



# BEYOND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

NEWSLETTER FOR STRENGTHENING AWARENESS OF NUCLEAR ABOLITION WITH JULY 2012 ARTICLES

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## In-Depth Reports



### **Govts Boost Nukes While Cutting Aid, Social Services**

UNITED NATIONS - As U.N.-led talks on disarmament resumed in Geneva on July 30, calls were growing for nuclear-armed nations to cut spending on their stockpiles and instead divert resources to development. "The amount still being spent on nuclear arms makes no sense, just as continued reliance on the weapons themselves makes no sense," David Kreiger, president of the U.S.-based Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, told IPS. His remarks alluded to the fact that nine out of 193 U.N. member states continue to increase budgetary allocations for the maintenance

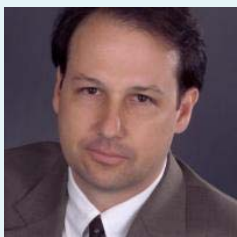
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<http://www.nuclearabolition.net/documents/Toward a World without Nuclear Weapons.pdf>



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### Govts Boost Nukes While Cutting Aid, Social Services

By HAIDER RIZVI



UNITED NATIONS (IPS) - As U.N.-led talks on disarmament resumed in Geneva on July 30, calls were growing for nuclear-armed nations to cut spending on their stockpiles and instead divert resources to development.

“The amount still being spent on nuclear arms makes no sense, just as continued reliance on the weapons themselves makes no sense,” David Kreiger, president of the U.S.-based Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, told IPS.

His remarks alluded to the fact that nine out of 193 U.N. member states continue to increase budgetary allocations for the maintenance and modernisation of nuclear weapons, despite promises to reduce their stockpiles.

Last year, the nuclear states spent around 105 billion dollars on their arsenals, according to independent estimates. The share of the United States alone was 61 billion dollars.

According to a recent study by Global Zero, a U.S.-based disarmament advocacy group, in 2011, Russia spent 14.9 billion dollars; China 7.6 billion; France 6.0 billion; and Britain 5.5 billion dollars on nuclear weapons.

For their part, the four de-facto nuclear powers also demonstrated a similar pattern of behaviour with increased expenditures on nuclear weapons. India spent 4.9 billion, Pakistan 2.2 billion, Israel 1.9 billion and North Korea 0.7 billion dollars.

This cost calculation by Globe Zero refers only to researching, developing, procuring, testing, operating, maintaining, and upgrading the nuclear arsenal, not many other related activities. Global predicts the expenditures will most likely be the same this year.

That despite the fact that most governments continue to face financial constraints caused by the prolonged economic downturn and seem inclined to introduce further cuts in social services.

Considering that millions of people across the world suffer from hunger, disease and homelessness, Kreiger calls this trend to boost spending on nukes “obscene”.

“Nuclear weapons absorb resources that could be used instead to fulfill the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs),” he said.

U.N. experts say they want to raise over 400 billion dollars annually for development. But that amount is becoming increasingly hard to secure because most leading donor nations are not fulfilling their commitments.

According to the U.N., there is a shortfall of 167 billion dollars in Official Development Assistance, which is making it hard for developing countries to achieve all the MDGs by the deadline of 2015. That shortfall can be easily overcome by introducing drastic cuts in the cost of nuclear weapons maintenance and modernisation, according to peace activists.

“The nuclear-armed nations are spending around 300 million every day on their nuclear forces,” said Tim Wright of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons in a statement. “Obviously, there is a better way to spend this money than on weapons that threaten us all.” ☺

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Picture: Minuteman III test launch, 1994. The United States accounts for three-fifths of global spending on nuclear stockpiles.

Credit: U.S. Department of Defence/public domain



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Currently, the nuclear states are estimated to possess about 19,500 nuclear weapons, according to Critical Will, a non-governmental organisation that works with the U.N. closely on matters related to nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament.

Despite the new START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) treaty signed in 2010, both the United States and Russia continue to update their existing arsenals. So is the case with Britain, France and China, as well as the four other de-facto nuclear powers.

While the five declared nuclear powers' spending records are hard to pin down due to lack of transparency in certain areas, researchers say it is much harder to find accurate data with regard to nuclear weapons' spending in de facto nuclear countries.

In the case of Pakistan, for example, which remains outside the fold of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, there is no public accountability regarding the cost of nuclear weapons. It's a state secret.

"I don't know," replied a Pakistani diplomat recently, in response to a question about the cost of his country's nuclear programme. "Why don't you talk to the U.S. diplomats and others? Are they telling their people how much money they are spending?"

His answer implied that figures made public by the declared nuclear states are not authentic either. But peace activists from the region counter this argument.

"All nuclear armed states launched their weapons programmes without the knowledge of their own people. This secrecy about what goes on inside nuclear programmes and how much they cost in public funds is an attempt to escape accountability," said Zia Mian, who directs a project on peace and security at Princeton University.

"The first victims of the nuclear programmes are the people they are supposed to protect," he told IPS, citing recent data which shows that Pakistan spends one percent of its GNP on health and education.

About half of the country's population cannot read or write.

Kreiger said the failure of the leaders of the nuclear weapons states "to rid the world of these weapons displays nothing less than cruel indifference to those who suffer, while at the same time assuring that their own citizens remain targets of nuclear weapons."

The U.N. disarmament conference will conclude on Sep. 14. The 65-member body, which reports to the U.N. General Assembly annually, sets its own agenda and works by consensus.

In the past, the conference has negotiated some major international agreements, including the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. [IPS - July 27, 2012] □

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### Will Austerity Prompt Nuclear Disarmament?

By JULIO GODOY



Michel Rocard

PARIS (IPS) - The changing international political order and a dramatic budgetary situation at home are forcing France to consider giving up the extremely expensive nuclear arsenal the country has maintained since the late 1950s.

To make this pressing necessity appear as a virtue, some French political leaders and analysts are attempting to posit the move as a step towards international efforts to update the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and reduce global nuclear arsenals.

But the simple truth is that the French government, facing a major budgetary crisis, can no longer afford to maintain a costly armoury that, as former minister of defence, Paul Quilès, put it, “isn’t supposed to be fired in the first place”.

Former prime minister Michel Rocard, a member of the ruling Socialist Party (SP), inadvertently opened the debate in mid-June during a television interview with the Paris-based broadcaster BFM in which he stated that by giving up its nuclear cache, “France would save 16 billion euros per year, and renounce a completely useless weapon.”

