DISARMAMENT: THE MISSING LINK TO AN EQUITABLE NON-PROLIFERATION REGIME

by David Krieger and Carah Ong

When the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) entered into force in 1970, nuclear weapons states and non-nuclear weapons states agreed upon obligations for all parties to the NPT by committing both to non-proliferation and complete nuclear disarmament as essential components to achieving global security. At the heart of the NPT is a central bargain in which the non-nuclear weapons states agreed to refrain from acquiring nuclear weapons. In exchange, the nuclear weapons states (China, France, UK, US, USSR) pledged to end the nuclear arms race and to negotiate nuclear disarmament (Article VI). As an incentive, the non-nuclear weapons states were promised assistance with research, production and use of nuclear energy for "peaceful" purposes (Article IV). Each non-nuclear weapons state also agreed to accept "safeguards" under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency. However, these safeguards do not apply to the nuclear weapons states themselves and thus, there is no built-in mechanism for their accountability on both sides of the bargain.

The sad fact is that since the NPT’s inception, the nuclear weapons states have shown scant inclination to fulfill their part of the bargain. As recently as the year 2000, the nuclear weapons states agreed to 13 practical steps to achieve nuclear disarmament. Their near-perfect record for failure in this pursuit is due primarily to the lack of political resolve in these countries to pursue complete disarmament. Without a serious effort by the nuclear weapons states to achieve nuclear disarmament, the discriminatory nature of the NPT will continue to allow nuclear weapons states to promote double standards that provide them special privileges while denying these same privileges to the non-nuclear weapons states — a recipe for increased ill-will and distrust.

Today, the non-proliferation regime is in serious danger of unraveling altogether as witnessed by the fact that India, Israel and Pakistan have joined the list of states in possession of nuclear weapons; North Korea has withdrawn from the NPT and claims to have developed nuclear weapons; nuclear powers are seeking to upgrade and improve their nuclear arsenals; and a nuclear black market - capable of providing states and extremist groups with nuclear technology and weapons-grade material - has emerged. In order to meet the challenges of the 21st Century, the NPT - and the non-proliferation regime in general - is in urgent need of reconstruction.

[...] In order for a non-proliferation regime to be successful in the long term, the same standards must be applied to all states. This means that nuclear weapons states must engage with determination in fulfilling their long-overdue obligations to achieve nuclear disarmament. In today’s world, the only way to halt nuclear proliferation is to eliminate existing double standards and implement a more equitable universal regime that includes a strict timetable for nuclear disarmament, the criminalization of both horizontal and vertical proliferation, effective international enforcement mechanisms and adequate funding to achieve these goals.

To read the full text, go to: http://www.wagingpeace.org/articles/2004/03/26_road-proliferation.htm

WATCH THE PBS SPECIAL ON THE NEW NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

Is the world on the threshold of a new nuclear arms race? In the months following 9/11, the Bush Administration issued an ambitious plan for the future of America's nuclear weapons arsenal. The plan envisions new, specialized nuclear weapons and other devices that could be used in a swift first strike against targets around the world. On Friday, April 2,
2004 on PBS (check local listings at: http://www.pbs.org/now/sched.html), NOW with Bill Moyers weighs the potential impact of a renewed nuclear arms development program on global proliferation and examines the military efficacy of some of these new weapons against a terrorist enemy. With the Bush administration asking for $500 million to fund research, the NOW with Bill Moyers special program will give viewers a look at the possibilities for America's nuclear arms future.

SUPPORT MORDECHAI VANUNU

In 1986 Mordechai Vanunu acted to protect Israel and the world from nuclear devastation. On 21 April 2004, he will finally be released from Ashkelon prison in Israel after 18 years of untold suffering - without a home, a job and a country. He needs - and deserves - our help and support.

Let us honor this hero of the anti-nuclear struggle (no one suffered more than him for his stance) by sending him one "bouquet of flowers." Each bouquet is $10 (or more if you wish). We would like to send him one "bouquet" for each of his 6,413 days in jail. Help make each of his days in prison count for his future! To make a donation, please visit: http://www.peaceispossible.info/thankyouvanunu.php

PARTICIPATE IN THE MAY 1ST, NO MORE NUCLEAR EXCUSES FOR WAR DEMONSTRATION!

April 26th to May 7th, 2004, the governments of the world will gather at the United Nations to discuss the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. During this time, activists from all over the world will also be gathering united in opposition to the growing threat of nuclear war. It's time to rid the world of all nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, and to create genuine security for future generations.

