



# BEYOND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

NEWSLETTER FOR STRENGTHENING AWARENESS OF NUCLEAR ABOLITION WITH JANUARY 2013 ARTICLES

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## In-Depth Reports



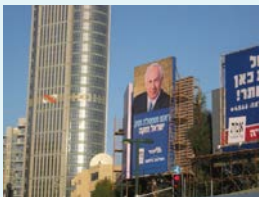
### **Sanctions Do Not Lead To Nuke Abolition in Asia**

SINGAPORE - North Korea's response to the United Nations Security Council's expanded sanctions on January 22 by threatening to resume nuclear tests and failure last November of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to persuade the five recalcitrant nuclear powers to sign the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone Treaty (SEANWFZ) have focused attention on the atomic threat facing the Asian region that is fast emerging as the centre of the global economy. ➤ Pages 2-3-4



### **All Unclear Over Nuclear**

NEW DELHI - When India was admitted to the world's nuclear power industry nearly five years ago, many believed that this country had found a way to quickly wean itself away from dependence on coal and other fossil fuels that power its economic growth. After all, India already had a home-grown nuclear power industry that was producing about 4,000 megawatts of power from 19 nuclear reactors, defying a United States-led embargo on nuclear equipment imposed after it carried out a nuclear test in 1974. ➤ Pages 5-6



### **Iran's Nuclear Plans Drop Off Israeli Radar**

JERUSALEM - A meeting between Iran and world powers is tentatively set for the month-end in Istanbul, and might constitute a litmus test over a compromise regarding Iran's uranium enrichment programme. Strangely enough, in Israel, Iran's nuclear quest is now off the public radar. The previous talks between Iran and the 'P5+1' (the five permanent UN Security Council members plus Germany) took place in June 2012 in Moscow.

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### **Abandoning Nukes - Lessons from South Africa**

JOHANNESBURG - Not many nice things can be said about the apartheid regime in South Africa. It was racist, violent in the brutal oppression of many of its own citizens, and was despised around the world. However, in the dying days of apartheid, the South African authorities took a step that has had major implications for the country and for the African continent: it scrapped its nuclear weapons programme. ➤ Pages 9-10



### **Fresh Impetus Expected For Banning Nuke Tests**

VIENNA - The Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization, better known as CTBTO, expects fresh momentum in 2013 for the entry into force of a global treaty prohibiting nuke tests, which herald advent of new weapons of mass destruction. This sanguine anticipation derives from the fact that in a near unanimous vote at the UN General Assembly on December 3, 2012, the vast majority of countries listed their support for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test- Ban Treaty (CTBT). ➤ Pages 11-12

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### Sanctions Do Not Lead To Nuke Abolition in Asia

By KALINGA SENEVIRATNE



SINGAPORE (IDN) - North Korea's response to the United Nations Security Council's expanded sanctions on January 22 by threatening to resume nuclear tests and failure last November of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations ([ASEAN](#)) to persuade the five recalcitrant nuclear powers to sign the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone Treaty (SEANWFZ) have focused attention on the atomic threat facing the Asian region that is fast emerging as the centre of the global economy.

Posited very much in the midst of these developments is the Obama Administration's so-called US "pivot" or "rebalance" policy towards Asia, which is increasingly seen in the region as a security issue rather than an economic or political re-engagement.

Since this policy announcement two years ago there has been increased tension in the region with regard to China's territorial claims in the South China Sea that has prompted some analysts in Asia to question whether the US is trying to provoke Asian countries like Japan, the Philippines and Vietnam into confrontation with China.

With North Korea's recent posturing, the threat of a nuclear confrontation – though remote – is rather worrisome to Asia that is emerging from centuries of economic subjugation by the West.

A looming confrontation with China in Asia may be one of the major reasons why the three nuclear powered states Russia, France and Britain could not agree to sign the SEANWFZ as planned at the [21st ASEAN Summit in Cambodia in November 2012](#). France voiced its reservations on the right of self-defence, United Kingdom on "new threat and development", and Russia on the right of foreign ships and aircraft to pass into the nuclear free zone, a concern similar to that of the US.

The notion of a [SEANWFZ](#) dates back to November 27, 1971, when the original five members of ASEAN signed a Declaration on a (ASEAN) Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality (ZOPFAN) in Kuala Lumpur. The first major component of the ZOPFAN pursued by ASEAN was the establishment of a SEANWFZ.

However, due to the unfavourable political environment in the region, the formal proposal for the establishment of such a zone was tabled only in the mid-1980s. After a decade of negotiating and drafting efforts by the ASEAN Working Group on a ZOPFAN, the SEANWFZ Treaty was signed by the heads of states of all 10 ASEAN member countries in Bangkok on December 15, 1995 and it took effect two years later. The negotiations between ASEAN and the five nuclear powers on the protocol have been under way since May 2001 with no progress achieved.

Among a number of rules and conditions laid out by the treaty, the main components are that signatory States are obliged not to develop, manufacture or otherwise acquire, possess or have control over nuclear weapons; station nuclear weapons; or test or use nuclear weapons anywhere inside or outside the treaty zone.

The protocol also stipulates that Nuclear Weapon States (NWS) must abide by articles of the Treaty and not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against States parties. China has previously expressed its willingness to ratify the protocol, but the other four NWS cite the geographical scope of the Treaty as an obstacle. The treaty zone covers the territories, continental shelves, and exclusive economic zones (EEZ) of the States Parties within the zone.

Malaysian political scientist, [Dr Chandra Muzaffar](#), Executive Director of the [International Movement for a Just World](#) says that while ASEAN states must be commended for drafting and signing the SEANWFZ, at the same time "all the five nuclear weapons states are determined to ensure that their nuclear advantage is preserved at all costs, 'self-defence' is just a camouflage". ➡

Picture: Pyongyang Metro | Credit: Wikimedia Commons



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“Britain and France are US allies and the US through various military and diplomatic moves is reinforcing its agenda of containing China. So it should not surprise anyone if its two European allies are seeking to bolster the US position in the region,” he said in an interview with [IDN-InDepthNews](#).

### **Non-governmental actors**

Asked if the Asian countries should make US access to their markets conditional on the nuclear powers signing the treaty, Dr Muzzafar said: “ASEAN and other countries in Asia should first demonstrate a strong collective commitment towards the control and abolition of nuclear weapons before they make demands upon outside powers. Such a commitment does not exist at the moment. This is why I do not see them asking these powers to sign the Bangkok Treaty as a condition for access to the expanding markets in Asia.”

Dr Muzzafar is of the view that governments in the region will not be able to persuade the nuclear powers to sign the treaty and it will have to be non-governmental actors that need to mount a concerted campaign for it to happen. “In the ultimate analysis, it is only a powerful citizens’ movement that can rid the continent of present and future nuclear weapons”, he argues.

In a speech at the University of Iceland in October 2012, [Dr Gareth Evans](#), the former Australian Foreign Minister and the Convener of the [Asia Pacific Leadership Network on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament \(APLN\)](#), regretted that the spirit of optimism some three years ago that nuclear disarmament could be achieved in the Asia-Pacific region has evaporated.

“If the existing nuclear-armed states are serious about non-proliferation, as they all claim to be, and sincerely want to prevent others from joining their club, they cannot keep justifying the possession of nuclear weapons as a means of protection for themselves or their allies against other weapons of mass destruction, especially biological weapons, or conventional weapons,” he argued. “All the world hates a hypocrite, and in arms control as in life generally, demanding that others do as I say is not nearly as compelling as asking them to do as I do.”

Dr Evans also pointed out that nuclear weapons would not deter terrorists, as many nuclear weapons states tend to argue. “Terrorists don’t usually have territory, industry, a population or a regular army which could be targeted with nuclear weapons,” he said.

