

# BEYOND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

## 2015 IS CRUCIAL FOR A NUCLEAR WEAPON FREE WORLD

NEWSLETTER FOR STRENGTHENING AWARENESS OF NUCLEAR ABOLITION | WITH JULY 2015 ARTICLES

### In-Depth Reports

#### **Pacific Island Countries Want a World Without Nuclear Weapons**



SYDNEY - As political conflicts magnify in the Middle East and North Africa with the spectre of brutal violence from terrorist organisations like ISIS, and the Ukraine crisis reignites the Cold War between the United States, its NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organisation] allies and Russia; it is imperative that nuclear-armed and non-nuclear states together work for total elimination of nuclear weapons. ➔ Pages 2-3-4-5

#### **Security Council Defies U.S. Lawmakers by Voting on Iran Nuke Deal**

UNITED NATIONS - When all 15 members of the Security Council raised their collective hands to unanimously vote in favour of the nuclear agreement with Iran, they were also defying a cabal of right-wing conservative U.S. politicians who wanted the United Nations to defer its vote until the U.S. Congress makes its own decision on the pact. ➔ Pages 6-7-8

#### **The Myths About the Nuclear Deal With Iran**



The single biggest misunderstanding about the nuclear agreement with Iran is that it is a bilateral deal with the United States. Not true.

The agreement involved the U.N.'s five big powers, namely, the United States, Britain, France, China and Russia, plus Germany (P5+1).

But still, right-wing conservatives and U.S. legislators want to dissect and delegitimise an international agreement, whose clauses include the phased removal of U.N. sanctions on Iran.

The Security Council, where the P5 have veto powers, will meet next week to adopt a resolution and thereby give its blessings to the agreement. ➔ Pages 9-10-11

### What Others Say

#### **Iran's Secret 200-Year Strategy by NILE GREEN**

Hidden behind the hundreds of stories in recent months about the negotiations with Iran lies a basic process obscured by the talk of diplomacy and deals: the transfer of technology. Two hundred years ago this summer, Iran was engaged in a parallel set of talks with the Western powers about its right to acquire the latest scientific and military expertise. ➔ Pages 12-13

#### **Why Americans Believe that Bombing Hiroshima was Necessary by DR. GARY G. KOHLS**

August 6, 2015, is the 70th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, a civilian city that had minimal military value, despite the claims of President Truman when he announced the event to the American people. The whole truth of what the Nuremberg tribunal would later help define as an international war crime and a crime against humanity has been heavily censored and mythologized . . . ➔ Pages 14-19

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## Pacific Island Countries Want a World Without Nuclear Weapons

By NEENA BHANDARI



Marshall Islands' Minister for Foreign Affairs, Tony de Brum at the UN Climate Talks in 2013  
Credit: [themicronesiachallenge.blogspot.com](http://themicronesiachallenge.blogspot.com)

SYDNEY (IDN) - As political conflicts magnify in the Middle East and North Africa with the spectre of brutal violence from terrorist organisations like ISIS, and the Ukraine crisis reignites the Cold War between the United States, its NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organisation] allies and Russia; it is imperative that nuclear-armed and non-nuclear states together work for total elimination of nuclear weapons. The risk of use of nuclear weapons, by deliberation or accident, leading to total annihilation looms large more than ever before.

Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Island countries have been at the forefront of global efforts to implement the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which represents the only binding multilateral commitment to the goal of complete disarmament by the nuclear-weapon states. But the Ninth Review Conference of the NPT, from April 27 to May 22, which has three main pillars – non-proliferation, disarmament and peaceful uses of nuclear energy – overwhelmingly reflected the views and interests of the nuclear-armed states and some of their nuclear-dependent allies. ➡

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So while the 2015 Review Conference was a step backward from the 2010 Review Conference in nuclear-armed states' commitment to disarmament, it was also a move forward as non-nuclear states steered ahead for disarmament with the signing of the Humanitarian Pledge put forward by Austria. As of July 14, 113 states had signed the Pledge, which commits signatories to work for a new legally binding instrument for the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons for their unacceptable humanitarian consequences.

The Humanitarian Pledge has been signed by 10 Pacific Island states - Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu with the exception of Tonga and the Federated States of Micronesia. From 1956 to 1996, the Pacific island countries were unwilling victims of nuclear weapons testing by the U.S, the U.K and France.

The Republic of Marshall Islands' (RMI) Minister for Foreign Affairs, Tony de Brum, was nine years old in March 1954, when while fishing with his grandfather near the Likiep atoll, he had seen "the ocean, the fish, and the sky turn red following a sudden intense flash that lit the pre-dawn sky and caused a terrifying shock wave". They were 200 miles from ground zero and he can never erase the memory of that fateful day.

RMI has been a strong advocate of nuclear disarmament, highlighting the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of use of nuclear weapons. Between 1946 and 1958, the Marshall Islands sustained significant damage and radiological contamination from 67 U.S. atmospheric nuclear weapons tests. In a landmark case, it has used its history of people suffering displacement, death, and continued health impacts to take the nuclear weapons states to the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

De Brum told IDN, "It is time for the non-nuclear states to work together to achieve a new treaty to prohibit and eliminate nuclear weapons. The evidence has been convincing that the nuclear-armed countries, despite their legal obligations, are not prepared at this point to lead the way. Instead, they believe that they have special rights, which they do not, to base their own security on nuclear possession, nuclear threats and potentially nuclear use. In doing so, these countries are undermining their own security as well as the common security of all states and all people".

Someone, who participated in the early Pacific-wide protest movement against nuclear weapons testing and militarisation of the Pacific region, Fiji-based Vanessa Griffen (photo right) says, "In the Pacific, we have collectively experienced the known and unknown consequences of nuclear weapons use, the push by non-nuclear states for a ban on nuclear weapons is the only sensible, humane and responsible course of action to take. Nuclear weapons states should be regarded, collectively, as lawless and flouting international humanitarian standards".