Later, Rocard called his statements “a joke”, and argued that discussing nuclear disarmament was “such a serious issue, that if you want to question it, you have to do it cautiously, and give yourself time to discuss it and to listen to serious arguments.”

But jokes aside, Rocard’s statement provoked an avalanche of debate without a definitive conclusion.

For the time being, Socialist President Francois Hollande has denied that his government has any intention of renouncing the nuclear weapon in the foreseeable future.

Hollande’s position is based on the old argument that nuclear power grants France an exceptional, albeit delusory, political status, placing it on a par with the other four permanent members of the United Nations security council: Britain, China, Russia, and the U.S.A.

Without the nuclear weapon, France would be reduced to its actual geopolitical role: of a middle-range power, battered by economic mediocrity and a volatile domestic climate.

“The end of the Cold War and the grand strategic mutations taking place right now (necessitate) a redefinition of the role of the nuclear arsenal in (France’s) global power considerations, and in our policy of national security,” Pascal Boniface, director of the Paris-based Institute for International and Strategic Studies, told IPS.

But Boniface warned, “If France were to renounce the nuclear weapon it would certainly degrade its credibility as an international power and provoke its own demotion on strategic affairs.”

Boniface recalled, “When Charles de Gaulle (in the late 1950s) decided to equip France with a nuclear arsenal, his objective was to maintain our country as a global power, along with the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union.”

In other words, for De Gaulle’s France, the nuclear weapon was more a geopolitical emblem than a military necessity. In a cryptic way, De Gaulle admitted as much, in an official statement issued in December 1961, at the height of the Cold War.

“In ten years’ time, we might need to kill 80 million Russian citizens,” De Gaulle said. “I believe that (the Soviet Union) wouldn’t attack somebody able to kill 80 million Russians, even if the (Soviets) themselves were able to kill 800 million French (citizens).” ➔



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### France's economic woes

Fifty years later, with memories of the Cold War fading into the realm of a bad nightmare, the possibility of having to kill 80 million Russians is as unthinkable as ever. France's new national nightmare is the sovereign debt crisis, and a deteriorating economic performance in the international arena.

Hollande's government, in office since mid-June, is this year facing an unexpected budgetary shortfall of up to 10 billion euros, on top of the previously anticipated deficit of 4.4 percent of the gross national product (GNP).

In a report released on Jul. 2, the country's general accounting office warned that France would have to raise taxes and reduce expenses to meet the high deficit of 4.4 percent originally foreseen by Hollande's predecessor, Nicolas Sarkozy.

According to European Commission figures, in 2013 France will have to increase revenues or reduce expenses by 24 billion euros to limit the deficit to three percent.

To add insult to injury, leading French enterprises, such as carmaker Peugeot, have announced massive layoffs and major industrial facility relocations abroad.

Hollande is thus left with a staggering political challenge: to simultaneously salvage state finances and support French industry to endure the present economic downturn and prepare a more competitive future.

According to various analysts and politicians, the temptation to reduce useless spending – especially on a purely symbolic nuclear arsenal – and instead invest in more rational endeavours, has never been greater.

Quilés, former chair of the parliamentary defence commission, told IPS that the “nuclear weapon is an expensive absurdity.” He dismissed arguments that the nuclear weapon constituted a “life insurance” for France. “It is more a death insurance,” he said.

He believes the costs of the French nuclear arsenal will most certainly increase in the immediate future, given the necessity to update weapons and procure expensive supplementary equipment, such as military submarines.

Retired general Bernard Norlain, head of the military cabinet at the prime minister's office between 1986 and 1992, also called for nuclear disarmament.

“The arguments in favour of nuclear (arms) were pertinent at the time of the Cold War, but the global strategic situation has changed radically since 1990,” he told IPS. “We cannot continue arguing the same way as in the 1980s.”

Norlain, who has rallied behind the international project Global Zero, that calls for a world without nuclear weapons, noted regretfully that Hollande appears to be bowing to pressure to maintain a useless asset.

“Hollande's declarations on the matter are extremely conformist,” Norlain pointed out.

But other military experts, who asked not be identified, said that no head of state would choose to go down in history as the one who unilaterally erased France's status as a nuclear power. [IPS - July 18, 2012] □

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### **Analysts Say Nuclear Talks Should Continue Despite Sabre-Rattling**

By JASMIN RAMSEY\*



WASHINGTON (IPS) - The one agreement that talks between Iran and the P5+1 – the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council plus Germany – produced after a “technical meeting” in Istanbul was a decision to schedule more talks.

But even while the United States and Iran engage in threatening behaviour, Iran-focused experts say that continuing meetings is the first step to advancing the diplomatic process.

“Diplomacy doesn’t happen at a twitter speed,” Daryl Kimball, the executive director of the nuclear non-proliferation-focused Arms Control Association, told IPS. “After these meetings we finally saw the two sides putting down specific proposals on the nuclear issue, and there are significant gaps as (EU foreign affairs chief) Catherine

Ashton said, but there are also areas of overlap.”

To move forward, Kimball said three things need to be done: “Further details are needed about the proposals, they need to sort out the sequencing issues and both sides need to be a little more creative than they’ve been up until this point.”

Kimball also noted that there is still a “good potential” for an initial confidence-building deal around the contentious issue of Iran’s production of 20 percent-enriched uranium because the Iranians have said that they are willing to explore that issue.

“We don’t have forever, but we do still have time for a diplomatic solution,” he said, adding that it’s important to remember that both sides are likely strategic about what they provide to the press about the actual details of the negotiations.

Starting on Tuesday and lasting into early Wednesday morning, the low-level talks, which were scheduled after three high-level negotiations in Istanbul, Baghdad and Moscow, took place against a backdrop of military-related posturing by long-time foes, Iran and the United States.

On Jul. 2 – one day after the EU oil ban officially went into effect – Iran showcased medium-range ballistic missiles that it claimed are capable of hitting U.S. bases and Israel during a three-day long testing exercise called the “Great Prophet 7”.

Then on Jul. 3 the Iranian Mehr News Agency reported that 220 Iranian MPs had issued a statement condemning the European Union embargo on Iranian oil as an “act of hostility”.

Iran, which insists that its nuclear programme is not weapons-oriented, reiterated that it has an “inalienable right to peaceful nuclear technology” in accordance with the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and that it “does not succumb to the hegemonistic policies of the major powers.”