[On September 13, 2012, APLN expressed deep disappointment](#) at the evaporation of political will evident in global and regional efforts toward nuclear disarmament over the previous year. The statement was signed by 25 political, diplomatic, military and scientific leaders from 14 Asia Pacific countries.

Professor Ramesh Thakur, Director of the [Centre for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament at the Australian National University](#), writing in Japan Times noted that plans for upgrades, modernization or increased numbers and destructive power of nuclear arsenals by all the nuclear-armed states indicate that none is serious about nuclear disarmament.

“All countries that have and seek nuclear weapons, or are increasing the size and modernizing the quality of their arsenals, should be subjected to international opprobrium,” he wrote.

### **Tactical Nukes**

Rather than subjecting nukes to international scorn, several commentators in regional publications in recent months have argued that the US may need to be persuaded to re-deploy tactical weapons in the Korean peninsula, which the Bush administration withdrew in 1991 – in order to respond to the North Korean threat.

“Tactical nukes on South Korean soil would enhance the credibility of the US nuclear umbrella against North Korea and also reassure the South Korean public of the US security commitment” argues [Seongwhun Cheon](#), a Senior Research Fellow at the Korea Institute for National Unification in a commentary published by GlobalAsia. ☞



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“As North Korea continues to develop long-range missiles, alliance dynamics in Northeast Asia will come to resemble that of Europe in the late 1950s.” he says. “When the Soviet Union first fired its Sputnik missile and opened the intercontinental missile age, Western European allies began to worry that America might decouple its own security from alliance security in fear of a Soviet attack on the US mainland. Similar concerns on decoupling will become widespread in South Korea, and cause ripple effects in Japan. To allay looming concerns about such a possible decoupling, redeploying tactical nukes in South Korea is essential,” writes Cheon.

Yet, China may play a crucial role in decreasing tension in the region. Ties are expected to become warmer between China and South Korea under the new leaderships. The newly elected South Korean President Park Geun-Hye has already sent a special envoy to Beijing and China’s new Communist party chief Xi Jinping has called for a resumption of the six-party talks on North Korea.

While Park has indicated that she would take a more conciliatory stance towards North Korea compared to her hawkish predecessor, China’s Jinping was reported by the Korean Times as saying that he opposes the development of nuclear weapons by North Korea.

[Professor Shen Dingli](#), Director of the Centre for American Studies at the Fudan University in Shanghai says that if the US wants stability and peace in the Asia-Pacific region it should work with China to achieve.

“Rebalancing by ganging up on China will undermine stability in East Asia, and may ultimately backfire and cause damage to the US’ own interests,” he argues in a commentary published by China Daily. “So far the US has insisted on ignoring the facts, confusing right and wrong and taking sides in disputes that don’t directly concern it,” Dingli writes.

He urges the new Obama administration to recognize that “the power shift in the Asia-Pacific region is unstoppable, and the US can only go with the flow, respect the legitimate and reasonable demands of the emerging powers, and help seek a fair and proper settlement of major disputes in the region”. [IDN-InDepthNews – January 29, 2013] □

Original > <http://www.indepthnews.info/index.php/armaments/1404-sanctions-do-not-lead-to-nuke-abolition-in-asia>

### TRANSLATIONS:

#### HINDI

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=845:sanctions-do-not-lead-to-nuke-abolition-in-asia-hindi&catid=14:chinese-hindi-urdu-persian&Itemid=15](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=845:sanctions-do-not-lead-to-nuke-abolition-in-asia-hindi&catid=14:chinese-hindi-urdu-persian&Itemid=15)

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TURKISH >[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=842:yaptrmlar-asyay-nuekleerden-kurtarmyor&catid=4:turkish&Itemid=5](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=842:yaptrmlar-asyay-nuekleerden-kurtarmyor&catid=4:turkish&Itemid=5)

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### All Unclear Over Nuclear

By RANJIT DEVRAJ

NEW DELHI (IPS) - When India was admitted to the world's nuclear power industry nearly five years ago, many believed that this country had found a way to quickly wean itself away from dependence on coal and other fossil fuels that power its economic growth.

After all, India already had a home-grown nuclear power industry that was producing about 4,000 megawatts of power from 19 nuclear reactors, defying a United States-led embargo on nuclear equipment imposed after it carried out a nuclear test in 1974.

India's refusal to sign the 189-nation Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was also a cause for its isolation. It took a special waiver in September 2008 by the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) of 47 member countries to allow India to engage in nuclear commerce.

With the embargos lifted, India's planners envisaged a string of 'nuclear parks' built along the long peninsular coastline by foreign investors adding 40 gigawatts (Gw) of additional power by 2020.

What the planners overlooked was stiff opposition from farmers and fishers, fearful for their traditional way of life and livelihoods, the possibility of adverse seismic events, and a challenge to the nuclear energy plans in the Supreme Court by leading intellectuals.

"There was little doubt that the plan to build numerous nuclear plants all along the coast would run into problems," says M.V. Ramana, a scientist currently appointed with the Nuclear Futures Laboratory and with the Programme on Science and Global Security, both at the Princeton University in the U.S.

"Because of intensifying conflicts over natural resources, opposition to new nuclear sites will only get intensified in the future. Water scarcity, for example, is becoming more severe by the year," Ramana told IPS in an email interview.

"Fisherfolk are already seeing their livelihoods threatened by a number of developments - industrial and power plant effluents being discharged into the sea is an important one," Ramana said.

Currently there are intense protests at Jaitapur in western Maharashtra state where a 9,900 MW nuclear park is being built by the French power developer Areva SA, and also at Koodankulam in southern Tamil Nadu state where a Russian nuclear power facility is nearing completion.

Ramana said displacement is a major issue. "The treatment meted out to those dispossessed by nuclear facilities already commissioned has been less than satisfactory."

What should nuclear planners do to address the growing domestic opposition to nuclear energy?

"To start with, the planners should realise that the country has a choice between their ambitious plans and democracy," says Ramana. "The fact that we have seen intense and prolonged protests at Koodankulam and Jaitapur is a sign that all other options for registering their voice have been closed to the people."

A bigger issue looming up is the possibility of a Fukushima-style disaster, especially at Jaitapur, a site eminent geologists say is vulnerable to seismic activity. ➡

Picture: Local people protest over the Koodankulam nuclear plant in India. Credit: K.S.Harikrishnan.





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Vinod Kumar Gaur, one of India's leading seismologists and a distinguished professor at the prestigious Indian Institute of Astrophysics in Bangalore, says site investigations around Jaitapur were seriously flawed. According to Gaur, it is hugely significant that the Jaitapur site is only about 110 km from the Koyna dam which developed serious cracks after it was hit in 1967 by a quake that measured 6.4 on the Richter scale.

It is also significant, Gaur said, that in the year 1524 a major tsunami had hit the western coast 100 km north of Jaitapur. The possibility of a tsunami caused by offshore faulting or a distant earthquake was not discussed in existing studies.

Gaur told IPS that "confirmation or refutation through scientific investigations is critical to determining the seismic safety factor for the Jaitapur plant, and the recent earthquake in Japan has demonstrated that it is relevant to plan for all possibilities when it comes to designing nuclear power plants.

"Equally important," Gaur said, was for "the results of scientific investigations to be made public so as to allay the fears that people have."

Ramana said it was time that India's secretive Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) engaged in an honest and open debate over its nuclear plans with the country at large, in particular the people who live in the vicinity of proposed sites.

"DAE has to let go of scientifically indefensible positions like its claims that its reactors are '100 percent' safe and that the probability of a nuclear accident is one in infinity, i.e., zero. There is always a non-zero, albeit small, possibility of a nuclear accident occurring at any reactor," Ramana said.

"Setting up a reactor will affect the environment because of the expulsion of radioactive contaminants and hot water. How significant is the impact can be the subject of debate, not its existence."

He added that "if the locals absolutely refuse to have a nuclear plant in their midst, then the DAE should cancel construction plans."