Griffen has been a representative of FemLINKPacific, a feminist Pacific women's media organisation and partner member of International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) and the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC). She says, "Pacific Island states, with an unusually high experiential qualification for speaking up for nuclear disarmament, are a significant number in the United Nations and should use their statehood collectively and effectively on this global issue of nuclear disarmament".



NPT was indefinitely extended in 1995. Its Article VIII provides that the Treaty be reviewed every five years. The five-yearly review process was to ensure that nuclear-armed states will pursue disarmament as a matter of policy, but in the past five years the nuclear-armed states have pursued costly programmes to modernise their arsenals. ➡

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The key findings in the 2015 Yearbook of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), which assesses the current state of armaments, disarmament and international security, show that “all the nuclear weapon-possessing states are working to develop new nuclear weapon systems and/or upgrade their existing ones”. At the start of 2015, nine states – the U.S, Russia, the U.K, France, China, India, Pakistan, Israel and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK or North Korea) – possessed approximately 15,850 nuclear weapons, of which 4300 were deployed with operational forces.

Australia doesn’t possess nuclear weapons, but it subscribes to the doctrine of extended

nuclear deterrence under the U.S alliance, which is seen as key to Australia’s national security. Australia has not signed the Humanitarian Pledge. As a spokesperson for the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) told IDN, “We need to create an environment where all countries, including the nuclear-armed states and those who rely on their nuclear umbrellas, believe themselves to be more secure without nuclear weapons”.

Peace, justice and environmental activists, faith-based and civil society organisations, scientific and medical experts, and United Nations agencies have been calling for negotiations to begin immediately on the elimination of nuclear weapons under strict and effective international control.

### **Deeply immoral**

ICAN’s Australia Director Tim Wright, who attended the Ninth Review Conference in New York says, “Throughout the review conference, Australia dragged its feet on disarmament, maintaining that the use of nuclear weapons is legitimate and necessary under certain circumstances. This stance is, in my view, deeply immoral. But I remain hopeful that, sooner or later, the Australian government will join the international mainstream in rejecting nuclear weapons outright. That is what the Australian people expect and demand”. ☹

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The landmark nuclear deal signed by the U.S, Russia, the U.K, France, China and Germany with Iran raises new hopes for disarmament. Realising where self-interest lies can change anything in geo-politics. Iran went from being an arch-enemy, almost militarily invaded by the U.S, to a country that the U.S and others had to deal with more respectfully over the matter of Iraq and ISIS.

In October last year, the Australian Defence Minister David Johnston even said that Australian commandos could work alongside Iranian forces because of what he said was a common interest in stopping ISIS.

Nuclear weapons are a common threat to all of us and cooperation, even with “enemies”, is possible”, Member of the Board of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Dr Sue Wareham (photo right) told IDN, adding that “Even Israel must realise that its own nuclear arsenal is a liability, as it is a provocation for other nations in the region to consider acquiring their own”.

Over the last five years, humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons have been the most active area of progress in disarmament diplomacy. New Zealand, as chair of the New Agenda Coalition (NAC), was principally responsible for drafting Working Paper 9, which lays out the possible pathways forward for a legal mechanism to implement the nuclear disarmament obligations in NPT Article VI.

Lyndon Burford, a PhD student in International Relations at the University of Auckland, New Zealand says, “New Zealand insists that such discussion is essential, and urgently needed, but that before it has taken place, it would be premature to select one legal framework over any other. NGOs, however, question why New Zealand has not endorsed the Humanitarian Pledge. The failure to endorse the pledge is particularly puzzling given that the rest of the New Agenda Coalition has endorsed it, and that New Zealand has played such a leading role in the humanitarian consequences initiative”.

One of the major obstacles in the total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons has been the nuclear-armed states’ two set of rules: one for themselves and the other for everyone else. Wareham says, “But a less-recognised impediment is the role played by U.S allies such as Australia, who quietly urge their great ally to maintain its nuclear arsenal while trying to keep up the facade of being at the forefront of disarmament. If a close U.S ally broke ranks and refused “protection” by nuclear weapons, the impact could be enormous”.

Over four decades after the NPT came into force, roughly 1800 nuclear weapons are kept in a state of high operational alert.

As Professor Ramesh Thakur, Director, Centre for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament of Australian National University’s Crawford School of Public Policy says, “Perhaps, the NPT has passed its use by date and the world needs to transition to a post-NPT era without endangering the existing global nuclear order that is firmly anchored in the NPT. While non-proliferation obligations are binding, verifiable and enforceable under the NPT, disarmament obligations are not. Three conferences have been held to date on the humanitarian impacts of nuclear weapons, which might point the way to a post-NPT nuclear-weapon-free order now supported by 159 countries”.

Prof. Thakur suggests three options: “First, ban any use of nuclear weapons as it violates the very core of international humanitarian law; secondly, the overwhelming majority of non-nuclear countries could act on their own to ban the possession as well as use of nuclear weapons; and thirdly, the best but most challenging option would be the negotiation of a nuclear weapons convention (NWC) on the lines of conventions banning biological and chemical weapons.” [IDN-InDepthNews – 22 July 2015] ◆



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## Security Council Defies U.S. Lawmakers by Voting on Iran Nuke Deal

By THALIF DEEN



The Security Council | UN Photo

UNITED NATIONS (IPS) - When all 15 members of the Security Council raised their collective hands to unanimously vote in favour of the nuclear agreement with Iran, they were also defying a cabal of right-wing conservative U.S. politicians who wanted the United Nations to defer its vote until the U.S. Congress makes its own decision on the pact.

By U.N. standards, in a relatively early morning nine a.m. vote on July 20, the Security Council gave its blessings to the international agreement crafted by its five permanent members – the United States, Britain, France, China and Russia, plus Germany (P5+1) – which was finalised in Vienna on July 14 after months of protracted negotiations.

