control of their smaller arsenals. The current postures of launch-ready nuclear forces that provide minutes and seconds of warning and decision time should be replaced by postures that allow 24-72 hours on which to assess threats and exercise national direction over the employment of nuclear forces.

"This change would greatly reduce the risks of mistaken, ill-considered and accidental launch. It would also strengthen strategic stability by removing the threat of sudden, surprise first strikes. Any move by one side to massively generate nuclear forces to launch-ready status would provide ample warning for the other side to disperse its nuclear forces to invulnerable positions," says the report.

It adds: "By increasing warning time through de-alerting, the new postures would actually increase force survivability and diminish the adverse impact of missile defences in the equation. Missile defences would be less threatening to the other side's larger retaliatory force and less undermining of the other side's confidence in its ability to carry out effective retaliation."

In the context of such reduced reliance on offensive nuclear weapons on launch-ready alert, the United States would increase its reliance on missile defences and advanced conventional forces in an integrated new strategy, explains the report.

The Global Zero expects these non-nuclear forces to replace nuclear forces. Their role in deterring and defeating a 21st century adversary, and in reassuring U. S. allies of Washington's commitment to their defence, would be especially important during the 24-72 hour period prior to the possible generation of offensive nuclear capability. This time-limited role, however, would reduce the requirements imposed on missile defences and conventional forces. Missile defence architecture in particular could be scaled down, says the report.

The study further advises the U.S. to broaden the agenda of nuclear arms regulation to include all categories of weapons in all nuclear weapons countries. "Only a broad multilateral approach can effectively address the multitude of serious nuclear dangers found in other parts of the world.

While pursuing bilateral negotiations to reduce the U. S. and Russian stockpiles to much lower levels, the two sides should initiate a multilateral process that would seek to cap, freeze, reduce and otherwise constrain the arsenals of third countries. Nuclear arms regulation must become comprehensive and universal," Global Zero experts say.

They plead for extending multilateralism beyond nuclear arms reductions into the realm of multilateral security cooperation. [IDN-InDepthNews – May 17, 2012] □



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What Others Say

Something We Can All Agree On

By JAMES M. ACTON and ELBRIDGE A. COLBY*

The future of U.S. nuclear weapons is being hotly contested in bitter Congressional debates over the budget. The result is serious uncertainty in defense planning, and that comes with a cost. When nuclear policy is left to be blown about by erratic political winds, there are frequent and sharp changes in direction—changes that are expensive for the American taxpayer, reduce the effectiveness of what we procure, confuse allies, and risk unnecessarily exacerbating tensions with potential foes.



We are two nuclear experts who disagree on a lot, including whether the United States should pursue the eventual abolition of nuclear weapons. In spite of these differences, however, we both agree the U.S. nuclear enterprise must be modernized and additional arms control measures should be pursued. And what we can agree on, if implemented consistently, would provide some much needed stability in the U.S. approach to the weighty issues of nuclear weapons.

The United States must remain capable of delivering a devastating retaliatory strike under even the most stressing conditions. To this end, it should replace the most survivable of its delivery systems, the Ohio class ballistic missile submarines, with a full complement of twelve new vessels and develop and deploy a modern nuclear command and control system. It is also critical for the president to have limited options as well as the ability to signal credibly in a crisis. For this reason, the United States should procure a next generation nuclear-capable bomber armed with a new penetrating cruise missile. And to ensure the continued safety and reliability of warheads for these delivery systems, robust life extension programs are needed.

The aging complex that maintains U.S. nuclear weapons is also in need of attention. The president's commitments to revitalize the complex made in connection with ratification of New START need to be fully funded and implemented. Transparency should be a design criterion of the new plutonium- and uranium-handling facilities to facilitate future visits, on a reciprocal basis, by Russia. These investments will make further arms reduction possible because U.S. requirements for reserve warheads will decrease with a modern, sophisticated infrastructure.

We also agree that the United States should simultaneously pursue arms control efforts to enhance strategic stability and national security. Former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger observed in 2010 during the New START ratification hearings that, for the foreseeable future, it is not realistic for U.S. ballistic missile defenses to deny Russia or China their basic nuclear retaliatory capability. The United States should therefore, as Schlesinger recommended, avoid giving these powers the impression that it seeks to do so.