The DAE has avoided holding public consultation called by the People's Movement Against Nuclear Energy (PMANE) that is leading the resistance in Koodankulam.

"Holding public debates has become even more important after Fukushima," S.P. Udayakumar, leader of PMANE since 1988, told IPS. "Fukushima has greatly helped our agitation and people understand the dangers better."

"Given that civil society has repeatedly called for public debate, the prime minister should step in and hold consultations across the country on the relevance and role of a dangerous and expensive energy option," said Karuna Raina, campaigner against nuclear energy for Greenpeace in India.

The biggest challenge yet to India's ambitious nuclear plans is a writ petition filed in India's Supreme Court in October 2011 by eminent citizens asking for the court's intervention to stay all nuclear construction until safety reviews and cost-benefit analyses are carried out. In its appeal to the court the group said the nuclear programme goes against the "fundamental right to life" guaranteed by India's constitution. (IPS | January 25, 2013) □

Original: <http://www.ipsnews.net/2013/01/all-unclear-over-nuclear/>

### TRANSLATIONS:

#### JAPANESE TEXT VERSION

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=847:all-unclear-over-nuclear-japanese&catid=2:japanese-korean&Itemid=3](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=847:all-unclear-over-nuclear-japanese&catid=2:japanese-korean&Itemid=3)

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### Iran's Nuclear Plans Drop Off Israeli Radar

(reported on January 18)

By PIERRE KLOCHENDLER

JERUSALEM (IPS) - A meeting between Iran and world powers is tentatively set for the month-end in Istanbul, and might constitute a litmus test over a compromise regarding Iran's uranium enrichment programme. Strangely enough, in Israel, Iran's nuclear quest is now off the public radar.

The previous talks between Iran and the 'P5+1' (the five permanent UN Security Council members plus Germany) took place in June 2012 in Moscow.

Any compromise would have to evolve around Tehran's self-proclaimed right to enrich uranium and commitment not to produce higher-grade material; and access to closed nuclear facilities such as Fordow – in exchange for a gradual lifting of the regime of sanctions.

Meanwhile on January 14, the U.S. Institute for Science and International Security published an assessment that Iran would be able to produce material for at least one nuclear bomb by mid-2014.

And on January 16, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) held talks with Iranian officials regarding access to Parchin, a military base suspected to have concealed nuclear weapons-related tests, and to Iranian officials involved in Tehran's nuclear programme.

But in Israel, the issue barely figured in the campaign blitz ahead of the general elections on January 22.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu – “Bibi” as Israelis call him – is boasting about his uncompromising stance on Iran as his tenure's greatest achievement. At least from his perspective, his threat of war avoided war, and pressed the international community to press Iran.

Bibi's detractors call him a bluffer who never intended to attack Iran's nuclear facilities. But bluffs are legitimate electoral tactics.

The Bibi 'red line' show at the UN General Assembly annual gathering in September 2012 was his premiership's grand finale.

On the world's podium displaying a 'Looney Tunes' ticking bomb cartoon measuring Iran's level of enriched uranium, he warned that “by next spring or at most by next summer”, Iran would have the capacity to produce an atomic-grade weapon.

Yet he refrained from committing himself to both his own red line and deadline.

His standing skyrocketing back home, he called for early elections – and, for his re-election – thus timing a second term with the timeline – defined by him – of a potential showdown with Iran.

Earlier in January, announcing the campaign commercials' official kick-off, a one-hour profile of the incumbent leader was broadcast on Channel Two. Netanyahu mentioned Iran only once – quite obliquely in fact. ➡

Picture: Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu on an election poster | Credit: Pierre Klochendler/IPS





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He laconically repelled biting accusations by former internal security chief Yuval Diskin who, in the Yedioth Aharonoth newspaper, depicted top-level consultations on Iran as “decadent”, with supporting cigars, alcohol and gourmet cuisine. “I held the most serious meetings ever on Iran,” Netanyahu retorted.

Full stop, exit Iran.

Ads showed Bibi re-enacting his UN speech – this time with a Middle East map – pronouncing with poise that, for now he has succeeded in preventing Iran from developing nuclear weapons.

So, how come what’s been branded by him as “the greatest existential threat” – not just to Israel but to the world – suddenly vanishes as if it never existed in the first place.

His electoral discourse on Islamist perils in Egypt and Syria heralds no fresh strategic vision for the future. But the easily aroused fear factor traditionally plays in favour of the Right.

Just name it – fear of “Palestinian terror”; angst, heightened by the “Arab Spring”, of having to live in “a villa in the jungle”.

But why spewing radioactive fallout and risk awakening a dispassionate campaign when the prevailing sentiment is that Netanyahu’s re-election is a fait accompli.

He’s known to duck when a diplomatic ball is thrown at him. Like Netanyahu One, Netanyahu Two is expected to procrastinate and defeat any risky peace initiative or hazardous military adventure. It’s a comforting feeling for many Israelis.

Besides, no need to remind a million of them of the rocket attacks launched by Palestinian Islamist groups on their cities and villages last November, during Israel’s onslaught on Hamas in Gaza.

His campaign focused on having buttressed Israel with defensive means such as the Iron Dome anti-missile system, the border wall with Egypt near completion, and the current reinforcement of the defence line on the occupied Syrian Golan Heights.

Therefore slogans and fake debates on core issues of peace and war – especially against Iran – serve no purpose whatsoever.

Still, Israeli election campaigns are often brewing with inflammatory declarations of intentions.

Hence, Netanyahu’s immediate “punitive measure” against the upgrading of Palestine’s UN status as a non-member observer state last November – the revival of plans for settlement expansion in the highly contested “E1” area of the occupied West Bank – is deemed provocative enough.

But to play with fire and threaten unilateral military action on Iran is simply not on the cards for the prudent Netanyahu. (IPS | January 18, 2013 | Updated by Ramesh Jaura | January 23, 2013) □

Original: <http://www.ipsnews.net/2013/01/irans-nuclear-plans-drop-off-israeli-radar/>

### TRANSLATIONS:

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By JOHN FRASER

JOHANNESBURG (IPS) - Not many nice things can be said about the apartheid regime in South Africa. It was racist, violent in the brutal oppression of many of its own citizens, and was despised around the world.

However, in the dying days of apartheid, the South African authorities took a step that has had major implications for the country and for the African continent: it scrapped its nuclear weapons programme.

“The first stage involved the dismantling of South Africa’s six complete (and one partially assembled) nuclear devices,” [reported](#) Greg Mills, who heads the Johannesburg-based Brenthurst Foundation, a research body that acts as an advisor to African governments.



“A decision to this effect was taken by then President F.W. de Klerk in February 1990, shortly after the release of Nelson Mandela from prison and the unbanning of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party.”

South Africa acceded to [the Non-Proliferation Treaty \(NPT\)](#) on Jul. 10, 1991. Seven weeks later, on Sep. 16, the country signed a [Comprehensive Safeguards Agreement](#) with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), allowing for frequent IAEA inspections of its facilities.

“South African authorities co-operated fully with the IAEA during the whole verification process, and were commended by the then director-general of the Agency in 1992, Dr. Hans Blix, for providing inspectors with unlimited access and data beyond those required by the Safeguards Agreement,” [added](#) Mills.

“The second step involved the scrapping of South Africa’s ballistic missile programme, which commenced in 1992, and took around 18 months. This process culminated in its admission to the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) in September 1995, after the destruction of the last of its missile engines had been verified. The third stage involved the conclusion of SA’s biological and chemical warfare programme,” he said.

Mills concluded that South Africa “thus occupies a unique position in the world as being the first country to have voluntarily dismantled its nuclear weapons capability. The (South African) experience does point to the importance of creating the right environment in which regimes can be made to feel confident enough to disarm and stay that way.”