Stephen Zunes, professor of politics and Coordinator of Middle Eastern Studies at the University of San Francisco, told IPS the United States is the only one of the seven signatory countries (P5+1 and Iran) where there is serious opposition to the agreement, which a broad cross-section of strategic analysts worldwide recognise as the best realistically possible. ➔

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“Some people just can’t accept the fact that we are in an increasingly pluralistic and complex world in which the United States simply cannot assert its will whenever and wherever it feels like,” he added.

Successful negotiations require compromises from both sides rather than simply capitulation by one side, said Zunes, who has written extensively on the politics of the Security Council.

U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, one of the prime negotiators of the agreement, responded to demands by some U.S. Congressmen that the United States should take political and diplomatic precedence over the United Nations – even on an agreement that was international, not bilateral.

“It’s presumptuous of some people to suspect that France, Russia, China, Germany and Britain ought to do what the (U.S.) Congress tells them to do,” he said during a TV interview.

“They have the right to have a vote,” he said, “but we prevailed on them to delay the implementation of that vote out of respect for our Congress, so we wouldn’t be jamming them,” Kerry added.

According to the New York Times, Senator Bob Corker, Republican of Tennessee, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and Senator Benjamin Cardin of Maryland, a ranking Democrat on the panel, sent a joint letter to President Barack Obama on July 16 asking him to postpone the Security Council vote until the U.S. Congress has taken its own decision.

Norman Solomon, executive director of the Washington-based Institute for Public Accuracy, told IPS “it’s often a difficult concept to get across to many members of Congress, but the U.S. government can’t run the world — and sometimes official Washington can’t even run the U.N. Security Council.”

This comes as a shock, or at least an affront, to Republicans and quite a few Democrats on Capitol Hill who may never use the word hegemony but fervently believe that the U.S. is a light unto all nations and should not hide that light under such a dubious bushel as international law, he pointed out.

“In this case, it’s hard to know whether to laugh or scream at the dangerous U.S. congressional arrogance that is seeking to upend the Iran deal,” said Solomon, who is also founder and coordinator of RootsAction.org, an online action group with some 600,000 active supporters.

Historically, U.S. government policies have been responsible for a great deal of nuclear proliferation in the world, he said.

“Washington still won’t officially acknowledge that Israel now possesses nuclear weapons, and U.S. leaders have turned aside from any and all proposals to seek a nuclear-weapons-free zone in the Middle East,” said Solomon.

On July 20, the 28-member European Union (EU) also approved the Iran nuclear deal paving the way for the lifting of Europe’s economic sanctions against Tehran.

“It is a balanced deal that means Iran won’t get an atomic bomb,” said French Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius. “It is a major political deal.” The permanent representative of Britain to the United Nations, Ambassador Matthew Rycroft, expressed similar sentiments when he said “the world is now a safer place in the knowledge that Iran cannot now build a nuclear bomb.” ☺

*Photo: Stephen Zunes, professor of politics and Coordinator of Middle Eastern Studies at the University of San Francisco.*

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Solomon (photo left) told IPS the United States is among the leading countries that have promulgated commercial nuclear power in dozens of nations, steadfastly denying the reality that nuclear energy for electricity generation is a major pathway for the development of nuclear weapons.

“We have seen no acknowledgement of this fact in Washington’s high places, let alone steps to move the world away from such dangerous nuclear-power extravaganzas,” he said.

The Iran nuclear agreement now on the table is one of the few big diplomatic achievements that the Obama administration can legitimately claim some credit for, he argued.

But many of the most chauvinistic forces in Washington, he noted, are now doing their best to undermine it.

“In the context of the United Nations, as well as in political arenas of the United States, this dynamic should be fully recognised for what it is — a brazen attempt by, frankly, warmongers in the U.S. Congress to rescue their hopes for war with Iran from the jaws of a peaceful solution.”

After the vote, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon said Security Council Resolution 2231, adopted July 20, will ensure the enforcement of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) on the Iran nuclear agreement.

He said it establishes procedures that will facilitate the JCPOA’s implementation, enabling all States to carry out their obligations contained in the Agreement.

“The resolution provides for the eventual removal of all nuclear-related sanctions against Iran. It guarantees that the International Atomic Energy Agency will continue to verify Iran’s compliance with its nuclear-related commitments under the JCPOA.”

The United Nations, he assured, stands ready to provide whatever assistance is required in giving effect to the resolution.

Zunes told IPS as nuclear treaties between the United States and the Soviets demonstrated, you can be geopolitical rivals and strongly oppose the other’s system of government and still recognise there is such a thing as a win/win solution on arms control.

Most agreements regarding nuclear weapons have required reciprocity, but none of Iran’s nuclear-armed neighbours — Israel, Pakistan, or India — will be required to eliminate or reduce their weapons or become open to inspections despite the fact that they continue to be in violation of U.N. Security Council resolutions regarding their nuclear programmes, he added.

And none of the other nuclear powers, including five of the six nations that led the negotiations, will be required to reduce their arsenals either.

“Any notion that Iran could somehow be gaining an unfair advantage through this agreement is utterly absurd,” declared Zunes. (IPS | 20 July 2015) ◆

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EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Federica Mogherini with with Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif and American Secretary of State John Kerry at the Palais Coburg Hotel, the venue of the nuclear talks in Vienna, Austria on July 9, 2015. Credit: European External Action Service

UNITED NATIONS (IPS) - The single biggest misunderstanding about the nuclear agreement with Iran is that it is a bilateral deal with the United States. Not true.

The agreement involved the U.N.'s five big powers, namely, the United States, Britain, France, China and Russia, plus Germany (P5+1).

But still, right-wing conservatives and U.S. legislators want to dissect and delegitimise an international agreement, whose clauses include the phased removal of U.N. sanctions on Iran.

The Security Council, where the P5 have veto powers, will meet next week to adopt a resolution and thereby give its blessings to the agreement.

But pro-Israeli groups and some members of the U.S. Congress want it delayed, arguing the United States should take political precedence over the United Nations.

At a press conference, Wendy Sherman, U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs and a member of the U.S. negotiating team, told reporters: "Well, the way that the U.N. Security Council resolution is structured, there is an interim period of 60 to 90 days that I think will accommodate the congressional review."