Participate in the May 1st, 2004 No More Nuclear Excuses for War Demonstration beginning at 1 pm at Bryant Park on 42nd Street and 5th Avenue in New York. There will also be a town hall meeting on April 30th from 4:30-10:00 pm at the All Souls Church on 80th Street and Lexington Avenue featuring Mayor Akiba of Hiroshima, Japan, Dr. Helen Caldicott, Damu Smith, Bruce Gagnon and Zia Mann.

PARTICIPATE IN THE 12TH ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL SPACE ORGANIZING CONFERENCE, RESISTING EMPIRE: UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE OF SPACE IN US GLOBAL DOMINATION

From 23-25 April 2004, hundreds of activists will participate in events sponsored by the Global Network Against Weapons & Nuclear Power in Space. Take action by visiting Global Network's website to learn more and by participating in the conference: http://www.space4peace.org/

DEMAND A PUBLIC OPEN SESSION FOR UN RESOLUTION ON NON-PROLIFERATION

On 24 March 2004, a draft resolution was tabled at the United Nations Security Council on non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The text of the draft resolution on proliferation can be found here: (PDF) http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/political/WMD_SCRes.pdf.

The draft resolution is a crippled version of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The draft resolution preoccupies itself with preventing proliferation and ignores the NPT Article VI obligations of all countries to disarm.

Take action and contact your representatives on the United Nations Security Council to insist the resolution address existing obligations to disarm. Contact information for your representatives can be found here: http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/resources/govcontacts/govindex.html.

For more information on the campaign go to http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/political/SC.html, contact either Susi Snyder, UN Director at the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom or John Burroughs, Executive Director of Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy.

ADVOCATE SMART SECURITY: SENSIBLE, MULTILATERAL AMERICAN RESPONSE TO TERRORISM


PENTAGON PANEL CALLS FOR UPDATING US NUCLEAR ARSENAL

In a report completed in Summer 2003 and recently obtained by the Federation of American Scientists, an influential US Pentagon panel of the Defense Science Board suggests re-orienting the nation's strategic nuclear forces - limited in the Cold War to nuclear weapons aimed at enemy leaders and their nuclear forces - to rely more than ever before on "precise" conventional and exotic weapons, including lasers in space, unmanned hypersonic craft and earth penetrators ("bunker busters"). The panel said the US should expand its nuclear arsenal beyond late Cold War-era nuclear warheads to add new nuclear weapons tailored for lower yields and "special effects."
The Bush administration's drive for new, low-yield nuclear weapons has been highly controversial. Critics say the new weapons hold little military use, could spur other nations' interest in nuclear arms and could blur the line between nuclear and conventional combat. Andrew Lichterman, an arms researcher at the Western States Legal Foundation, responded to the reports stating, "This is moving away from anything ordinary people would understand as deterrence. This is talking about developing strategic weapons for new purposes, and it's something that should get a deep national debate before it goes further."

The weapons would be mostly resurrections of 1960s and 70s thermonuclear designs produced by University of California scientists at Lawrence Livermore and Los Alamos labs. None were deployed, primarily due to political opposition or dubious practical utility for the military.

Bob Peurifoy, a former Sandia National Laboratories weapons manager, stated, "Pre-emptive nuclear war, that's what they're pushing, and it's absolute madness. Nuclear weapons are the absolute weapons of last resort. If we're losing American cities, then we should respond (with nuclear strikes). Short of that, I can't see any use of weapons with any nuclear yield, I don't care how low." Peurifoy and many other weaponeers argue that the current US nuclear arsenal of some 7,600 weapons is well-tested and capable against a wide array of targets.

Since 1995, the nation's three nuclear-weapons labs, which are managed by the University of California, have studied weapons in the US arsenal for aging defects and found that the essential nuclear components last for at least 45 to 60 years. Scientists are engaged in the bread-and-butter work of "stockpile life extensions" for all eight basic designs of warheads and bombs, upgrading them and adding decades to their shelf life. The Defense Science Board said that program is "on the wrong track" and should be scaled back to free up scientists and money for adding new weapons to the arsenal.

Echoing the Bush administration's Nuclear Posture Review of December 2001, the Defense Science Board said current US weapons would create so much blast and radioactive fallout that rogue nations or terrorists might doubt a president would use them in response to attack on the US or its allies. The panel argued that fielding lower-yield weapons makes the threat of their use more believable. This broader, more capable arsenal would also be designed to keep Russia and China from trying to compete with the United States and discourage allies such as Japan, South Korea and Taiwan from seeking weapons to counter North Korea, for example.