While South African apartheid leaders’ actions were certainly worthy of praise – for once – there is some suspicion surrounding their motives. Did they dismantle the country’s nuclear weapons because they believed in a vision of an Africa free of nuclear weapons? Or was their motive more cynical? Realising that black rule was inevitable, did they dismantle South Africa’s nuclear weapons to keep them out of the hands of Nelson Mandela and his looming ANC administration?

Mills’ colleague Terence McNamee, deputy-director of the Brenthurst Foundation, [wrote in the Johannesburg Star newspaper](#) that the country that dismantled nuclear weapons “was not (current President Jacob) Zuma’s South Africa, but another country, an international pariah, mercifully now extinct”.

He added: “Zuma doubtless believes, like most of his senior colleagues who were active during the transition to democracy, that the people who built South Africa’s nuclear arsenal – the apartheid regime – destroyed it because they didn’t want the ANC to get their hands on it.” ☺

Picture: Smoke billowing out from a nuclear testing facility.  
Credit: National Nuclear Security Administration/CC-BY-ND-2.0



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McNamee noted that de Klerk waited until March 1993 to tell the world of the dismantlement of South Africa's nuclear weapons, and until that time "no one, not even Nelson Mandela, had been informed that the programme had been abolished (let alone that it even existed)."

While nuclear weapons no longer have a place in South Africa, or on the African continent, there is a growing expectation that [nuclear energy](#) will be required to help provide a growing part of the [energy mix](#) on the Continent. "Nuclear power could help to answer the extraordinary energy backlog of African countries, where the continent produces about the levels of Spain, though with 20 times as many people," Mills told IPS. "But the concerns about the use of nuclear power in Africa go to the heart of the very reason why there is this backlog in the first instance: governance."

Branding expert Jeremy Sampson, executive chairman of the Johannesburg-based branding consultancy Interbrand Sampson, notes that in image terms the South African decision to scrap its nuclear weapons programme has boosted its moral authority on the issue of non-proliferation. "The last couple of decades have seen a dramatic rise in the importance of [brand](#) and reputational issues," he told IPS. "This no longer applies simply to companies, products and services, but today embraces people, [even countries](#)."

Questioning the real reason for scrapping South Africa's nuclear weapons programme, Sampson speculates that the regime may have received rewards for this decision, which have not yet come to light. "Did South Africa really develop a nuclear device, who helped them, was there a dummy run in the deep South Atlantic, and how would they have used it?" he wonders.

Sampson also suggests that South Africa's decision to voluntarily given up its nuclear option raises many questions. "Was the apartheid regime really desperate? Were sanctions biting? What was bartered, what guarantees were given, were slush funds really set up around the world for escaping members of the regime, as happened in Germany at the end of the Second World War? "Has any other country voluntarily given up its nuclear option, which would have taken years and billions to develop?" Sampson argues that whatever the rewards, they must have been "very, very significant. Military activity in Angola and the propping up of (Angolan rebel leader) [Jonas Savimbi](#) must have been high on the agenda."

Frans Cronje, deputy CEO of the South African Institute of Race Relations, another Johannesburg-based think tank, suggests that the apartheid regime came under strong pressure from the West, and possibly from Russia as well, to renounce its nuclear weapons programme. "The whole thing was dressed up as an honourable retreat from a nuclear Africa," he told IPS. "It is likely that Western countries and Russia as well had concerns about an independent African state having nuclear weapons."

He also believes South Africa would today be stronger on the international stage if it had retained a nuclear arsenal. "A nuclear African state would be taken more seriously and would have a stronger leadership role – it forces people to take you seriously," he said. "In leadership terms, renouncing nuclear weapons does the opposite – it reduces your influence in foreign affairs and international politics. "If renouncing nuclear weapons grows your influence, others would be falling over themselves to surrender their nuclear arsenals."

We may never know all the reasons why, but South Africa's scrapping of its nuclear weapons did win moral benefits that have endured today. It gave the country a voice globally on non-proliferation issues and the moral authority to develop its own nuclear electricity industry without attracting international suspicion, as has most recently been the case with Iran. (IPS | January 8, 2013) □

Original: <http://www.ipsnews.net/2013/01/abandoning-nuclear-weapons-lessons-from-south-africa/>

### TRANSLATIONS:

GERMAN [http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=828:ausstieg-aus-dem-atomwaffenprogramm--lehren-aus-dem-kapstaat-&catid=5:german&Itemid=6](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=828:ausstieg-aus-dem-atomwaffenprogramm--lehren-aus-dem-kapstaat-&catid=5:german&Itemid=6)

### JAPANESE PDF

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=830:pdf&catid=2:japanese-korean&Itemid=3](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=830:pdf&catid=2:japanese-korean&Itemid=3)



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### Fresh Impetus Expected For Banning Nuke Tests

By JAMSHED BARUAH

VIENNA (IDN) - The Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization, better known as [CTBTO](#), expects fresh momentum in 2013 for the entry into force of a global treaty prohibiting nuke tests, which herald advent of new weapons of mass destruction.

This sanguine anticipation derives from the fact that in a near unanimous vote at the UN General Assembly on December 3, 2012, the vast majority of countries listed their support for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty ([CTBT](#)) – which, according to Rebecca Johnson of [Acronym Institute](#), "remains a key piece of unfinished business of the nuclear age".

The [CTBT resolution](#) was adopted by 184 votes in favour, representing an all-time high, one against (North Korea) and three abstentions (India, Mauritius, Syria). The resolution "urges all States that have not yet signed the Treaty, in particular those whose ratification is needed for its entry into force, to sign and ratify it as soon as possible."

These States are the remaining eight of 44 in possession of nuclear technology that have yet to formally embrace the CTBT: China, North Korea, Egypt, India, Israel, Iran, Pakistan and the United States.

The voting results showed an increase in support with a record number of countries voting in favour of the CTBT. Previous year's resolution on the CTBT was adopted with 174 countries voting in favour, with the same number of votes against and abstentions as in 2012. Despite not having signed the Treaty yet, Pakistan voted in favour of the resolution.

The UN General Assembly also approved a resolution on [The total elimination of nuclear weapons](#). The Japanese draft includes a paragraph that "Urges all States that have not yet done so to sign and ratify the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty at the earliest opportunity". The paragraph was approved by 165 countries voting in favour and only North Korea voting against. The overall resolution was adopted with a margin of 174-1-13.

The resolutions of the General Assembly are not legally binding, but are important recommendations that show the political stance of UN Member States on the issues concerned. There were three further resolutions stressing the importance of the CTBT on: [Nuclear Disarmament](#), [Towards a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World](#), and the [Follow-up to the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons](#).

The General Assembly meeting came two months after the [Ministerial Meeting on the CTBT](#), which issued a [joint statement](#) stressing the importance of the CTBT as a "vital step" towards nuclear disarmament. United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon told the States that have yet to sign or ratify the CTBT: "You are failing to live up to your responsibility as a member of the international community."

Though eight of 44 nuclear capable States have yet to embrace the Treaty, since CTBT opened for signature in 1996, 95% of the world's countries have subscribed to the norm that bans all nuclear explosions.

According to the Vienna-based CTBTO, which observed its fifteenth anniversary in February 2012, nuclear testing has virtually ground to a halt. The Treaty's unprecedented [verification regime](#) – a "system of systems", comprising a \$1 billion investment – is nearing completion and already ensures that no nuclear explosion escapes detection.