And it would have been a little difficult, she said, "when all of the members of the P5+1 wanted to go to the United Nations to get an endorsement of this since it is a product of the United Nations process, for us to say, 'Well, excuse me, the world, you should wait for the United States Congress.'" ↻

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“The proof of the Iran nuclear deal will be in its results,” Dr Rebecca Johnson, director of the Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy and member of Princeton University’s International Panel on Fissile Materials, told IPS.

“I’ve spent time talking with American and Iranian scientists, diplomats and also human rights defenders. None of us is naive about the hurdles still to be overcome, and yet we are convinced this agreement is a positive step forward – and much better than more years of stalemate and hostility,” she added.

“But we also have to be honest that preventing nuclear proliferation and promoting human rights doesn’t stop with that. We welcome that Iran was one of 112 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) states parties to sign the humanitarian pledge initiated by Vienna this year, to ‘fill the legal gap for the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons’.”

Dr Johnson said “multilateral negotiations to ban nuclear weapons as well as efforts to rid the

Middle East of all nuclear and weapons of mass destruction (WMD) have to keep going forward if we want to avoid further proliferation and nuclear threats in the future.”

Responding to the strong negative reactions from Israel, Hillel Schenker, Co-Editor, Palestine-Israel Journal, told IPS that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu seems to think the deal between the global powers and Iran is “the end of the world.”

His house organ, the Yisrael Hayom freebie, financed by the right-wing Las Vegas-based casino magnate Sheldon Adelson, who is active on both the Israeli and American political playing fields, greeted the deal with the headline “An Eternally Disgraceful Deal”.

The leaders of the opposition, on the other hand, have declared that the agreement is a “bad deal”, only criticising Netanyahu for ruining Israel’s relationship with U.S. President Barack Obama and the U.S. government.

“What we are actually witnessing however is the failure of Netanyahu’s policy of fear, and the triumph of President Obama’s policy of hope,” Schenker added.

He also said, “Netanyahu was nurtured in a home dominated by his father, the late Prof. Benzion Netanyahu, whose analysis of the Spanish Inquisition led him to conclude that no matter what we, the Jews and the Israelis, do, the whole world will continue to be against us, and we can only rely on ourselves.”

This approach, he argued, is totally contrary to the approach of the founding fathers of modern Zionism, all of whom understood the importance of creating alliances with global powers.

Dr M.V. Ramana, a physicist and lecturer at Princeton University’s Programme on Science and Global Security and the Nuclear Futures Laboratory, told IPS the confrontation with Iran has been built up with very little evidence open to the public, allowing for all kinds of claims to be made.

“I hope that this deal will put an end to such Iran-bashing. In any case, I think the deal is an important step in the right direction,” he said. “Sticking this non-proliferation pudding back in the oven at a higher heat is more likely to get us all burned.” ☺

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The next step is for all the countries in the region to accept the same nuclear limitations as Iran – in particular, Israel, he added.

“It is high time the international community turned its attention to Israel and demand that the country eliminate its nuclear arsenal and the nuclear facilities that allow it to manufacture nuclear weapons,” said Dr Ramana, author of “The Power of Promise: Examining Nuclear Energy in India” and a member of the Science and Security Board of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists and the International Panel on Fissile Materials.

Dr Johnson told IPS that negotiations, like baking, involve craft as well as science – getting the timing as well as the ingredients right is crucial. She said diplomatic persistence made the time right for this deal to be brokered, but Americans, Israelis, Iranians, Arabs, Europeans and the rest of the world have to commit to going forward or it won’t succeed.

“Beware of American and Israeli politicians and commentators who claim this agreement will enable Iran to acquire nuclear weapons, or that if the U.S. Congress rejects the deal, more negotiations will deliver a better one,” she warned. “Sticking this non-proliferation pudding back in the oven at a higher heat is more likely to get us all burned.”

She said such erroneous claims just feed into the hard-line minority in Iran – rump factions close to former Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad – that would also benefit if this deal is rejected.

“I don’t think those commentators are so naive that they actually believe their criticisms of the deal. They don’t want Iran to come in from the cold because – for whatever political or financial reasons of their own – they have a vested interest in stoking outdated rivalries and continuing to demonise and isolate Iran.”

She also said sanctions are a blunt instrument of coercion, usually causing most harm to the most vulnerable – women and children – and playing into authoritarian cliques who want to suppress human rights and democracy. “It will be a tragic lost opportunity if these U.S. and Iranian hard-liners succeed in derailing this constructive nuclear agreement,” she declared.

Schenker told IPS said Netanyahu’s entire political career has been based on fear-mongering, and the need for “a strong leader” to confront the dangers.

In the recent election, this was typified by his last minute declaration that “the (Israeli) Arabs are going to the polling stations in droves, being bused-in by left-wingers.”

But during his past three terms, the ultimate source of fear was the threat of the Iranian bomb, which was picturesquely presented at the U.N. General Assembly session two years ago, and with his speech before U.S. Congress last year.

The headline in today’s Ma’ariv daily (Friday, June 17), is that “47 percent of the Israeli public favour a military attack on Iran following the signing of the agreement”, despite the fact that virtually the entire leadership of the Israeli military and security establishment is opposed to such an attack.

The survey results are clearly the product of the fears generated by Netanyahu and his allies, and much of the mainstream media commentators. However, alternative, calmer voices are also being heard, Schenker noted.

Many Israeli observers wonder why Netanyahu thinks he can still go against the entire international community, with the aid of his Republican allies in the U.S., given that they have no chance to overturn a presidential veto of any obstructionist resolution that they may pass.