Also on Jul. 3 the state-sponsored IRNA news agency reported that 120 Iranian members of parliament had signed a petition urging for the closure of the vital oil supply route, the Strait of Hormuz, in response to the EU oil ban.

State Department spokeswoman Victoria Nuland said during a press briefing that any Iranian attempts to obstruct passage through the Strait would be “inconsistent with international law and not recognised by the United States” but did not elaborate about how the U.S. would respond or whether it considered Iran’s statements unusual. “Iran has made these threats many times, and we always make the same statements in response,” she said. ☺

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\*Jasmin Ramsey edits IPS News’s U.S. foreign policy blog [www.lobelog.com](http://www.lobelog.com)

Picture: Arms Control Association’s Executive Director Daryl G. Kimball | Credit: Arms Control Association



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On Jul. 3 the New York Times also reported that while a recent U.S. military buildup in the Persian Gulf was “purely defensive”, it was also a “message” to Iran that it should refrain from attempting to close the Strait of Hormuz.

An anonymous senior state department official told the Times that Iranian attempts to close the vital supply route or confront the U.S. Navy would get them “on the bottom of the gulf”.

According to Abbas Maleki, a former Iranian deputy foreign minister and energy policy-focused fellow at MIT, ongoing posturing by the U.S. and Iran will have an impact on the diplomatic process and could lead to a military conflict. Maleki said in an interview with IPS that “the more the U.S. uses a coercive policy against Iran, the more Iran will resist and react accordingly.”

“Both sides have to try to stay in self-possessed situation,” said Maleki, who was part of the Iranian negotiating that was focused on ending the Iran-Iraq war.

But hawkish Washington-based analysts have used the lack of tangible results to cast doubt on the legitimacy of continued negotiations. On Jul. 2, Jamie Fly, Lee Smith and William Kristol applauded a bipartisan letter by 44 senators calling on the president to cease diplomatic efforts and ramp up sanctions and the military option if the Iranians don’t submit to three U.S. demands. Fly, Smith and Kristol also reiterated calls urging Congress to “seriously explore” an “Authorization of Military Force against Iran”.

But according to Kimball, anybody who is already calling the process a failure is “highly irresponsible and naïve because that allows Iran to clear a pathway to continue to produce 20 percent enriched uranium” and take steps to further increase their uranium enrichment capacity.

“We lose absolutely nothing by continuing to pursue diplomacy and a potential deal with Iran,” he said.

Ali Vaez of the International Crisis Group also noted that it’s too soon to call the diplomatic process a failure in an op-ed for Al Monitor. “The issue at the crux of Iran’s nuclear crisis is politics, not physics” he wrote, and while there is very little wiggle room in this realm, there is “room for maneuver in the technical realm.”

Maleki says that for the next round of talks, “the ball is in the P5+1 court.” While Iran has long-stated that the complete cessation of uranium enrichment is a deal-breaker, it is “prepared to make compromises, including halting enrichment beyond five percent, and allowing inclusive inspections.”

“But such compromises on the Iranian side need to be matched by P5+1, by, for example, reducing sanctions,” he said. [IPS - July 5, 2012] □

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## What Others Say

### Washington P5 Conference on Implementing NPT

By ROSE GOTTEMOELLER \*



On June 27-29, the State Department welcomed the other members of the P5 -- China, France, Russia, and the United Kingdom -- to discuss the implementation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Senior policy and defense officials and technical staff from these four countries and the United States continued the dialogue that the permanent members of the UN Security Council -- the P5 -- are having to advance their nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament commitments under the 2010 NPT Review Conference's Action Plan.

The Action Plan reflects the understanding that efforts to strengthen the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty must be balanced among the three pillars of the NPT: countries with nuclear weapons will move toward nuclear disarmament, countries without nuclear weapons will not acquire them, and all members in compliance with their nonproliferation obligations can have access to peaceful nuclear energy. All NPT Parties, nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon states alike, have rights and responsibilities under the Treaty.

Under the Obama Administration, the United States has worked with our P5 partners to advance a regular dialogue on nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation, confidence-building measures, and verification and monitoring. The Washington meeting was the third conference held by the P5 and follows similar meetings in London in 2009 and in Paris in 2011.

The unique dynamic that is being developed among the five nuclear-weapon states under the NPT is important for establishing a firm foundation to build a broader multilateral approach. It complements the long-standing U.S.-Russia nuclear disarmament interaction and may one day pave the way for further disarmament efforts.

At the Washington Conference, the P5 reaffirmed their unconditional support for the NPT and the NPT Review Conference's Action Plan, reaffirmed the commitments to promote and ensure the swift entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) and its universalization, discouraged abuse of the NPT withdrawal provision (Article X), stressed the need to strengthen International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards and promote universalization of the Additional Protocol, and worked to pursue their shared goal of nuclear disarmament under Article VI of the NPT. The P5 continued their discussion of how to report on their relevant activities, and considered proposals for a standard reporting form. The P5 also discussed ways to kick start negotiations on a verified treaty banning the production of fissile material for use in nuclear weapons that has stalled in the Conference on Disarmament.

China will lead a P5 working group to develop a glossary of definitions for key nuclear terms, which will increase P5 mutual understanding and facilitate further P5 discussions on nuclear matters. Developing more mutual cooperation of this kind is a positive step that can lead to deeper engagement on nuclear weapons issues and greater mutual confidence.

The United States has an excellent record in transparency across-the-board-- publicly declaring our nuclear stockpile numbers; participating in voluntary and treaty-based inspections measures; working with other nations on military-to-military, scientific, and lab exchanges, sponsoring site visits; and frequently briefing others on our nuclear programs and disarmament efforts.

In this spirit, the United States briefed participants at the P5 conference on U.S. activities at the Nevada National Security Site to encourage discussion on additional approaches to transparency. And in a tour of the U.S. Nuclear Risk Reduction Center, which is located at the State Department, P5 representatives observed how the United States maintains a communications center capable of simultaneously implementing notification regimes under a number of arms control treaties and agreements. ➔

\* Acting Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security | Photo: U.S. Govt





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As a further measure of U.S. leadership on transparency the Department of Energy's National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA) announced at the conference that it had released an updated report, titled The United States Plutonium Balance, which details the U.S. plutonium inventory through September 2009.