Technical backing: CTBTO takes pride in the fact that with the help of member states, it was able to complete the installation of nine more monitoring facilities, meaning that the International Monitoring System is now over 85% complete. Installation has also started for seven new facilities. In the United States, the National Research Council [issued](#) a positive technical and scientific assessment of the verification regime's detection capabilities in March 2012. ☞

Picture: UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon (centre) at the Operations Centre of the CTBTO's International Data Centre with CTBTO Executive Secretary Tibor Tóth (right) and CTBTO's IDC Director Lassina Zerbo. Credit: CTBTO





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Financial assistance: CTBTO also points out that the payment of regular contributions by 183 member states was higher than in the previous year – despite the difficult prevailing global economic situation. In addition, according to the CTBTO, the [European Union has made a new voluntary contribution](#) of over € 5 million (nearly US\$ 7 million) which will be used to further upgrade the organization's monitoring capabilities to detect nuclear explosions and to assist developing countries to take a more active part in this joint effort.

"A contribution of this magnitude, especially in times of austerity budgets, is testimony to the EU's unwavering support for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) and the CTBTO," the organization's Executive Secretary Tibor Tóth said.

Also a voluntary contribution by Japan of around US\$ 737,000 will enable the organization to track airborne radioactivity with greater precision," the CTBTO says. The CTBTO is looking forward to three key events between June and September 2013:

The [Science and Technology 2013 Conference](#) (SnT2013) will be held from June 17 to 21 at the Hofburg imperial palace in Vienna. This scientific conference will provide a platform for hundreds of scientists to discuss further enhancements of the CTBT's verification regime.

On August 1, [Lassina Zerbo](#), who has been elected by member states as the organization's next Executive Secretary, will assume office, taking over from Executive Secretary [Tibor Tóth](#), whose term ends on July 31. Zerbo is currently the Director of the CTBTO's [International Data Centre Division](#).

During the UN Ministerial week in September, Member States will gather for the next [Article XIV Conference](#) to generate new momentum for the entry into force of the CTBT. The previous (fifth) Conference to promote the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban-Treaty concluded on September 18, 2007 with urgent calls to hold-out States to sign and ratify the Treaty. Representatives of 106 States, including two non-signatory States, [participated](#) in the two-day Conference.

Throughout the year 2013, the CTBTO will press ahead with preparations for the next major [on-site inspection](#) exercise. The next so-called Integrated Field Exercise will take place in Jordan in 2014, three years after the previous such inspection.

On-site inspections are conducted to verify States Parties' compliance with the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty. An on-site inspection is launched to establish whether or not a nuclear explosion has been carried out. During such an inspection, facts might also be gathered to identify a possible violator of the Treaty. It thus constitutes the final verification measure under the CTBT.

In this context, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's remarks at the CTBTO anniversary are considered reassuring: "As a diplomat, I devoted a great deal of energy to disarmament and non-proliferation, including through the CTBT. As Secretary-General, I am even more committed to this cause – and to realizing our vision of a world free of nuclear weapons." [IDN-InDepthNews – January 02, 2013] □

Original > <http://www.indepthnews.info/index.php/armaments/1362-fresh-impetus-expected-for-banning-nuke-tests>

### TRANSLATIONS:

#### CHINESE TEXT VERSION

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=831:fresh-impetus-expected-for-banning-nuke-tests-chinese&catid=14:chinese-hindi-urdu-persian&Itemid=15](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=831:fresh-impetus-expected-for-banning-nuke-tests-chinese&catid=14:chinese-hindi-urdu-persian&Itemid=15)

#### CHINESE PDF

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=832:pdf&catid=14:chinese-hindi-urdu-persian&Itemid=15](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=832:pdf&catid=14:chinese-hindi-urdu-persian&Itemid=15)

GERMAN [http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=823:-immer-mehr-staaten-gegen-atomtests-&catid=5:german&Itemid=6](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=823:-immer-mehr-staaten-gegen-atomtests-&catid=5:german&Itemid=6)

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## What Others Say

### U.S. Fiscal Cliff Deal Boosts New START

By R. NASTRANIS

TORONTO (IDN) - The tug of war about the U.S. federal budget 'fiscal cliff' threatened to jeopardise the 2010 New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty ([New START](#)). But much to the satisfaction of disarmament experts that danger has been removed after a new legislation passed the U.S. Senate and House.



Tom Z. Collina and Daryl G. Kimball, experts at the [Arms Control Association](#), point out that the fiscal year 2013 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA), signed by President Barack Obama on January 2, included language that he, in his [signing statement](#), called "deeply problematic" as it would "impede the fulfillment of future U.S. obligations agreed to in the New START Treaty, which the Senate provided its advice and consent to in 2010, and hinder the Executive's ability to determine an appropriate nuclear force structure."

Collina and Kimball [write](#): "The NDAA section in question (1035) required that, before carrying out 'any reduction to the number of strategic delivery systems,' such as required under New START, the President must certify ... that the Russian Federation is in compliance with its arms control obligations with the United States and is not engaged in activity in violation of, or inconsistent with, such obligations.

"This section was a problem because it is no secret that the State Department has been unable to certify that Russia is in compliance with all of its arms control obligations, in particular the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) and the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC). However, the [State Department](#) has certified that Moscow is in compliance with its strategic arms control commitments, such as New START."

According to the two experts, Obama signed the NDAA, but only after a quiet veto threat from the White House motivated Congress to include a fix in H.R. 8, the American Taxpayer Relief Act of 2012, better known as the 'fiscal cliff bill,' which Obama signed later that same day.

"The fix in the cliff bill only changed two words in NDAA, but they made all the difference: ... whether the Russian Federation is in compliance with its strategic arms control obligations with the United States and is not engaged in activity in violation of, or inconsistent with, such obligations."

Subsequently, President Obama need only certify "whether" Russia is in compliance – yes or no – with "strategic" arms control agreements, not "that" it is in compliance with all agreements.

"And this is as it should be," write Collina and Kimball. "The last thing we should do is to take a successful treaty like New START – which is verifiably reducing Russian nuclear arms that would otherwise be aimed at the United States – and hold it hostage to longstanding disagreements with Russia on other issues. BWC compliance is particularly difficult to verify, as it has no verification provisions. As for the CWC, the United States has missed its own share of destruction deadlines. And Moscow has its own views about U.S. compliance with arms control treaties."

According to the two experts, further U.S. and Russian nuclear force reductions are in order. Current U.S. deployed strategic nuclear forces (approximately 1,700 warheads) are still well above the ceiling established by New START (1,550). Today, Russia deploys about 1,500 strategic warheads.

However, such levels, while lower than during Cold War years, are widely acknowledged to be far in excess of what is required to deter a nuclear attack from Russia or any other nuclear-armed country. Other than Russia, China is the only other nuclear-armed adversary capable of striking the United States, and it has about 50-60 warheads on intercontinental ballistic missiles. ➡

Picture credit: [stimson.org](http://stimson.org)



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"To deter a nuclear attack, adversaries need only realize the United States is capable of reducing key targets to radioactive rubble rather than a fine dust – and that can be accomplished with a much smaller nuclear force than either the U.S. or Russia have today," the Arms Control Association experts say.

They recall what Obama said in a [March 2012 speech](#): "My Administration's nuclear posture recognizes that the massive nuclear arsenal we inherited from the Cold War is poorly suited for today's threats, including nuclear terrorism. Last summer, I therefore directed my national security team to conduct a comprehensive study of our nuclear forces. That study is still underway.

"But even as we have more work to do, we can already say with confidence that we have more nuclear weapons than we need. I firmly believe that we can ensure the security of the United States and our allies, maintain a strong deterrent against any threat, and still pursue further reductions in our nuclear arsenal."

Another expert, [Elaine M. Grossman](#), writes in the National Journal: "In signing the new [defense authorization](#) legislation into law on Wednesday (January 2), Obama issued a written [statement](#) saying he retained the latitude to interpret the bill's New START implementation restrictions in a manner that would not interfere with his "constitutional authority to conduct diplomacy."

However, the president also said he was "pleased" that the [fiscal cliff legislation](#), which he also signed into law via "autopilot" while on travel later in the day, amended the defense bill's problematic prose regarding Russian arms control compliance.