As President Clinton once said after his first meeting with Netanyahu back in 1996, “Who does he think he is? Who’s the superpower here?” (IPS | 17 July 2015) ◆

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# BEYOND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

## 2015 IS CRUCIAL FOR A NUCLEAR WEAPON FREE WORLD

NEWSLETTER FOR STRENGTHENING AWARENESS OF NUCLEAR ABOLITION | WITH JULY 2015 ARTICLES

### What Others Say

#### Iran's Secret 200-Year Strategy

By NILE GREEN\*

<http://www.nationalinterest.org/feature/irans-secret-200-year-strategy-13460>



Credit: Wikimedia/Asemi

Hidden behind the hundreds of stories in recent months about the negotiations with Iran lies a basic process obscured by the talk of diplomacy and deals: the transfer of technology.

Two hundred years ago this summer, Iran was engaged in a parallel set of talks with the Western powers about its right to acquire the latest scientific and military expertise. It was not nuclear technology that was at stake in the summer of 1815. Rather, it was the new military-industrial techniques that in the previous half century had seen European armies rapidly and orderly fire their way across former Muslim kingdoms from India to Egypt. The Middle Eastern powers who witnessed this saw the transfer of Western technologies as their only hope of security. Having been ravaged by Russia from 1804 to 1813, Iran had particular reason to be fearful. ☞

\* Nile Green is Professor of History and Director of the UCLA Program on Central Asia. He is the author of a book on Iran's earlier technology transfers, *The Love of Strangers: What Six Muslim Students Learned in Jane Austen's London* (Princeton, 2015).

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But as the lone Shiite state in the region, her long-term enemies were her Muslim neighbors. The Ottoman, Mughal and Hotaki rulers of what is now Syria/Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan had all waged war against Iran's "heretic" Shiites.

Two hundred years ago, the Middle East was seeing a rapid rise of new powers. The French had invaded Egypt, the British were laying waste to the Muslim kingdoms of India and Russia was tearing off chunks of Ottoman territory. The Ottoman Empire was splintering as its own former strongman Muhammad Ali seized power in Egypt and invaded Syria while fundamentalist Wahhabis seized the holy cities of Arabia. Then as now, Iran was caught in the midst of this turmoil, as fearful of her Muslim neighbors as she was of Europe.

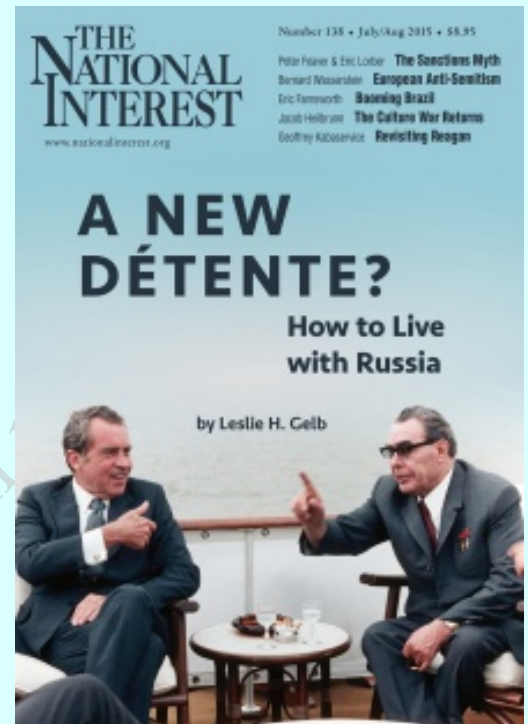
This regional context was crucial to deliberations between Iranian and European diplomats of the period over how much access Iran should be given to the new sciences and their potential military uses. Today, Iran when looks at the nuclear powers on its doorstep in Pakistan and Israel, it recognizes well the role of technology transfer in their empowerment, diplomatic as much as military. In the 1810s, it looked to its similarly hostile Ottoman neighbor and imitated their policy of acquiring the latest European military sciences. They called this *nizam-i jadid*, or "new order."

Then as now, what raised those local rivalries and imitations to global importance was the interests of the Western powers. In 2015 it is the rise of "Islamic State" that has led the United States to negotiate with Iran. In the years leading up to 1815, it was the French and Russian thirst for conquest that made British diplomats parley with Iran.

Connecting these negotiations across the centuries is the interplay between Iran's diplomatic resourcefulness as a regional partner and the transfer of technology from Europe to the Middle East. The latest negotiations did not begin in September 2013 with President Obama's phone call to President Rouhani. Nor are they a belated response to deal with the regretted technology transfers of the 1950s through 70s that saw U.S. and European scientists help Iran establish its nuclear program. Their true beginning was two hundred years ago when the global repercussions of the war against Napoleon saw Iran use her geostrategic position to leverage a deal with British negotiators. As a reward for its turn against France, the Iranian government received military instructors to help its wars with its neighbors and in July 1815 sent its first students to London to learn the latest scientific technology.

Since then, Iran's relations with the Western powers have moved through a cycle of alliance and enmity, importance and insignificance. But in two centuries of diplomatic waxing and waning, the transfers of technology set in motion during the Napoleonic Wars have continued. Iran's nuclear program is itself such a transfer, first from the United States and Germany and, since 1979, from Russia and China.

What has crucially changed over this period is Iran's emergence as a regional power in its own right. Whatever the rhetoric of its former revolutionaries, Iran is no longer the pawn of imperialists. Now that a nuclear deal has been reached, the larger challenge is to prevent further technology transfers from leading to "breakout." As the past two hundred years show, that—and not the negotiations—will be the real long game. (The National Interest | 31 July 2015) ◆



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### What Others Say

#### Why Americans Believe that Bombing Hiroshima was Necessary

By DR. GARY G. KOHLS

*August 6, 2015, is the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, a civilian city that had minimal military value, despite the claims of President Truman when he announced the event to the American people.*

The whole truth of what the Nuremberg tribunal would later help define as an international war crime and a crime against humanity has been heavily censored and mythologized ever since war-weary Americans in 1945 accepted the propaganda that the bombings were necessary to shorten the war and prevent the loss of a million US soldiers during the allegedly planned November 1945 invasion.

Of course, the reason that the United States wasn't sanctioned like Germany was for the Jewish holocaust was that America was the victor and the occupier and thus it was in charge of making and enforcing the rules in the New World Order.