This year's conference was a success, as were its predecessors. China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States agreed to continue to meet at all appropriate levels on nuclear issues to further promote dialogue, predictability, and mutual confidence. We plan to hold a fourth P5 conference in the context of the next NPT Preparatory Committee in 2013. □

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## **Nuclear Armament: Scandalous Hypocrisies**

Middle East Online

Everyone is lying through their teeth. Countries are not working to avoid a nuclear catastrophe. They are working to maintain and/or improve their geopolitical position vis-à-vis their presumed antagonists, stresses Immanuel Wallerstein\*.

The world has been worried about a nuclear Armageddon ever since the United States dropped two nuclear weapons on Japan in 1945. These were, be it said, the only two bombs ever used in actual warfare.

U.S. possession of the atomic bomb gave it, of course, an enormous military advantage. It followed that the United States wanted to keep a monopoly on the weapon, and other countries wanted to break the monopoly. First and foremost, the Soviet Union wanted to do this, and succeeded in 1949. Feared as a great catastrophe, this turned out to be a marvelous boon. From that point on, the two "superpowers" were locked in a mutual unspoken agreement not to be the "first" user of the bomb. Despite the constant suspicions of each other, the tacit accord held fast -- to this day.

There were others, however, who thought they deserved to be part of the club. Great Britain was invited in by the United States. And both France and China ignored all the pleas and pressures to remain non-nuclear. So, by the 1970s, all five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council were nuclear powers.

It was at this time that the United States made an attempt to close the club to further members. They promoted a Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NNPT), which essentially offered a deal. If everyone else (other than the five) would renounce developing nuclear weapons, they would get in return two things: (1) the right to develop the peaceful uses of atomic energy; and (2) a promise by the nuclear five that they would negotiate a reduction in their nuclear arsenals, heading towards an eventual zero point.

The whole world signed this treaty, except three countries: Israel, India, and Pakistan. All three proceeded to develop nuclear weapons. And despite initial reprimands of various sorts, the uninvited members of the club became de facto members.

There have been from the start two problems with the deal. The first problem is that none of the nuclear five (and even less the additional three) had ever had the least intention to reduce its nuclear arsenal, and they have never done so. Most recently, in order to get the U.S. Congress to ratify an extension of the NNPT when the initial twenty-five years envisaged in the treaty expired, President Obama announced the upgrading of U.S. weapons. This no doubt is being emulated by all other nuclear powers.

The second problem was a technical one that had enormous political implications. It seems that, in order to ensure the so-called peaceful uses of atomic energy, a country needs to achieve levels of technical competence such that it is very easy, then, to go one step further and build nuclear weapons. This right, however, was the big carrot that had been offered to non-nuclear powers to agree not to "proliferate."

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\*Immanuel Wallerstein, Senior Research Scholar at Yale University, is the author of *The Decline of American Power: The U.S. in a Chaotic World* (New Press).



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That leaves us where we are today. The nuclear five (and no doubt the nuclear right) are "improving" their weapons. Simultaneously, the United States (and some others) is trying hard to deny non-nuclear powers the one right they had in the treaty that they had signed. This is the issue being debated with Iran. What the United States and Israel argue vociferously is that Iran cannot be trusted to exercise the right the treaty gives Iran because Iran will then, whatever it says now, go one step further. And, they imply, Iran will use the bomb to attack Israel.

North Korea has withdrawn from the NNPT (albeit a bit ambiguously), and is now the ninth nuclear power. A whole series of countries are in fact going down the same path as Iran, that is, augmenting the technical level of their nuclear processes. But the United States seems to think they are more "trustworthy" and is therefore not making a public scandal about it.

Everyone is lying through their teeth. Countries are not working to avoid a nuclear catastrophe. They are working to maintain and/or improve their geopolitical position vis-à-vis their presumed antagonists. Nobody wants a bomb in order to drop it on someone else. Everyone wants a bomb so that none will be dropped on them.

This is a total stalemate, and will continue to be one. It is in no country's self-interest to make concessions. The world is therefore moving towards proliferation all over the place. Is this dangerous? Of course. Will it guarantee a catastrophe? This has a very low probability. Even one chance in a thousand, however, is one too much. But since nothing will change, we shall have no choice but to hope that the one chance in a thousand doesn't occur before we all come to our senses. A de facto tacit accord not to use the bomb worked for the United States and the Soviet Union. It has worked for India and Pakistan. Why shouldn't it continue to work with more nuclear powers in the game, which is now not only a game of seeking geopolitical advantage but also one of prestige and pride?

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## Pakistan Navy's 'Nuclear' Aspirations

By ABHIJIT SINGH\*

Recent reports from Pakistan seem to suggest the Pakistan Navy (PN) may be on the cusp of developing a naval nuclear missile capability, even as its plans for acquiring a nuclear submarine capability gradually become clearer. The first indication of this came in May 2012 when Pakistan tested the Hatf VII (Babur)—an indigenously developed Cruise Missile with high precision and manoeuvrability. Reports suggested that the missile was launched from a state-of-the-art multi-tube Missile Launch Vehicle (MLV), which significantly enhances the targeting and employment options of the Babur Weapon System in both the conventional and nuclear modes. Importantly, this is the third test of the Babur in the recent past, of different capacities and loads.

Then, in another significant development, on May 19, the PN inaugurated the Headquarters of the Naval Strategic Force Command (NSFC). A statement from the Pakistan military's Inter Services Public Relations said that the NSFC "will perform a pivotal role in development and employment of the Naval Strategic Force," and was "the custodian of the nation's 2nd strike capability" – presumably for use against India, in case the need ever arose. This is noteworthy because Pakistan is not known to have a sea-based second strike capability. Therefore, a public statement that the NSFC would be in-charge of such a capability is an open admission of sorts that Pakistan is in the process of developing a naval variant of a strategic nuclear missile. ☞

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\*Abhijit Singh is a Research Fellow at the National Maritime Foundation (NMF), New Delhi. This article first appeared on the website of Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses [http://www.idsa.in/idsacomments/PakistanNavysNuclearAspirations\\_AbhijitSingh\\_290612](http://www.idsa.in/idsacomments/PakistanNavysNuclearAspirations_AbhijitSingh_290612)



# BEYOND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

NEWSLETTER FOR STRENGTHENING AWARENESS OF NUCLEAR ABOLITION WITH JULY 2012 ARTICLES

## What Others Say

For long, the Pakistan Navy has viewed the Indian Navy (IN) with suspicion. The IN's sustained growth over the past few years has, in fact, become an excuse for the PN to push for its own development and expansion of assets. In an article written for a Pakistan daily in May 2012, Tauqir Naqvi, a retired Vice Admiral of the PN, suggested that the 'hegemonic' elements of the Indian Navy's maritime strategy have been the main drivers of the resurgence of the Pakistan Navy. The article, when read closely, is a dead give-away of Pakistan's real ambitions with regard to nuclear weapons and nuclear submarines.