And as Senator Kyl recently observed, "American missile defenses aren't targeted at Russia—they're meant to defend against strikes by Iran and North Korea (and accidental or rogue launches, whatever their origin)."

To this end, while still vigorously pursuing missile defenses against emerging threats to the homeland and its allies and forces, the United States should return to the policy of the George W. Bush administration by publicly tying the deployment of defenses against longer-range missiles to developments in the threat from Iran, North Korea, and elsewhere. It should also continue to pursue cooperation with Russia without accepting limits on U.S. missile defense programs. Inviting Russia to observe U.S. ballistic missile defense tests so it can verify that U.S. interceptors are not capable of undermining Russia's nuclear deterrent is a useful first step so long as the security of U.S. missile defense technology is protected. ➡

*James M. Acton is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the author of *Deterrence During Disarmament: Deep Nuclear Reductions and International Security*. Elbridge A. Colby is a principal analyst at CNA (Center for Naval Analyses). He worked on New START for the Department of Defense and as an expert advisor to the Congressional Strategic Posture Commission.



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The United States should also seek, at an appropriate stage, a new arms control treaty with Russia. New START limits only deployed strategic warheads. A new treaty should impose an overall numerical limit on all nuclear warheads. This approach would capture two notable classes of Russian weapons that are currently outside of arms control accountability: its short-range systems that concern American allies, and its longer-range submarine-launched cruise missiles that could reach the United States.

We believe this dual agenda is in the interests of the United States and should be pursued whoever the next president is and whatever the composition of the next Congress. Of course, proposing this agenda does not imply we see eye to eye on everything. In fact, we disagree on a host of important issues, such as whether the United States should develop a follow-on land-based intercontinental ballistic missile, ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, extend the lives of its gravity bombs, reduce the number of missiles carried by the next generation submarine, develop nuclear warheads with more tailored capabilities, seek to negotiate further reductions in strategic forces, increase missile defense spending in light of the threats from Iran and North Korea, and focus missile defense efforts on limited strategic strikes from any quarter.

These points should all be argued out, and each of us hopes his position wins out. In fact, let's focus on them, because that's where the real disagreement is. But while we have that debate let's get going with the agenda we can agree on. [May 24, 2012] □

Different Missile Tests, Different Diplomatic Reactions

By RAMESH THAKUR*

The US urged nuclear-capable countries to "exercise restraint" while it also praised India's "solid nonproliferation record" after the country tested a nuclear missile on April 16, 2012. US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, above, greets Javed Ashraf, an Indian external affairs minister, at New Delhi on May 7, 2012.

Asia was the setting last month for two completely different missile tests. North Korea's, on April 13, was a total failure yet drew strong condemnation in the region, around the world and by the United Nations. The fear now is that North Korea could cover its embarrassment by doing another nuclear test, and indeed on May 17 it was reported to have resumed building another nuclear reactor that could be used to enlarge its weapons program.

India's test of an intermediate-range ballistic missile on April 16 was fully successful and puts Beijing, Shanghai and parts of Europe in range of Indian nukes. Hailed by most Indian analysts as a game-changer, the Agni-V was dubbed the "China killer" by the more excitable commentators.

Washington urged all nuclear-capable states to "exercise restraint," praised India's "solid nonproliferation record" and noted its "very strong strategic and security partnership." NATO said India was not a threat. Only China's media delivered a rebuke, albeit a gentle one that reminded Indians of China's nuclear superiority.

A major collateral benefit for India is the growing world recognition that the prime impetus behind its nuclear policy is China. The range, mobility and "MIRVability" — many warheads mounted on a single missile aimed at different targets — of the Agni-V guarantees a survivable, second-strike retaliatory ability even if India is hit by a surprise nuclear attack and gives credence to its no-first-use policy.

Significantly, just before the launching, the Indian Navy commissioned a nuclear-powered attack submarine, called the Chakra, and began trials of the nuclear-powered Arihant. ☺

* Ramesh Thakur is the director of the Center for Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament at Australia National University in Canberra and a professor of international relations in the Asia-Pacific College of Diplomacy.