The United States military ambushed the equally defenseless Nagasaki City three days later with the second atomic bomb to ever be used against a civilian population (that no longer had any military value to Japan). “Fat Man”, the plutonium bomb named after Winston Churchill, was detonated before the Japanese leadership fully understood what had happened at Hiroshima.

#### Lies my History Teachers Told Me

My high school history teachers all seemed to be ex-jocks who weren't athletically talented enough to make it to the majors. The main chance for them to continue playing games for pay was to join the teaching profession and coach high school athletics. American

history was of secondary importance in many small town high schools but it hardly made the list of interests for coaches, who reluctantly accepted the job; and so my classmates and I “learned” our lessons from some very uninspired, very bored and/or very uninformed teachers who would rather have been on the playing field.

In my coach's defense, the history books that they had to teach from had been highly censored in order to promote patriotism; and so we “learned” that most everything that the “noble” British colonizers and “honorable” US empire builders ever did in the history of warfare was self-sacrificing, democracy-promoting and Christianizing – and that everything their freedom-seeking, revolutionary colonial victims did was barbaric, atheistic and evil. Anybody who resisted colonial oppressors was treated as a terrorist.

It was from these history books that we learned about the “glorious” end of the war against Japan via nuclear incineration. Everybody in my high school, including myself, swallowed the post-war propaganda hook, line and sinker.

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### **What Others Say**

#### **50,000 American soldiers deserted or went AWOL during WWII**

Of course, I now realize that my classmates and I, just like most other Americans (including the volunteer or conscripted members of the military), have been naïve victims of “lies our history teachers taught us”. In their defense, those teachers had been misled in their own schooling by equally mis-informed teachers who got their information from a variety of dis-informers who wrote the books: and those authors were the war- and empire-justifying militarists and assorted uber-patriotic pseudo-historians who had been duped into believing the myth of American exceptionalism.

Not included in that group of true believers were the 50,000 WWII American soldier-members of the “Greatest Generation” who, in many cases, logically and understandably deserted or went AWOL during their war service, a reality that has been conveniently censored out of our consciousness.

#### **The First Casualty of War is Truth**

One of General Douglas MacArthur’s first acts after taking over as Viceroy of Japan was to confiscate or otherwise destroy all the photographic evidence documenting the horrors of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He imposed total censorship over journalists who wanted to report to the world about what had really happened at Ground Zero, again proving the old adage that “the first casualty of war is truth”. Embedding journalists in the US military so that only America-friendly reportage happened wasn’t the original idea of General Stormin’ Norman Schwarzkopf in Gulf War I.

Back in 1995, the Smithsonian Institution was preparing to correct some of the 50-year-old pseudo-patriotic myths about the Pacific War by staging an honest, historically-accurate display dealing with the atomic bombings from the Japanese civilian perspective.

Swift, vehement and well-orchestrated condemnations directed at the Smithsonian historian’s plans to tell unwelcome truths about war came from right-wing pro-war veterans organizations, the GOP-dominated Congress at the time, and other militarist groups (such as Newt Gingrich’s paymaster Lockheed Martin, one of many war-profiteering merchants-of-death multinationals whose profits and products depend on Congressional and Pentagon largesse). Gingrich actually threatened to stop federal funding of the Smithsonian, thus forcing it to censor-out all of the contextually important parts of the real story. And so the pseudo-patriotic myths about Hiroshima and Nagasaki continue to be preserved to this very day.

#### **Historical Illiteracy in America is Endemic**

We historically-illiterate Americans are blocked, again and again, from learning historical truths about the American Empire – and the control that the military and multinational corporations have over it. Anything that might shake voter confidence in – or incite grassroots revolution against – the unelected ruling elites, the Pentagon or the conscienceless transnational corporations (that control our two major party politicians, the mainstream media and the “invisible hand of the market”) is verboten.

The Smithsonian historians did have a gun to their heads, of course, but in the melee, we voters failed to learn an important historical point, and that is this: the war in the Pacific could have ended in the spring of 1945 without the need for the August atomic bombings, and therefore there might have been no Okinawa bloodbath that senselessly doomed thousands of American Marines.

And there would have been no need for an American land invasion of Japan in November. Indeed, in the 1980s, released top secret records revealed that the contingency plans for a large-scale US invasion (planned for no sooner than November 1, 1945) would have been unnecessary. ☺

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### What Others Say

To the victors go the spoils, and the American victors were the ones running the war crimes tribunals and thus also determined the content of my history textbooks.

#### **America's Leaders Knew that Japan was Searching for ways to Honorably Surrender Months before Hiroshima**

American intelligence agencies, with the full knowledge of President Roosevelt's and President Truman's administrations, were fully aware of Japan's search for ways to honorably surrender months before Truman gave the fateful order to incinerate Hiroshima.

Japan was working on peace negotiations through its ambassador in Moscow as early as April of 1945, with surrender feelers from Japan occurring as far back as 1944. Truman knew of these developments because the US had broken the Japanese code even before Pearl Harbor, and all of Japan's military and diplomatic messages were being intercepted. On July 13, 1945, Foreign Minister Togo wrote: "Unconditional surrender (giving up all sovereignty, including the deposing of Emperor Hirohito) is the only obstacle to peace."

Truman's advisors knew about these efforts, and the war could have ended through diplomacy by simply conceding a post-war figurehead position for the emperor (who was regarded as a deity in Japan). That reasonable concession was – seemingly illogically – refused by the US in their demands for unconditional surrender, which was first demanded at the 1943 Casablanca Conference between Roosevelt and Churchill and then reiterated at the Potsdam Conference between Truman, Churchill and Stalin. Still, the Japanese continued searching for an honorable peace through negotiations.

Even Secretary of War Henry Stimson said: "the true question was not whether surrender could have been achieved without the use of the bomb but whether a different diplomatic and military course would have led to an earlier surrender. A large segment of the Japanese cabinet was ready in the spring of 1945 to accept substantially the same terms as those finally agreed on." In other words, Stimson knew that the US could have ended the war before Hiroshima.