Naqvi writes extensively about India's strategic vision, characterising it as a "hegemonic" impulse that has led the IN to aim for control of the seas over an area extending from the Red Sea in the West to Fiji in the Pacific Ocean. While Pakistan, he contends, is a "peace-loving" nation, India has never been serious about developing friendly relations, fixated as it has been with the "idea of projecting power". Surprisingly, he showers Indian scientists and the IN with some unexpected, even if 'motivated' praise, by mentioning the sterling efforts of the Indian scientific community and shipyard workers in operationalising a strategic maritime capability. The complimentary references are, in effect, a none-too-disguised message to Pakistan's political leadership and mandarins in the defence ministry about the ineluctable need for Pakistan to buttress its own strategic arsenal with naval nuclear missiles and a nuclear submarine, without which, the PN can forget about countering the "evil designs" of the Indian Navy.

It is, however, Naqvi's references to India's two nuclear submarines—INS Chakra (SSN) and INS Arihant (SSBN)—that dispel all doubts about the real intentions behind the avidly rendered piece. Naqvi opines that the threat that the two nuclear platforms collectively pose to the security of Pakistan, is near-existential. It is the completion of the Triad (land, air and sea based nuclear weapons), he observes, that gives India the confidence to respond with nuclear weapons, even if it is made to absorb a first nuclear strike. INS Arihant is that crucial second strike capability which could give India the vital edge during a conflict. The SSBN, he concludes, is an essential component of a nuclear arsenal, one that Pakistan must singularly pursue.

However, in his enthusiasm to convince Pakistan's defence establishment about the need for a SSBN, Naqvi overstates his case when he mentions the "diplomatic advantage" that may accrue to India on account of its nuclear submarine. There is hardly any modern precedent of a nuclear submarine (by itself) being an effective instrument of 'diplomatic persuasion', as he suggests. Nor does it really help in negotiating with other states possessing similar capability, as cooperation and negotiation in the strategic realm has to do with 'bottom-line' naval capacities in securing maritime interests and an overlap in strategic interests. While maritime cooperation does lead to economic benefits, it is not on account of possessing a ballistic nuclear weapon submarine capability, which is purely for the purposes of strategic deterrence.

The Arihant is a significant addition to the Indian Navy's arsenal but it does not introduce a strategic imbalance in the India-Pakistan context, as India, by embracing a 'No First Use' doctrine, has already renounced the strategic advantage. The Arihant's introduction does not alter this basic reality and is unlikely to tilt the strategic balance drastically. If anything, it gives India a measure of greater confidence in securing its own maritime interests, which does not necessarily translate into overwhelming dominance of the Indian Ocean or greater vulnerability of Pakistan to India's strategic weapons.

Given India's territorial expanse and the spread of its nuclear weapon sites, even if Pakistan did get a nuclear missile capable submarine, it would not be able to neutralise India's broader nuclear weapon capability, with or without the Arihant. As regards the comparison of combat capabilities of conventional submarines and SSNs/SSBNs, it is well established that the former are not 'inferior' operational combat platforms merely on account of the absence of nuclear propulsion or nuclear weapons. Both these capabilities (though vital strategically) rarely come in handy in a tactical scenario. Admiral Naqvi again exaggerates his case by suggesting that the Pakistan Navy's conventional submarines would not be able to stand up to India's SSBN.

Interestingly, signs that the PN has been thinking seriously about nuclear submarines have been around for some time now. As early as in 2008, in an interview to a Pakistan daily, the then PN Chief, Admiral Noman Bashir, had said that Pakistan was quite capable of building a nuclear submarine and would do so "if required". Pakistan, he said, is a recognized nuclear power and if the government made a decision, the nation would develop a nuclear weapon. ➡



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In February 2012, Admiral Asif Sandhila, the present Chief of the PN, stated to the Pakistani media that the PN was mindful of India's plans to complete the sea-based arm of its nuclear triad, and was "taking necessary measures to restore the strategic balance" in the Indian Ocean region.

Questions, however, remain on Pakistan's capability to design and develop a sea-based nuclear missile. Even China, which is known to be helping Pakistan in its nuclear capabilities, does not possess a credible submarine-launched missile. The odds that Pakistan will succeed in developing its undersea nuclear ballistic missile without assistance from China are highly unfavourable. Even if it did manage to get an SSBN, it is not certain whether the Pakistan Navy will be in a position to undertake the responsibility of the nation's second-strike capability.

Therefore, the recent drive by PN's senior serving and retired naval officers to persuade the security establishment as well as the man on the street of the necessity of a nuclear submarine capability appears ill-founded, if not disingenuous. Outwardly, it may serve to create a sense of insecurity—vital in persuading politicians about the need for a new capability—but the manifest lack of strategic logic will eventually convince few.

Pakistan's naval leadership will also be aware of the risks and financial costs of developing and operating a nuclear submarine—the need to constantly refine equipment and train personnel; of razor-sharp communications and command and control systems; and the requirement of mastering safety procedures. In the final analysis the SSBN is not an asset if it is not mastered well and operated optimally. Merely possessing one offers no strategic advantages. □



The side of the PNS Zulfiqar, a Pakistan Navy frigate. This picture was taken during the ship's goodwill visit to Port Klang, Malaysia, in August 2009. | Credit: Wikimedia Commons





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## Civil Society Perspective

### Preventing Another Hiroshima

By REBECCA JOHNSON

Vice-chair the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons

[ICAN – August 6] Sixty-seven years ago, on August 6, the first uranium bomb was exploded above Hiroshima with the force of 15 thousand tons of TNT. Tens of thousands were killed by the blast and fireball that engulfed the city, and a similar number died of radiation sickness and injuries in the days and months that followed; in total 140,000 dead by 1945's end. Three days later, Nagasaki was shattered by a plutonium bomb. This was the same design that the United States had tested in the New Mexico desert three weeks earlier, causing the Manhattan Project's lead scientist Robert Oppenheimer to reflect that he had become a "destroyer of worlds". Over the next 40 years, the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (US, Soviet Union, Britain, France and China) amassed some 70,000 nuclear weapons with a combined explosive force of 15 million tons.