[Source: <http://passblue.com/2012/05/21/different-missile-tests-different-diplomatic-reactions/>]



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India also bolstered its claims to join the global nonproliferation regimes like the Nuclear Suppliers Group, the Missile Technology Control Regime, the Australia Group and the Wassenaar Arrangement. But other countries resist India's joining because it is not party to the Nonproliferation Treaty and still refuses to sign and ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Increasingly, however, the effectiveness of the control regimes will be diluted without India's membership.

The different reactions to the missile launchings by North Korea and by India indicate that the world is at last confronting long-suppressed contradictions in the assumptions about global nuclear threats. The Nonproliferation Treaty contains a three-way bargain that privileges the interests of the nuclear "haves" who drafted and negotiated the pact. The nonnuclear countries were allowed access to technology and material to harness nuclear energy for civilian and development use, if they foreswore any plans to get the bomb. The nuclear "haves" promised to give up their own nuclear weapons "eventually," they contend.

The nonproliferation requirement to civilian and development purposes was precise, legally binding, verifiable by the UN's International Atomic Energy Agency and enforceable by the UN Security Council (where the permanent-five members, Britain, China, France, Russia and the United States, are nuclear "haves"). The disarmament promise, however, was vague, voluntary, not subject to verification and unenforceable. The imbalance has grown worse over the decades as the treaty has been subverted from a prohibition into a nonproliferation regime.

The treaty's assumption is that the destructiveness of nuclear weapons makes them uniquely evil and that they should be banned for everyone. Those who had them were given time to transit out of their national security's dependence on the bomb. Those who did not have them were banned from ever getting them.

The public rhetoric is not matched by private concerns. When pressed away from the cameras, no one claims that 100 to 300 bombs in British and French hands is a serious threat to others. In North Korean and Iranian hands, they would cause grave anxiety to the rest of the region. Reflecting Arab and non-Arab and Shiite-Sunni sectarian divisions, Middle Eastern countries are more acutely worried by a possible Iranian bomb than an actual Israeli bomb. India's bomb does not cause the same international migraine as Pakistan's.

The worry is that regimes that are treated harshly may resent the perceived double standards and intensify efforts to strengthen nuclear weapons programs they may have going. The bottom line is that the logic of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament are essentially the same. The possession of nuclear weapons by some is the biggest stimulus to their proliferation to others. If they did not exist, they could not proliferate. Because they do, they will.

That is, possession by some is a sufficient guarantee of proliferation to others; the only details to be worked out are when, to whom and how many. Conversely, nuclear disarmament by all is a necessary condition for nonproliferation. The drive for nonproliferation will be credible only if nuclear disarmament is pursued with matching determination and urgency.

The challenge is not about nuclear abolition per se, but about how and when it should occur, so that we do not tip into fatal nuclear, or conventional major-power, wars. The related challenge is to ensure that around 30 countries that take shelter under the nuclear umbrella do not feel so alarmed at the prospect of nuclear disarmament by their protectors that they get the bomb themselves.

Neither instant nuclear disarmament nor one postponed to a forever-distant date will work. Rather, a carefully choreographed movement from 20,000 nuclear warheads around the world today to global zero within a realistic time frame is possible. As Russia and the US possess more than 90 percent of the existing arsenal, the onus is on them to lead the way.

On May 16, Gen. James Cartwright, the former chief of the US Strategic Command, dropped a bombshell by arguing that the US and, by implication, Russia, could cut its deployed strategic warheads by two-thirds, to 450, and its reserve warheads by nearly 90 percent to 450 as well. This action could be done over the next decade while the US still meets its national security requirements for itself and its allies.

That is the kind of dramatic leadership we need now. □



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Civil Society Perspective

Scotland's Electorate Doesn't Want Nuclear Weapons

By KATE HUDSON*



Whatever Scotland's constitutional make-up, its electorate doesn't want nuclear weapons

The forthcoming referendum on Scottish independence (in autumn 2014) raises questions about the kind of Scotland its people want to have. That it should be free of nuclear weapons already seems clear.