#### **The Unreasonable Demand for Japan's Unconditional Surrender Prolonged the War**

After Japan officially surrendered on August 15, 1945, MacArthur allowed the emperor to remain in place as spiritual head of Japan, the very condition that forced the Japanese leadership to refuse to accept the earlier, humiliating, "unconditional surrender" terms.

So the two essential questions that need answering in order to comprehend what was going on behind the scenes are these: 1) Why did the US refuse to accept Japan's only demand concerning its surrender (the retention of the emperor) and 2) why were the atomic bombs used when victory in the Pacific was assured?

#### **The Factors Leading up to the Decision to use the Most Barbaric Weapons of Mass Destruction in the History of Warfare**

There are a number of factors that contributed to the Truman administration's fateful decision to use the atomic bombs.

**1) Investment.** The US had made a huge investment in time, mind and money (a massive 2 billion in 1940 dollars) to produce three bombs, and there was no inclination – and no guts – to stop the momentum.

**2) Revenge.** The US military and political leadership – as did many ordinary Americans – had a tremendous appetite for revenge because of the Pearl Harbor "surprise" attack. Mercy wasn't in the mindset of the US military, the war-weary populace or even of average American Christians and their churches. ☹

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The missions against Hiroshima and Nagasaki were accepted as necessary, with no questions asked, by most of those folks who only knew the sanitized, national security state version of events. Most Americans wanted to believe the cunningly-orchestrated propaganda.

**3) A “use it or lose it” mentality and scientific curiosity.** The fissionable material in Hiroshima’s bomb was uranium. The Trinity test bomb (exploded on July 16, 1945) and the Nagasaki bomb were plutonium bombs. Scientific curiosity was a significant factor that pushed the project to its deadly completion. The Manhattan Project leaders were curious. “What would happen if a city was leveled by a single uranium bomb?” “What would happen if plutonium was used?” Now that the war against Nazi Germany (the original intended target) was over, the most conscientious scientists felt that the bombs should not be used against civilian targets.

**4) “Orders are orders”.** Actually, the military decision to drop both bombs had been made well in advance of August 1945. Accepting the surrender of Japan prior to their use was not an option if the experiment was to go ahead. It should be obvious to anybody that the three-day interval between the two bombs was unconscionably short if the purpose of the first bomb was to force immediate surrender. Japan’s communications and transportation capabilities were in shambles, and no one, neither the US military nor the Japanese high command, fully understood what had happened at Hiroshima. (It is a fascinating fact that the Manhattan Project had been so top secret that even MacArthur, commanding general of the entire Pacific theatre, had been kept out of the loop – until July 1)

**5) The Russians.** Stalin had proclaimed his intent to enter the war with Japan 90 days after V-E Day (Victory in Europe Day, May 8, 1945), which would have been two days after Hiroshima was bombed. Indeed, Russia did declare war on Japan on August 8 and was advancing eastward across Manchuria when Nagasaki City, the center of Japanese Christianity, was incinerated.

Certainly Russia was still feeling the sting of humiliating defeat and the loss of territory from the disastrous Russo-Japanese War of 1905 when they were beaten by upstart Japan. Elephants and ego-bloated nation-states have long memories, especially when they lose an argument, lose a fight or are embarrassed in public. Witness the 150 year old enduring promise from segregationist devotees of the Confederate flag like Dylan Roof, the KKK, and the White Citizen’s Councils that “The South Will Rise Again”; or consider the rabid right-wing, sociopathic NeoNazis all around the world in their devotion to Adolf Hitler and their symbol of fascism, the Swastika.

The US didn’t want Japan surrendering to Russia and thus sharing the spoils of war. Russia was soon to be one of only two world superpowers – and therefore a future enemy of the United States. So the first “messages” of the Cold War were sent by the US to the USSR on August 6 and 9, 1945: “Stalin, stay away from Japan’s carcass. We own it. And besides, we have the bomb.”

Russia didn’t receive the spoils of the Pacific War that they had anticipated, and the two superpowers were instantly mired in the multi-trillion dollar stalemated nuclear arms race and the multitude of proxy wars that regularly risked the total extinction of humanity. What also happened along the way was the moral bankruptcy of both of the paranoid super-power nations that insisted on fighting the stupid cold war, a war that was fueled by war-profiteering corporations and borrow and spend economics.

### **The Reality for the Innocent Casualties of War**

An estimated 80,000 innocent civilians, plus 20,000 weaponless young Japanese conscripts died instantly in the Hiroshima bombing raid. Hundreds of thousands more suffered slow deaths and disabilities from agonizing burns, radiation sickness, leukemia, anemia, thrombocytopenia and untreatable infections. The Japanese survivors and their progeny suffered a fate similar to the survivors and progeny of America’s “Atomic Soldiers”. (Atomic Soldiers were those soldiers who were exposed, in the line of duty, to the hundreds of nuclear tests in the 50s and 60s or to the depleted uranium that the US military used in the two Gulf Wars.) ➡

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### What Others Say

Each of those groups were afflicted with horrible radiation-induced illnesses, congenital anomalies, genetic mutations, immune deficiencies, cancers and premature deaths, still going on to this very minute.

(Another shameful reality that has been covered up is the fact that 12 American Navy pilots, their existence well known to the US command prior to the bombing, were instantly incinerated in the Hiroshima jail on that fateful day.)

### **Military Myths That our Teachers Taught us**

So the official War Department-approved, highly censored version of the end of the war in the Pacific was added to an ever-lengthening list of myths that we Americans have been continuously fed by our corporate-controlled military, political and media opinion leaders. In the process, the gruesomeness and cruelty of war has been cunningly propagandized so that we consumers of information see only the glorification of American militarism.