October this year will mark 50 years since the Cuban Missile Crisis, when Presidents Kennedy and Krushchev managed – by luck as much as judgment – to pull back from the brink of nuclear war. There were several more near misses caused by miscalculation and sabre-rattling, before civil society around the world created pressure that started a cascade of nuclear arms reductions and brought the Cold War to an end. Explaining why he reached out to US President Reagan to discuss nuclear disarmament in 1986-7, President Gorbachev has highlighted both the influence of the peace movement and the "nuclear winter" studies by US and Soviet scientists, which demonstrated that a Soviet-American nuclear war would cause planet-wide freezing and environmental devastation that could extinguish life on earth.

Twenty years after the Berlin Wall was pulled down, most people prefer to ignore the awful fact that thousands of nuclear weapons still endanger all life on Earth. Reading the media you might think the main problems are Iran's nuclear programme and the risk of nuclear terrorism. Iran doesn't actually have any nuclear weapons and Ayatollah Khamenei recently said they were "haraam" – religiously forbidden under Islam. Nonetheless, Iran's accelerating uranium enrichment and related nuclear and missile activities warrant concern, not least because near neighbours Pakistan, India and Israel do have nuclear weapons, and an Iranian nuclear weapons capability would change the Middle East, whether or not Tehran chose to weaponise.

Between them Israel, Pakistan and India could have 300-400 nuclear weapons, adding to almost 19,000 still held by the five nuclear-armed states recognised by the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). These arsenals – and the doctrines and operations attached to their deployment – are the threats we should worry most about. All-out nuclear war may be less likely now, but recent studies demonstrate that a regional nuclear war would cause global famine, jeopardising over a billion people.

The new "nuclear winter" studies update the 1980s research, examining the use of 100 Hiroshima-sized nuclear weapons on urban centres in India and Pakistan. This limited regional scenario (0.04 percent of the explosive power in today's arsenals) recognises the fallibility of deterrence and that suspicious neighbours could reproduce the risk factors that led to the Cuban Missile Crisis, including miscalculation, miscommunication, military escalation and, potentially, rogue commanders. Growing cyberwarfare capacities in many countries add an extra dimension of volatile danger to an explosive mix.

Millions of tons of sooty smoke would be propelled by the nuclear explosions into the upper atmosphere. Skies would darken, temperatures across the planet would fall by an average of 1.25 deg.C., and rainfall would be disrupted. In addition to widespread radioactive contamination, these climate effects would persist for a decade, with devastating consequences for agriculture and the health and life cycles of many species. In addition to the tens of millions that would die from the direct effects of nuclear detonations on South Asia's major cities, over one billion people around the world would be put at risk of death by starvation. Infectious epidemics and further conflict would exact an additional toll. ☹





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The Red Cross has determined that if nuclear weapons were used today, any attempts at responding or coping with the humanitarian needs of survivors would be utterly overwhelmed. These new climate and health studies demonstrate that a limited, regional nuclear war would have global health and humanitarian consequences on a scale never seen before, regardless of whether people live in a “nuclear-weapons-free zone”, such as cover Africa, Latin America, the Pacific and Central and South-East Asia.

As we remember the devastation wrought by two relatively small nuclear bombs in August 1945, we cannot afford to be complacent. Proliferation and nuclear threats will continue as long as some countries value and hold on to these most inhumane weapons of mass destruction. A treaty banning nuclear weapons is urgent, necessary and achievable, and negotiations on such a treaty should begin. Now. ☐

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## Bringing ICAN to Syria

By MATT CROPPER\*

ICAN Syria's Regional Campaigner Dr Ghassan Shahrour commenced work with ICAN in 2012 – taking his lifelong work as an activist in the Middle East to embrace the challenge of ridding the world of nuclear weapons.

Ghassan Shahrour has dedicated his entire adult life to helping the vulnerable and marginalized. Studying medicine in his youth, Dr Shahrour began volunteering in refugee camps in his homeland of Syria.

The experience brought him into contact with disabled children, sowing the seeds of a life's work that saw him found a community organization for the disabled, with a focus on rehabilitation, education and outreach.

Through this work, Dr Shahrour also discovered first-hand the brutality of war and its harrowing effects on refugee communities.

“I have seen the ugly face of war and its dangerous human, health, social and environmental impacts on people,” he says. “I have seen the ugly face of weapons in general and indiscriminate ones in particular.”

What he saw motivated Dr Shahrour to join the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, the Cluster Munition Coalition, and other disarmament, survival assistance and development organizations. He also organized a series of conferences on disarmament and human security.

Dr Shahrour became involved in ICAN with a desire to “protect the future of humanity”.

“The possession of nuclear weapons anywhere in the world constitutes a threat to people everywhere,” he says. He sees the enormous sums of money spent on maintaining the world's inventory of nuclear arms – estimated by Global Zero at US\$104.9 billion in 2011 alone – as an unjustifiable waste of resources.

“The cost of development and maintenance of nuclear weapons, if properly invested for the people of the world, could help achieve the Millennium Development Goals [and] ensure sustainable development,” he says.

Dr Shahrour sees his concerns reflected in the views of the communities he serves. “As a community worker on the ground, I know exactly what people need for their health, education, social services, and safety and security.”

Dr Shahrour is a passionate advocate for a comprehensive global nuclear weapons ban treaty. He says that realizing his vision for a more peaceful, stable, nuclear-free world must begin with people like him. ➔

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\*Matt Cropper is a University of Wollongong graduate in Communication/Media Studies (Journalism) and Arts. Based in Wollongong, Australia, he is sub-editor at 'Tertangala Magazine' and has studied journalism in France.



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“We need well-organized, knowledgeable, trained and dynamic campaigners to maximize the use of media to deliver clearly and strongly ICAN’s messages and goals.”

Dr Shahrour says that he and his fellow campaigners have an important role to play in promoting the establishment of a group of major states sharing the same disarmament vision as ICAN.

“We must also help to educate the public that a world free of nuclear weapons is necessary, feasible and urgent, not only to protect civilians and innocent people, as with the mine ban treaty and cluster munitions convention, but also to protect the present and future of humankind.