"Specifically, the new changes will require the president, in annual New START certification, to state "whether" Moscow is complying with its treaty obligations, rather than "that" the Kremlin is complying. The diction adjustment appears aimed at eliminating a presumption of Russian compliance in the certification process," writes Grossman.

Referring to the same sentence in the authorization bill, the executive branch also asked lawmakers to insert the word "strategic" before "arms control obligations." This new construct would allow the White House to certify Russian adherence to New START strategic nuclear arms control treaty stipulations, even if Moscow is not complying with other treaties involving the United States, avers Grossman.

The revised wording would give Russia a pass – at least in terms of this narrow presidential certification – for no longer meeting terms of the [Conventional Forces in Europe](#) pact, for instance. Russia in 2007 announced it would suspend implementation of the accord.

## **White House objects**

The Obama White House objects to a number of the New START implementation requirements imposed by Congress, including those that hold the administration's feet to the fire in funding atomic weapons and infrastructure modernization programs into the future at specific budget levels, noted Jeffrey Lewis, a nuclear arms expert at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies in Monterey, Calif.

Administration officials are tacitly accepting most of the legislative provisions related to New START even if they are viewed as inappropriate or onerous. As the defense authorization text was initially written, though, the Russia certification provisions were "impossible to meet," and thus required change, Lewis said.

Under New START, which entered into force in 2011, the United States and Russia each agreed to reduce their deployed strategic nuclear warheads to a 1,550 ceiling by February 2018. The accord also limits fielded nuclear delivery vehicles -- including bomber aircraft and missiles based on land and at sea -- to 700, with an additional 100 allowed in reserve.

"We worked with the administration to facilitate having it happen," said Claude Chafin, a spokesman for the House Armed Services Committee, referring to the wording adjustment. Republicans on the panel, led by Representative Howard McKeon (Calif.), "didn't object" to the Obama team's request, he told [Global Security Newswire](#). ↻



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A Defense Department spokeswoman, Lt. Col. Monica Matoush, on January 2 said the Pentagon "will not comment on the internal deliberation between the Department and Congress that led to the change in language."

Grossman writes: A spokesman for the White House Management and Budget Office similarly would not address indications that the wording modifications were discussed at high levels inside the administration. Declining to be named, he also would not say whether Obama would have vetoed the defense authorization legislation if the Russian compliance certification provision had remained unchanged.

"The fiscal cliff package amended a poorly written provision that would have allowed the Russians to dictate U.S. nuclear arsenal policy," a Democratic congressional source said by e-mail to Grossman on January 2, implying that any Russian treaty noncompliance should not be permitted to force any specific U.S. responses. "Both Republicans and Democrats agreed to the fix, and it was quickly made," the source said. [IDN-InDepthNews – January 07, 2013]

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## A Peace Package for the Middle East

By PATRICK SEALE \*

Three highly-dangerous Middle East problems -- Iran's nuclear ambitions, the bloody civil war in Syria, and the long-festering Israeli-Palestinian conflict -- pose a grave challenge to President Barack Obama and his foreign policy team of John Kerry at State, Chuck Hagel at Defence and John Brennan at the CIA. America's vital interests in the Middle East, its political reputation, its ability to project power and influence are intimately tied up with the way it deals -- or fails to deal -- with these problems. So what advice might one be bold enough to give to President Obama and his team?

Each of these three problems is profoundly destabilising for the region as a whole and risks triggering a war of unpredictable consequences. Taken separately, each of them has so far defied resolution. One suggestion is that tackling them as a package might prove more effective.

Consider, for a moment, how closely inter-connected they are. No one is more concerned than Israel about Iran's nuclear programme, which it sees as a threat to its military supremacy and ultimately to its security. It fears that a nuclear capable Iran would restrict the freedom -- which Israel has enjoyed for decades -- to strike its neighbours at will, when they seem threatening.

Iran, however, does not stand alone. Its fate is closely linked to that of Syria, its principal regional ally. Syria has also been the most ardent champion of Palestinian rights and of Lebanon's freedom from Israeli control. Indeed, the so-called 'resistance axis' of Iran, Syria and Lebanon's Hizballah has sought to deter or contain Israeli attacks while challenging U.S.-Israeli hegemony in the Levant.

Needless to say, Syria's calamitous civil war has gravely weakened the resistance axis. Israel's dearest hope is to destroy what remains of it by urging the United States and its allies to bring down the Tehran and the Damascus regimes, thus freeing Israel from any constraint from these powers in its relentless drive for a 'Greater Israel'.

It can thus be seen that Iran's nuclear programme, Syria's existential crisis and Israel's land hunger are inextricably linked. Attempts to deal with these problems separately have so far failed. The obvious conclusion is that they may be better dealt with as a package. These are not marginal problems which can be left to fester. If the United States wishes to protect itself, its interests and its allies in a highly turbulent environment it must make a supreme effort to resolve them.

Moreover, this is a unique moment: President Obama has been re-elected for a second term. His political authority has been enhanced. The world is looking to him for leadership. Although many other foreign policy problems clamour for his attention -- the rising colossus of China first among them -- he knows that the Middle East, for all its maddening complexity, latent violence, and the current resurgence of Al-Qaeda, not least in Syria, cannot be ignored. ☺

*Patrick Seale is a leading British writer on the Middle East. His latest book is *The Struggle for Arab Independence: Riad el-Solh and the Makers of the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge University Press).*



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He should consider the possibility of a trade-off between Iran's nuclear programme and a Palestinian state. The proposal is simple enough: If Iran were to agree -- under strict international supervision -- to give up, once and for all, its ambition to become a nuclear-capable state, Israel would, in exchange, agree to the establishment of an independent Palestine on the West Bank and Gaza, with its capital in East Jerusalem. The exact terms of the trade-off would evidently need negotiation and refinement, but the main lines and necessary mutual concessions of an Israeli-Palestinian deal have been extensively debated and are widely known.

Such a bargain between Iran's nuclear ambitions and an Israeli-Palestinian settlement is not as far-fetched or as fictional as it may sound. Iran has boxed itself into a corner. It knows that the United States will not allow it to become a nuclear power. It wants a dignified exit from its present predicament and an end to crippling sanctions. Israel, in turn, faces international isolation -- not to speak of the permanent threat of terrorism -- if it insists on stealing what remains of the West Bank. It, too, needs a dignified exit from the insanity of its fanatical settlers and religious nationalists who, if unchecked, would condemn Israel to pariah status and permanent war. A trade-off would resolve two of the region's most intractable problems to the great benefit of everyone concerned. Peace and normal relations with the entire Muslim world would be Israel's very substantial reward.

What about Syria? It lies at the very heart of the regional power system. Its on-going civil war is threatening to destabilise its neighbours -- Lebanon, Turkey, Iraq and Jordan. Israel itself will not be immune. Islamist fighters, some linked to Al-Qaeda, are flowing into Syria, while refugees are fleeing out to neighbouring states in very large numbers. The toll of dead and wounded is heavy, material destruction great and human misery incalculable.

It is by now abundantly clear that there is no military solution to the conflict: Neither the regime nor its opponents can hope to win an outright victory. No outside power wants to intervene militarily. Yet the regime and its enemies are incapable of negotiating an end to the conflict without outside help.

What should the international community do? First, the United States and Russia (with active support from other powers) should join together in imposing a ceasefire on both sides of the conflict. This could involve deploying an international force around Syria's borders to prevent the inflow of fighters, weapons, and other military equipment to both government and rebels.

Secondly, major external powers -- Arab, Western, Chinese, Russian and others -- should solemnly pledge to contribute to a Syria Reconstruction Fund of some \$10bn-\$15bn. The money would be entrusted to the World Bank and disbursed only when a permanent ceasefire is in place and when some clear progress is made towards a negotiated settlement. The existence of the Fund will provide a real incentive.