Among the other censored out realities include what really happened in the US military's participation in the destabilize-and-conquer campaigns and coups d'état in Ukraine, Honduras, Venezuela, Libya, and bloody invasions and/or occupations of Korea, Iran, Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia, Lebanon, Granada, Panama, the Philippines, Chile, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Haiti, Colombia, Kuwait, Iraq, Afghanistan, etc. etc. This list doesn't necessarily cover the uncountable secret Pentagon/CIA covert operations and assassination plots in the rest of the world, where some 150 "sovereign" nations have been coerced into allowing the building of American military bases (permission lavishly paid for by bribes or threats of economic or military sanctions).

But somehow most of us still hang on to our shaky "my country right or wrong" patriotism, desperately wanting to believe the cunningly-orchestrated myths that say that the war-profiteering corporate elite (and the politicians, military leaders and media talking heads who are in their employ) only work for peace, justice, equality, liberty and "making the world safe", not for democracy, but for predatory capitalism.

While it is true that the US military has faced down the occasional despot, with necessary sacrifice from dead and incurably-wounded (in body, mind and spirit) American soldiers and veterans, more often than not the rationalizations for going to war are the same as those of the "godless communists", the anti-American "insurgents" and "freedom fighters" who just want us Yankees to go home where we belong.

August 6 and 9, 1945 are just two more examples of the brain-washing that goes on in all "total war" political agendas, which are consistently accompanied by the inevitable human death and destruction that is euphemistically labeled "splendid slaughter", "collateral damage" or "friendly fire".

### **What Happened to the Humanitarian, Peace-loving America That We Used to Know and Love?**

It might already be too late to rescue and resuscitate the (mythical?) moribund humanitarian, peacemaking America that we used to know and love. It might be too late to effectively confront the corporate hijacking of liberal democracy in America. It might be too late to successfully bring down the arrogant and greedy ruling elites who are selfishly dragging our planet down the road to destruction. The rolling coups d'état orchestrated by the profiteers of what I call Friendly American Fascism may have already accomplished its goals.

But I suppose there is always hope. Rather than being silent about the destabilizing conflicts that the war-mongers are provoking all over the planet (with the very willing assistance of Wall Street, the Pentagon, the weapons industries and their lapdogs in Congress), people of conscience need to start learning the whole truth of history, despite the psychological discomfort that they may feel (cognitive dissonance) when the lies that they had been led to believe can't be believed any more. We need to start owning up to America's uncountable war crimes that have been orchestrated in our names. ☹

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And so the whistle-blowers among us need to rise up in dissent, go to the streets in protest and courageously refuse to cooperate with those sociopathic personalities that have gradually transformed America into a criminal rogue state. Like Nazi Germany or Fascist Japan, rogue nations throughout history have been eventually targeted for downfall by its billions of angry, fed-up, suffering victims who live both inside and outside its borders. That fate awaits America unless its leaders confess their sins, honestly ask for forgiveness and truly promise to join the peace-loving human race.

Doing what is right for the whole of humanity for a change, rather than just doing what is profitable or advantageous for our over-privileged, over-consumptive, toxic and unsustainable American way of life, would be real honor, real patriotism and an essential start toward real peace. (Copyright © Dr. Gary G. Kohls, Global Research, 2015 | 29 July 2015) ◆

### **Centre for Research on Globalization**

The Centre for Research on Globalization (CRG) is an independent research and media organization based in Montreal. The CRG is a registered non-profit organization in the province of Quebec, Canada.

In addition to the Global Research websites, the Centre is involved in book publishing, support to humanitarian projects as well as educational outreach activities including the organization of public conferences and lectures. The Centre also acts as a think tank on crucial economic and geopolitical issues.

The Global Research website at [www.globalresearch.ca](http://www.globalresearch.ca) publishes news articles, commentary, background research and analysis on a broad range of issues, focusing on social, economic, strategic and environmental issues.

The Global Research website was established on the 9th of September 2001, two days before the tragic events of September 11. Barely a few days later, Global Research had become a major news source on the New World Order and Washington's "war on terrorism".

Since September 2001, we have established an extensive archive of news articles, in-depth reports and analysis on issues which are barely covered by the mainstream media.

In an era of media disinformation, our focus has essentially been to center on the "unspoken truth".

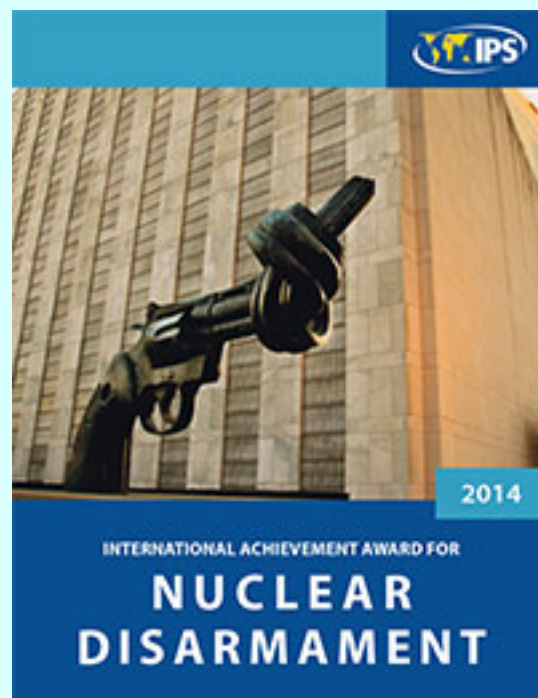
During the invasion of Iraq (March-April 2003), Global Research published, on a daily basis, independent reports from the Middle East, which provided an alternative to the news emanating from the "embedded" journalists reporting from the war theater. Since 2004, Global Research has provided detailed analysis and coverage of US-NATO-Israel preparations to wage a pre-emptive nuclear attack on Iran. Starting in 2011, GR has developed dossiers on the US-NATO led wars on Libya and Syria, the Arab Protest movement, the environmental impacts of the Fukushima disaster, the ongoing crisis in Ukraine, the Saudi-US led war on Yemen, the militarization of the African continent, the development of the police state in North America and Western Europe, the devastating impacts of biotechnology among other important topics.

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