“We must take strong action against any state that violates the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) or states that expand their nuclear weapons arsenal. It is important to stigmatize the possession and development of nuclear weapons.”

Finally, Dr Shahrour calls on campaigners to pressure governments to make nuclear weapons a “hot, urgent issue”. This, he says, is the best path to opening negotiations on a comprehensive convention for the abolition of nuclear weapons.

In 2009, Dr Shahrour’s life-long work in support of banning antipersonnel mines and cluster munitions, as well as supporting people with disabilities to enjoy their full rights, was recognized when he received the International Star of Hope Award from the Centro Integral de Rehabilitación de Colombia (CIREC) and the Vice-President’s Office of Colombia.

However, despite growing recognition, Dr Shahrour’s work is never done, and has been made even more difficult by the civil unrest that has struck Syria since early 2011.

“The circumstances in Syria have limited our activities,” he concedes. “But we are still able to distribute some education materials on health, and women’s and children’s rights.”

Since 2011, Dr Shahrour has coordinated the newly established Arab Human Security Network. This new organization aims to promote the knowledge and skills of civil society on human security issues, including disarmament, women’s rights, health and education. □

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## **Experts at Defence Committee Warn of ‘Political Controversy’ Over Relocating Trident**

[CND – July 4] Trident faces public opposition whether or not it is forced out of Scotland, experts told the House of Commons Defence Committee yesterday, as they offered varying visions on the likely impact of Scottish independence on the future of Britain’s nuclear weapons system. The comments echoed the findings of a detailed report by CND on the lack of possible sites for relocation of Trident.

Malcolm Chalmers of the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) suggested that a potential site for Britain’s nuclear-armed submarines could be found, though it would cost billions, but that a location for the warheads would be exceedingly difficult and would cause ‘political controversy’.

He stated that the Faslane facilities (which currently house the submarines) could be replicated at HMNB Devonport (Plymouth) if ‘several billion’ pounds were spent, but that there would be ‘political controversy’ if the Ministry of Defence sought to replicate the Coulport warhead store along the coast at Falmouth. In particular he noted that the necessary safety requirements, planning applications and appeals it would face would make it difficult to build a new warhead store.

Lt Col Stuart Crawford argued that the only option would be for Westminster to effectively coerce an independent Scotland into allowing Trident to operate out of the Clyde bases until the end of their service. But he accepted this would be against the wishes of the Scottish government and its electorate and could only be achieved by threatening to make life difficult for a new Scottish administration. ➔



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Whether Scotland becomes independent or not, Trident faces significant opposition to remaining on the Clyde, while it is likely that any proposal to relocate the submarines elsewhere in England or Wales (a move which the MoD have previously discounted) would not only be economically disastrous but would face public opposition that would make such a move politically difficult.

Kate Hudson, General Secretary of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) stated: "The MoD is burying its head in the sand over the possible implications of Scottish independence – so at least the Defence Committee has realised that this situation requires a serious reassessment of the future of Trident. However, CND's concern is that even when faced with overwhelming economic, strategic and logistical arguments against Trident, the government will attempt to cling on to its blind commitment to remaining a nuclear weapons state. This flies in the face of public opinion – the majority of which is opposed to spending such exorbitant sums on a Cold War weapons system at a time of brutal cuts to public services." □

The author of this report is John Ainslie, who was also due to be called to the Defence Committee to give evidence.



A Trident II missile fires its first stage SRB after an underwater launch from a Royal Navy





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# NO TO TRIDENT REPLACEMENT Yes to a Nuclear Weapons Convention

Nuclear weapons are weapons of mass destruction. They kill indiscriminately on a colossal scale, both from the immediate explosion and from radioactive fallout, having an impact for generations to come. In 1996, the International Court of Justice declared that to use, or threaten to use, nuclear weapons is illegal in almost all conceivable circumstances. Yet no legislation currently outlaws these weapons. Legally-binding, international agreements to ban other weapons of mass destruction such as chemical and biological weapons have already been agreed. It is vital for the security of our world that a similar agreement, a Nuclear Weapons Convention, to ban nuclear weapons is negotiated. Without this, nuclear proliferation and nuclear weapons use are ever-increasing dangers. Now is the time to outlaw nuclear weapons worldwide.

### The Nuclear Weapons Convention

The nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) (1970) requires both nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. Until recently, it has been relatively successful in terms of non-proliferation – at the time the Treaty was introduced there was widespread fear that dozens of countries would pursue nuclear weapons, and this has not happened. But there has been little success in achieving progress on disarmament and this failure is now increasing the danger of proliferation. To deal with this problem, in 1997 a draft treaty for the abolition of nuclear weapons

**'The abolition of nuclear weapons is essential for human survival and sustainability; the current situation of planned indefinite retention of their nuclear weapons by the NWS [nuclear weapon states] feeds proliferation, is unstable, dangerous and unsustainable.'**

*Searing our Survival (SOS) The Case for a Nuclear Weapons Convention, 2007*



Over 340,000 people died and generations were poisoned as a result of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki

was drawn up by an international team of legal, scientific, disarmament and negotiation experts. This model Nuclear Weapons Convention was submitted by Costa Rica to the United Nations for discussion. Unlike the NPT, the Convention provides a concrete framework to accomplish a nuclear weapons-free world with practical detail on difficult issues such as verification and inspection.

### Why we need to ban nuclear weapons

A nuclear weapon has the capacity to indiscriminately kill hundreds of thousands of men, women and children – we know this from the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. There are over

### Nuclear Weapons Convention

#### General obligations

The Model Nuclear Weapons Convention prohibits development, testing, production, stockpiling, transfer, use, and threat of use of nuclear weapons. States possessing nuclear weapons will be required to destroy their arsenals according to a series of phases. The Convention also prohibits the production of weapons-usable fissile material and requires delivery vehicles to be destroyed or converted to make them non-nuclear capable.

#### Phases for elimination

The Convention outlines a series of five phases for the elimination of nuclear weapons:

1. take nuclear weapons off alert,
2. remove weapons from deployment,
3. remove nuclear warheads from their delivery vehicles,
4. disable the warheads, removing and disfiguring the 'pits' and
5. place the fissile material under international control.

In the initial phases, the U.S. and Russia are required to make the deepest cuts in their nuclear arsenals.