A poll published by YouGov in 2010 showed that almost 70 per cent of Scottish people were opposed to the replacement of Trident, Britain's nuclear weapons system. While similar polls have shown clear majority opposition across Britain as a whole, Scotland's record has been stronger and often more vocal.

One explanation might be that this is because Scotland has had nuclear weapons thrust upon it since the 1960s. But I don't believe this strength of opinion is simply a 'not in my back yard' approach to the Trident submarines and nuclear warheads situated at HMNB Clyde.

Of course, it would be rational and sensible not to want to play host to such monstrous weapons. Not only are the potential consequences of a nuclear accident, just 25 miles from Glasgow, unthinkable, but in a hypothetical (although of course unlikely) nuclear war, Scotland would doubtless be a target.

However, there seems something deeper in Scotland's opposition to nuclear weapons, a sentiment which has perhaps been fostered by housing them for so long. This position chimes with a similarly forward-facing international momentum which recognises that these are Cold War weapons systems which come with a crippling price tag (taxpayers' money which could be much better spent on meeting public needs) and an unconscionable destructive power, the unleashing of which would be illegal under international law.

Indeed, Scotland's progressive orientation has been focused on as competing parties jostle for the hearts of voters in the independence referendum. It is no surprise, for example, that Ed Miliband said that Scotland's progressive instincts would be best nurtured if it remained part of the United Kingdom: "The Scottish people have always stood out for their strongest ideals of social justice, shown by the history of educational opportunity for all, shown by the campaign down the years for the right to work – and the opposition to the poll tax. But my case is that these ideals for Scotland can best be realised in the United Kingdom." Alex Salmond, too, has sought to harness these progressive attitudes, stating that in an SNP-led independent Scotland the welfare state and the NHS would be championed: "An independent Scotland can be a beacon for progressive opinion south of the border and further afield – addressing policy challenges in ways which reflect the universal values of fairness and are capable of [being implemented] within the other jurisdictions of these islands, and beyond."

Whatever the reasons for such strong opposition to weapons of mass destruction, opposing Trident will no doubt be a strong feature not only in the referendum campaign but also in Scottish politics, whatever the outcome. And this is clearly not a marginal position: any consensus which once existed in Westminster on Britain's possession of nuclear weapons has been shattered in recent years – and Scotland will doubtless continue to play a crucial role in this debate.

Economically, Trident is completely untenable. Amidst the largest public sector cuts in British history, it is impossible to justify spending over £100bn on nuclear weapons. And with a parliamentary decision on whether or not to commit to replacing Trident due to take place in 2016, it is no done deal. ➔

* Kate Hudson was Chair of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament from 2003 to September 2010 when she became General Secretary. She is a leading anti-nuclear and anti-war campaigner nationally and internationally. This article was first published in HOLLYWOOD on May 28, 2012.



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Strategically, the Government's own National Security Strategy carried out in 2010 established that the highest priority threats facing Britain are cyber attacks, international terrorism, and global crises such as pandemics. Indeed, the risk of a state-on-state nuclear attack was downgraded to a two-tier threat. A recent report by the Liberal think tank CentreForum also echoed Toby Fenwick's piece in politics.co.uk that "there is no credible threat to the UK now or in the foreseeable future where British Trident missiles would make a contribution to our security." Citing the devastating impact of nuclear weapons spending on conventional defence forces, the report argued for the immediate scrapping of Trident and cancellation of plans to replace it.

There has never been a better time for Scotland to make its voice heard on this issue. It is the case, however, that an independent Scotland would have greater clout vis-à-vis Trident. In keeping with the SNP's longstanding opposition to Trident, Alex Salmond stated: "It is inconceivable that an independent nation of 5.25m people would tolerate the continued presence of weapons of mass destruction on its soil." This would cause real problems for any Westminster plan to maintain a nuclear weapons system. Ministry of Defence (MoD) papers discussing various bases to site its Polaris nuclear fleet (Trident's predecessor) have shown that the MoD itself concluded that there is simply nowhere else for Trident to be located. While other deepwater ports could be found to site the submarines themselves (though these are not unproblematic), an MoD source has confirmed that "there simply isn't anywhere else where we can do what we do at Coulport [warhead depot], and without that, there is no deterrent." The rejection of Trident has sometimes been painted in a negative light: as a recalcitrant Scotland making trouble for the UK. This must be challenged. Scrapping Trident not only has majority public support, but it would be a chance for Scotland and the UK to act as world leaders in disarmament (not to mention carrying out their legal obligations under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty).