Thirdly, the United Nations Secretary General, with unanimous backing from the Security Council, should summon a conference of national reconciliation in Damascus attended by regime representatives as well as by all Syrian factions, groups, parties and prominent individuals prepared to renounce war.

The task will not be easy. The wounds of the conflict are very deep. But for the sake of Syria and its neighbours -- for the sake of peace in the region -- a supreme effort must be made to prevent the collapse of the Syrian state and its possible fragmentation. The difficult task will be to reshape Syria's political system on democratic lines. Political freedoms will have to be guaranteed, individual rights respected, police brutality ended, the rule of law observed, government services restored and minorities protected. An essential goal must be the preservation of the Syrian Arab army as the indispensable institution of the state. In Iraq, it was the disbanding of the army which led to the collapse of the state, triggering the catastrophic civil war from which the country has yet to recover.

If Barack Obama were to adopt the programme outlined above and throw his full weight behind it, his place in history as a great peacemaker would be assured.

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## What Others Say

### **Thou Shalt Not Fear a Nuclear Iran: Eliminating the Nuclear Finish Line**

By Tim Miklos\*

High-ranking officials in both the Israeli and U.S. governments have advocated attacking Iran preemptively “[before it’s too late](#).” This assumes there is a point at which Iran is no longer attackable and must be contained—a policy the Obama administration [refuses to accept](#). The Iran puzzle has been framed so that [containment](#) and [preemption](#) are the extreme ends of the policy spectrum with diplomatic negotiations in between. However, containment isn’t the only option. The United States can attack a nuclear Iran.

A nuclear Iran is not ideal, but the Western fear of it becoming “too late” overestimates and distorts deterrence. A nuclear deterrent did not prevent a joint Egyptian-Syrian invasion of Israel in the Yom Kippur War in 1973, and it has not prevented small-scale conflicts between Pakistan and India. Furthermore, Pakistan’s nuclear arsenal has not prevented the United States from projecting power into the country, despite Pakistani protests, through the use of drones and special operations.

The idea of “too late” signals to Iran that there is a nuclear finish line where it becomes immune to military action. The current structure of threatening to punish Iran militarily for trying, yet rewarding it for succeeding is not only silly—it’s dangerous. It signals to Iran and other potential rogue proliferators that the United States is deterrable by crude, non-survivable nuclear arsenals (such as North Korea’s). It shows a lack of confidence in U.S. ability to project power in nascent nuclear-armed states, wage limited wars without allowing them to escalate beyond a nuclear threshold, and carry out a disarming first strike (missions for which the United States is well-equipped).

A primitive, non-survivable nuclear arsenal should not make the United States or Israel tremble, considering their robust survivable deterrents and advanced conventional capabilities. A nuclear Iran is not comparable to the Soviet Union. The United States was forced to contain the Soviet Union because it was a power-projecting super-state with a survivable thermonuclear arsenal. Iran is unlikely to reach this level of sophistication, so there is no reason to bestow upon it all the benefits of deterrence from the mere acquisition of crude nuclear weapons.

In addition, the assumption that a nuclear Iran would take a more [aggressive, threatening approach](#) toward its neighbors is not based on evidence. Historically, nuclear posturing has shown little success. After World War II the United States was the world’s premier superpower, held a 4-year nuclear monopoly, and had even used nuclear weapons in war, yet was unable to enforce its will on the Soviet Union. Despite Truman’s subtle nuclear threats and hard-line policy toward the Soviets, the Kremlin expanded its influence into Eastern Europe, initiated the Berlin Blockade, and developed the bomb. As Secretary of State Byrnes later lamented, “The Russians don’t scare easy, I think we’ve milked these babies [nuclear weapons] for all they’re worth, time to make a compromise” (Ron Suny, *The Soviet Experiment* Oxford University Press 1998, pg. 346).

Recognizing the United States’ ability to successfully wage war with a (potentially) future nuclear Iran eliminates the need to constantly make empty, counter-productive threats of preemptive military action. Robert Jervis [asserts](#) that American usage of threats and coercive diplomacy has a history of poor results in Panama, Iraq, Serbia, and Afghanistan. Threats have not worked with Iran and U.S. credibility is already in decline, as the regime knows that American public opinion is against another Middle East conflict. Since Tehran has taken no definitive step toward producing a nuclear weapon, ceasing threatening American rhetoric toward Iran will help build confidence, increase transparency, reduce tensions, and possibly facilitate a positive nuclear agreement.

Instead of threats, the United States should cautiously, but firmly, express to Tehran the futility of nuclear weapons—it will gain from them neither security, nor prestige, nor concessions from neighbors. Iran must know that not even a crude nuclear arsenal can protect it from American power, not as a threat but a fact. ☺

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# BEYOND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

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## What Others Say

It would also be the best way to prevent the feared nuclear cascade in the Middle East because U.S. allies would be assured that not only do they have positive security guarantees, but that the United States would still maintain the credibility to deter and defeat a nuclear Iran with a crippling first strike through conventional means.

By fearing primitive nuclear arsenals (both real and theoretical), the United States is empowering rogue regimes and adding great value to the acquisition of weapons that deserve no such awe, thereby making the prospect of global disarmament even more unlikely. A clear message that such arsenals will not deter the United States would send a powerful signal of resolve and confidence to nuclear rogues and therefore help to impede the acquisition of nuclear weapons. □

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## U.S. Prepares Airborne Nuclear Forensics Tool

By CHRIS SCHNEIDMILLER | Global Security Newswire

WASHINGTON -- The U.S. Air Force and a major national research laboratory are collaborating to deploy a new airborne tool for identifying the origin of a nuclear bomb after detonation. The "Harvester" technology would offer a "modular nuclear debris sampling capability" -- pods that could be attached to manned or drone aircraft to collect and identify radioisotopes left behind by an atomic blast.

"Nuclear debris sampling and analysis enables verification that a nuclear explosive event occurred and aids in the national technical nuclear forensics mission requirements," Susan Romano, spokeswoman for the Air Force Technical Applications Center, this week told Global Security Newswire. "Modularity can enable installation on a range of aircraft, potentially eliminating the need for payload-specific aircraft modifications."

Nuclear forensics encompasses a range of technical capabilities to determine the start point for material in an atomic device that is seized in transit or actually detonated. That capacity is seen as a deterrent to rogue actors that might otherwise hope to get away with a nuclear attack, and as an asset for directing any U.S. response after an incident.

The U.S. ability to maintain a viable forensics infrastructure has been a point of concern in recent years. An expert panel convened by the National Academies warned in 2010 that "strong leadership, careful planning and additional funds" were needed to overcome troubles with present capabilities, which it said include the absence of a central leadership, insufficient personnel and outdated technology.

The Harvester system could also be a new resource for the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty regime, which aims to prevent and identify illicit trial detonations that are seen as key to development of a nuclear arsenal, Romano stated by e-mail. Research and development on the technology started around 2002, and design on the Harvester system dates to 2008 at the Sandia National Laboratories in New Mexico, officials said.

Initial flight-testing occurred in September at Grand Forks Air Force Base in North Dakota. The system -- two pods for collecting and analyzing nuclear material and a third for guidance -- were placed on a Reaper drone owned by the Homeland Security Department's Customs and Border Protection branch, Sandia said in a recent release. The pods successfully gathered and analyzed various radioisotopes found in the atmosphere, suggesting they could do the same for material released by a manmade device.

Following an actual nuclear event, a drone could be directed to the "hot spot" of a post-explosion plume, Sandia said. Radioactive material would adhere to filter paper as the pods are flown through the affected area and then undergo sensor analysis to determine the specific kind and quantity of substance. Further study would be conducted once the filters are collected after the aircraft returns to base.