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27,000 nuclear weapons in the world today – more than enough to completely destroy our planet many times over. The US and Russia hold 95% of them. Nuclear weapons make the world a much less secure place. Whether by accident or intention there is always the danger they will be used. They are extremely expensive, and no use whatsoever in tackling the real threats facing our world today, such as terrorism, climate change, disease and poverty. In the UK alone the Trident nuclear weapons system costs more than £1.5 billion every year just to run and a proposed replacement system will cost us more than £76 billion to acquire and run – money that would make a substantial difference in other areas such as tackling carbon emissions, healthcare and education.

### Other indiscriminate weapons

International treaties have already banned other weapons of mass destruction and other categories of indiscriminate weapons. Land mines also indiscriminately injure and kill civilians and combatants alike but an international Mine Ban Treaty entered into force in 1999. Other weapons of mass destruction have been banned by the Biological Weapons Convention (1975) and the Chemical Weapons Convention (1997). Enough political will means negotiations can be concluded quite rapidly. The Chemical Weapons Convention required ten years of negotiations to build up confidence in the treaty and its verification processes. The Mine Ban Treaty was negotiated in just a year.

### Widespread support for a nuclear-weapons free world

Fortunately, although there are many nuclear weapons in the world, there are only nine states in the world that possess them: the five officially declared nuclear weapon states (all signatories to the NPT) the United States, Russia, Britain, France and China, and four more states, Israel, India, Pakistan and North Korea, which have developed nuclear weapons outside the NPT. 39 states have the capacity to develop nuclear weapons, through their possession of nuclear power technology or research reactors, but have chosen not to.

Large parts of the world, including South East Asia, the South Pacific, Latin America, central Asia and Africa, are now covered by treaties declaring them nuclear weapon-free zones.

**In a recent YouGov opinion poll, 64% of the UK population said the government should support a Nuclear Weapons Convention.**

In recent years there have been increasing calls for a Nuclear Weapons Convention. In a recent YouGov opinion poll, 64% of the UK population said the government should support a Nuclear Weapons Convention. In 2006, 125 out of 181 governments voted in the UN General Assembly for negotiations to commence immediately, including nuclear-armed China, India and Pakistan.



### The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN)

The demand for a Convention is being pursued by civil society organisations, as well as states. ICAN is a new international campaign to promote the Nuclear Weapons Convention. Initiated by the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), ICAN was launched at the 2007 NPT Preparatory Committee meeting in Vienna. CND has joined with Medact – the British section of IPPNW – to launch the campaign in the UK, which is now supported by an increasing number of organisations. Many other groups all over the world are launching the campaign in their own countries, with particular support from Mayors for Peace. A revised Nuclear Weapons Convention with an updated report *Securing our Survival (SOS): The Case for a Nuclear Weapons Convention* was submitted by Costa Rica and Malaysia to the recent NPT PrepCom.

### Negotiations must start now

The UK government has recently reaffirmed its commitment to multilateral nuclear disarmament through good faith negotiations as required by the NPT. To honour its commitments CND calls on the government to cancel any preparations for a new nuclear weapons system to replace Trident after 2024 and to work to progress multilateral negotiations with the aim of achieving implementation of a Nuclear Weapons Convention by 2020.



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## Translations | Adaptations

### Govts Boost Nukes While Cutting Aid, Social Services

#### ARABIC

<http://www.ipsinternational.org/arabic/nota.asp?idnews=2628>

#### GERMAN

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=720:atomwaffenprogramme-zu-lasten-der-sozialtats-kuerzung-gefordert-&catid=5:german&Itemid=6](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=720:atomwaffenprogramme-zu-lasten-der-sozialtats-kuerzung-gefordert-&catid=5:german&Itemid=6)

#### JAPANESE

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=721:govts-boost-nukes-while-cutting-aid-social-services-japanese&catid=2:japanese-korean&Itemid=3](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=721:govts-boost-nukes-while-cutting-aid-social-services-japanese&catid=2:japanese-korean&Itemid=3)

援助と社会保障を削り、核兵器予算を増やす各国政府

【国連IPS＝ハイダー・リツヴィ】

国連の主導する軍縮問題に関する協議が7月23日にジュネーブで再開されるなか、核備蓄維持の予算を減らし、その分を開発予算に回すよう核兵器国に求める声が大きくなっている。

米国に拠点を置く「核時代平和財団」のデイビッド・クリーガー代表は、「核兵器に依存し続けること自体が意味を成さないように、核兵器に費やされている資金にも意味がない」とIPSの取材に対して語った。

このコメントは、国連加盟国193ヶ国中9ヶ国だけが、核兵器を削減するとの公約にも関わらず、核兵器の維持と近代化にあてる予算を増やし続けている事実を示唆している。

独立系機関の推計によると、昨年、核兵器国は1050億ドルを関連の予算に当てた。米国だけでも610億ドルを費やしている。

米国を拠点とした軍縮を訴えるグループ「グローバル・ゼロ」によれば、2011年、ロシアは149億ドル、中国は76億ドル、フランスは60億ドル、英国は55億ドルをそれぞれ核兵器に費やした。

### Will Austerity Prompt Nuclear Disarmament?

#### ARABIC

<http://www.ipsinternational.org/arabic/nota.asp?idnews=2614>

#### JAPANESE

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=717:will-austerity-prompt-nuclear-disarmament-japanese&catid=2:japanese-korean&Itemid=3](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=717:will-austerity-prompt-nuclear-disarmament-japanese&catid=2:japanese-korean&Itemid=3)

### Analysts Say Nuclear Talks Should Continue Despite Sabre-Rattling


#### JAPANESE

[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=715:analysts-say-nuclear-talks-should-continue-despite-sabre-rattling-japanese&catid=2:japanese-korean&Itemid=3](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=715:analysts-say-nuclear-talks-should-continue-despite-sabre-rattling-japanese&catid=2:japanese-korean&Itemid=3) □



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## TOWARD A WORLD WITHOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS

2012 Report of the Joint Media Project

Conducted by Inter Press Service (IPS) and Soka Gakkai International (SGI) in cooperation with Media Network of Global Cooperation Council



[http://www.nuclearabolition.net/documents/Toward\\_a\\_World\\_without\\_Nuclear\\_Weapons\\_2012.pdf](http://www.nuclearabolition.net/documents/Toward_a_World_without_Nuclear_Weapons_2012.pdf)

Visit [www.nuclearabolition.net](http://www.nuclearabolition.net)

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