One issue which has been raised recently is whether an independent Scotland would become a member of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation). While the SNP has a strong record of opposition to NATO, it has been rumoured recently that this policy may be reconsidered at the party's National Council meeting in June. There are some points worth considering here which are crucial in any discussion of this issue.

Firstly, membership of NATO would preclude effective opposition to nuclear weapons. Scotland would have to accept NATO's Strategic Concept which affirms its status as a nuclear alliance. On this basis it would be extremely difficult to expel Trident. This is precisely the problem which Germany faced when it stated that it no longer wished to host NATO-assigned US tactical nuclear weapons in its territory. Following a lack of agreement from fellow member-states, it was forced to retain them.

Secondly, Scotland would become tied in to disastrous NATO-led military interventions which have wreaked havoc in countries like Afghanistan. The question must be asked: is this how the Scottish electorate envisions a future Scotland? *Thirdly, it has been claimed that "a decision not to join NATO would be seen as a signal that the new Scotland was stepping out of the European mainstream".* A much more realistic appraisal would suggest that Scotland is well placed to follow in the footsteps of EU states with comparable economies, populations and diplomatic outlooks like Finland, Austria, Sweden and most significantly, Ireland. These states are not NATO members but they are engaged in international affairs and maintain good relations with the UK.

Indeed, with Finland selected by the UN to convene a landmark conference this year towards a WMD-Free Zone in the Middle East, it is clear that non-NATO states have a hugely important role to play in international diplomacy. If Scotland does opt for independence, it is states like this which can provide a model for development.

As Scotland continues on its path for further autonomy or independence from Westminster, those of us south of the border who wish to see an end to nuclear weapons are watching with interest and respect for the choices that will be made. We know that your decisions will impact on nuclear policies in Westminster and we seek to engage with the progressive voices of Scottish politics which look to build on a vision of Scotland which champions public needs over Cold War weapons systems; peace and justice over war.

The billions which are spent on outmoded and devastating weapons are the same billions which are being cut from schools, hospitals and housing. Whether Scotland will become an independent state in 2014 is entirely a choice for the Scottish people. But their ongoing opposition to the wrong-headed commitment to maintaining a nuclear weapons system will continue to inspire us and to find support south of the border, as it will across the world. □



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CND Condemns New Nuclear Weapons Spending

The Ministry of Defence (MoD) will this week announce that £350 million is to be spent on design contracts for a new generation of nuclear-armed submarines.

The announcement comes six months before the Lib Dem-led 'Trident Alternatives Review' is due to report, and ahead of a parliamentary decision in 2016 on whether or not to replace Britain's Trident nuclear weapons system.

Kate Hudson, General Secretary of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament said:

"This is an insult to the Lib Dems. The Trident Alternatives Review is a result of the Coalition agreement, allowing them to put forward alternatives to like-for-like replacement of Trident. Now when they come to report on their findings at the end of the year they will do so with design contracts already placed.

"This is either blatant double dealing by the Tories or the right hand doesn't know what the left hand's doing. Neither option inspires confidence in the government.

"What are the public to think? We are being told that there isn't enough money for public services while the government throws £350 million from taxpayers at designs for nuclear-armed submarines. With a majority of public opinion in favour of scrapping Trident, being forced to pay for it while local libraries and hospitals are axed: that's a tough pill to swallow." [May 21, 2012] □

What cuts? MoD ploughs £5bn into Atomic Weapons Establishment

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND)

The Ministry of Defence (MoD) has announced spending of £5 billion at the Atomic Weapons Establishment (AWE) at Aldermaston and Burghfield in Berkshire.