Sandia is also continuing work on a new Whole Air Sampling Pod, which could be used to gather gas samples at large volume rather than the particles collected by existing pods. "The gas samples can then be analyzed for gas species of interest for forensics/treaty monitoring, notably short-lived radioxenon produced from a nuclear explosion," Sandia project chief Joe Sanders stated by e-mail. The Pentagon hopes to try out the Harvester system on a manned aircraft this year, and to take over management of the technology in 2014, Romano stated. The number of units to be built remains under consideration, she said. Meanwhile, "Harvester product improvement opportunities are being identified for possible future implementation," the spokeswoman added. [Jan 25, 2013]

Source > <http://www.nti.org/gsn/article/us-prepares-new-airborne-nuclear-forensics-tool/>



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## Civil Society Perspective

### “Duck and cover” Indian Style

By JOHN LORETZ

[IPPNW January 25, 2013] - India now has its own T. K. Jones, although we may never know the name of the actual person in the Jammu and Kashmir Civil Defence and State Disaster Response Force who wrote an advisory on what to do in the event of a nuclear attack that was published in the [Greater Kashmir](#) newspaper this week.

Jones, for those who didn't get as far as the Cold War in high school history, was a Deputy Under Secretary of Defense in the Reagan administration, who preached that nuclear war would not be as bad as people thought. (He was right. Most people, then as now, had no idea how bad it would *really* be.) His infamous line — “If there are enough shovels to go around, everybody's going to make it” — was adapted by journalist Robert Scheer for the title of a book debunking nuclear civil defense. [1]

T. K. Jones played only a small part in the civil defense cottage industry that churned out bucketloads (or should I say shovelsful) of misinformation and false assurances beginning in the 1950s. Fallout shelter designs and supplies, Geiger counters, and air raid drills were part of the common experience of growing up for an entire generation or three. A series of “educational” films offered instructions on how to behave in the event of a nuclear attack. The most iconic and ridiculous of these was *Duck and Cover*, with Bert the Turtle, which did little more than create a generation with persistent neck and back problems. You can watch it on [YouTube](#).



So new tickets for seats on the counterfeit ark (the title of the definitive 80s-era book on the subject edited by Jennifer Leaning [2]) are now being sold by the Jammu and Kashmir police department. Our Indian affiliate assures me that no one is taking this advisory seriously, and that it did not come out of the national government. Nonetheless, here's what people in one of the most beautiful places on Earth were advised to do in order to prepare for a nuclear attack, or should they be somewhere nearby when a bomb goes off:

“People should construct basements where the whole family can stay for a fortnight,” stock it with non-perishable food items and water, and “construct toilet facilities at the basement, store ample candles and battery lights, remove stock of flammables, if any, keep battery-operated miniature transistor, TV sets in the basement to listen instructions being announced by the civil defense authorities.”

Anyone caught in the open (perhaps trying to find a transistor radio buried under a local mountain of discarded 8-track players) should “immediately drop to ground and remain in lying position.” They should then cover their eyes and face with their hands and plug their ears with their fingers to prevent ruptured ear drums. (Try this. It's like playing Twister with your head.)

“Stay down after the initial shock wave,” the advisory continues, “wait for the winds to die down and debris to stop falling. If blast wave does not arrive within five seconds of the flash you were far enough from the ground zero and initial radiation exposure will not exceed 150 rads.” If the blast wave does arrive within five seconds...well, at least you're lying down.

There's more, because if you're still alive, you might be wondering what to do next. “Stay calm,” of course, and don't get up until the debris stops falling and the wind dies down. All those burns, cuts, and bruises are no worse than something you might get from being tossed around during an eight or nine point earthquake. Oh, right, the fireball: “Dazzle is temporary and vision should return in few seconds.” And that radiation you may have heard about? Not to worry: “The chance of being exposed to lethal dose of radiation is relatively small unless located in an early fallout area.”

Needless to say, a few things in your immediate surroundings will look a little different: “Expect some initial disorientation as the blast wave may blow down and carry away many prominent and familiar features. Beware of weakened structures and trees from collapsing (sic).” I trust Arun Mitra's judgment about this—that it's much ado about nothing—and yet the echoes of the US in the 1950s make me wonder if possession of nuclear weapons causes not only delusions of grandeur, but also a pre-packaged set of hallucinations. □

1. Robert Scheer. *With enough shovels: Reagan, Bush and nuclear war*. New York: Random House. 1983.
2. Jennifer Leaning, Langley Carleton Keyes. *The counterfeit ark: crisis relocation for nuclear war*. Cambridge, Mass: Ballinger. 1984.



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## Civil Society Perspective

### Maths MoD-style: 1 + 1 = 2.8

[31 January 2013] - The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has slammed the Ministry of Defence's (MoD) [£160bn wish list](#) – saying it is 'as unjustifiable as it is unrealistic' and 'an astonishing waste of taxpayers' money'.

On the same day that the Prime Minister reaffirmed his commitment to a real-terms increase for the defence equipment budget from 2015, the MoD has set out an eye-watering ten year projection of spending which includes nuclear weapons, aircraft carriers and drones.

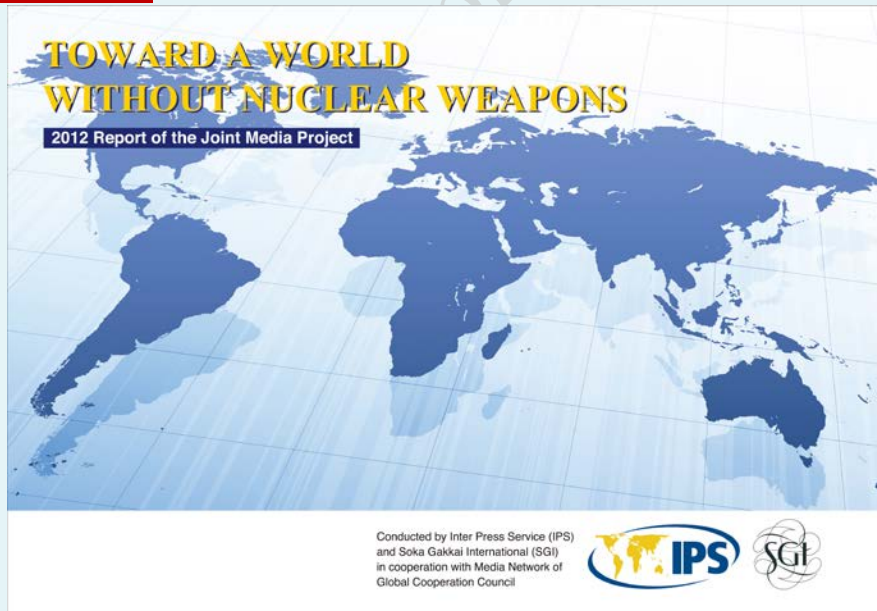
But it is not just campaigners challenging the plan – Chair of the Public Accounts Committee, Margaret Hodge, [expressed grave concerns](#) over the MoD's ability to even stick to this £160bn plan. She said 'The Ministry's own internal review warned that this plan understates costs by as much as £12.5bn.' And that's an optimistic estimate. She cited independent analysis which has shown that the MoD typically delivers major projects **around 40% over-budget**.

'If there's one positive thing to come out of this,' said CND's Kate Hudson, 'it's that we now have a better idea of the cost of building Trident's replacement. **The MoD says £20-25bn, so we can safely assume it's £28-35bn.**'

'Worse still, the MoD is budgeting here to replace Trident, when a parliamentary decision isn't even due until 2016. If they wanted to really sharpen their maths skills, they could take the Successor submarines out of the shopping basket and calculate how much they could be saving the British public!'

Further reading: [Trident subs, aircraft carriers and drones on MoD's £160bn shopping list](#)

## Project Report 2011-2012



[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/documents/Toward\\_a\\_World\\_without\\_Nuclear\\_Weapons.pdf](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/documents/Toward_a_World_without_Nuclear_Weapons.pdf)

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