This means that AWE Management Limited, which is a joint venture consisting of Lockheed Martin, Serco and Jacobs Engineering Group, will receive £1bn a year for the next five years.

This is the second time in six months that the MoD has announced spending on AWE, which develops and maintains the nuclear warheads for Britain's Trident nuclear weapons system.

In November 2011 an extra £2bn spending was announced to pay for new facilities for warhead assembly/disassembly and high-explosives testing, among other projects.

Kate Hudson, General Secretary for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND),

'At a time of massive spending cuts to vital public services, it is disgraceful that the government keeps ploughing money into a redundant Cold War weapons system.

The government isn't listening to over 60% of the British public who want to see Trident scrapped.

A decision on whether or not to replace Trident is not due in Parliament until 2016. But the scale of spending on nuclear weapons, which we are frequently reassured is simply routine investment, suggests that the MoD is trying to force Parliament's hand by making Trident replacement a fait accompli.

This is unacceptable, shadowy decision-making which is economically unjustifiable, strategically wrongheaded and morally bankrupt. And worst of all they're paying for it out of the pockets of people who oppose it.' □



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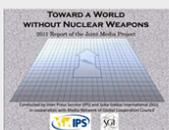


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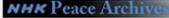


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Doomsday Clock One Minute Closer to Midnight



Nuclear Abolition News | IDN

By JAMSHED BARUAH

BERLIN (IDN) - It is five minutes to midnight on the Doomsday Clock. Inadequate progress on nuclear weapons reduction and persistent inaction on climate change have prompted the eminent [Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists](#) (BAS) to move the hands of the famed clock one minute closer to midnight.

The last time the Doomsday Clock minute hand moved was in January 2010, when the Clock's minute hand was pushed

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Warhead Elimination: A Roadmap

Nuclear Abolition News | IDN

Viewpoint by FREDERICK N. MATTIS**

ANNAPOLIS, USA (IDN) - A nuclear ban (abolition) treaty, often called a Nuclear Weapons Convention, will need to include a timetable for phased reductions of warheads until a final day when states simultaneously reach zero. The following is a plan for warhead elimination, with the aim of acceptability to today's nuclear weapon states – and framed on the reality that the USA and Russia have far more nuclear warheads than the other possessors (Britain, France, China, Israel, India, Pakistan, North Korea).



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Fewer but Newer Nuclear Arms Deemed Future Threat



Nuclear Abolition News | IPS

By THALIF DEEN

UNITED NATIONS (IPS) - "The best way to eliminate the nuclear threat anywhere is by eliminating nuclear weapons everywhere," says Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, who is increasingly viewed as one of the strongest opponents of nuclear arms. [P] [JAPANESE TEXT VERSION PDF](#)

But the lingering hopes of eliminating the nuclear threat keep receding: talks with Iran are deadlocked, North Korea continues its testing, and the politics of the Arab uprisings

threaten to derail an international conference on a nuclear weapons-free zone in the Middle East, scheduled to take place in Finland in December.

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Something We Can All Agree On

Nuclear Abolition News | [The Hill's Congress Blog](#)

By JAMES M. ACTON and ELBRIDGE A. COLBY*

The future of U.S. nuclear weapons is being hotly contested in bitter Congressional debates over the budget. The result is serious uncertainty in defense planning, and that comes with a cost. When nuclear policy is left to be blown about by erratic political winds, there are frequent and sharp changes in direction—changes that are expensive for the American taxpayer, reduce the effectiveness of what we procure, confuse allies, and risk unnecessarily exacerbating tensions with potential foes.



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Nagasaki Mayor Campaigns for a Nuke-Free World



Nuclear Abolition News | IDN

By JAMSHED BARUAH

IDN-inDepth NewsReport

BERLIN | VIENNA (IDN) - "I urge you all, as human beings, to consider again the inhumanity of atomic weapons," Tomihisa Tane, the Mayor of Nagasaki and Vice President of the [Mayors for Peace](#) organisation told government representatives participating in a crucial event well in time for an international conference in 2015 to review the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). [P] [GERMAN | JAPANESE TEXT VERSION PDF | NORWEGIAN | SPANISH | TURKISH](#)

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