The task force also called for developing a new, intermediate range ballistic missile for submarines and for keeping Peacekeeper missiles for conventional uses. About 70 heavy intercontinental ballistic missiles that are slated for retirement in 2005 would be installed at Vandenberg Air Force Base and Cape Canaveral. That would add California and Florida to the three states currently hosting ICBMs: North Dakota, Wyoming and Montana.

The Defense Science Board stated, "It is, and will likely remain, American policy to keep the nuclear threshold high and to pursue non-nuclear attack options whenever possible. Nothing in our assessment or recommendations seeks to change that goal. Nonetheless, in extreme circumstances, the president may have no choice but to turn to nuclear options."

The full report is available as a pdf download from the Federation of American Scientists website at http://www.fas.org/irp/agency/dod/dsb/fssf.pdf


US BUNKER-BUSTERS: MORE THAN A "STUDY"

The Bush administration's program to "study" Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrators (RNEP) or "bunker-busters" is more ambitious than previously indicated. The Department of Energy's (DoE) 2005 budget request projects $487.7 million in program costs through to 2009 including post-study development work. According to a report by the Congressional Research Service, an analysis of the DoE's 2005 budget request, "seems to cast serious doubt on assertions that RNEP is only a study."

On 8 March, Representative Ellen Tauscher (D-CA) wrote to Linton Brooks, Administrator of National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA), and stated, "We were told in the past that the [bunker-buster] effort was to be a three-year study that would cost $15 million a year. This is the first notice we have received of a significantly ramped up activity."

Brian Wilkes, spokesman for the NNSA, insists that the 2005 budget figures were developed only to fulfill the Congressional requirement to have a five-year plan. Wilkes stated, "This is a placeholder budget. We have to plan for every contingency."

However, Steven Aftergood of the Federation of American Scientists said, "If [the US government] had placeholders for every scenario, they'd have to request an infinite amount of money .... This is an expression of intent to move ahead with an expanded program."
The administration's plans to develop "bunker-busters" undermine efforts to persuade other countries to forego their nuclear weapons. Plans to develop new nuclear weapons are also contrary to longstanding US commitments to pursue nuclear disarmament under Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.


IRAN TO STOP MAKING CENTRIFUGES, REBUKED FOR SUSPICIOUS NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES

On 10 March 2004, International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspectors found traces of extremely highly enriched uranium (HEU) for nuclear weapons use in Iran. Iranian officials claimed that nuclear equipment was contaminated by HEU while in transit, before arriving in the country. Although Iran insists that it cannot identify the origin of its equipment, the IAEA suspect the contamination may have originated in Pakistan. Iran's Defense Minister, Ali Shamkhani, also acknowledged for the first time that the Iranian military had produced centrifuges to enrich uranium, but insisted they were unsophisticated models for civilian purposes. While it is unclear how many centrifuges Iran has produced, IAEA inspectors previously reported finding "hundreds" of centrifuges, but well below the number needed to build nuclear warheads.

The IAEA Board of Governors adopted a resolution on 13 March 2004 criticizing Iran for withholding information on its nuclear program. While welcoming Iran's agreement to open its facilities to pervasive inspection, the resolution said it "deplored" recent discoveries of uranium enrichment equipment and other suspicious activities that Iran had failed to reveal. The Board of Governors has deferred their decision on how to respond to Iran's omissions until their next meeting in June.

In an effort to win the world's trust over its nuclear program, Iran announced on 29 March 2004 that it has now stopped building centrifuges, which can be used for uranium enrichment. The comments by Gholamreza Aghazadeh, the head of Iran's Atomic Energy Organization came as inspectors from the IAEA checked on its nuclear facilities. Aghazadeh said the suspension of the construction of centrifuges was ordered by the country's Supreme National Security Council, Iran's top decision-making body. Iran State television quoted Aghazadeh on its web site as saying, "The Islamic Republic of Iran has voluntarily expanded (the enrichment) suspension to include the production of components and assembly." Even though Iran has announced that it will stop producing centrifuges, it is not expected to dispose of those it already possesses.

IAEA director Mohammed ElBaradei says Iran has much to do before the UN agency can give its nuclear program a clean bill of health. ElBaradei, who plans to visit Iran early next month, hopes to present an assessment of Iran's nuclear activities to the IAEA board of governors in June.

Meanwhile, Russia is continuing its nuclear cooperation with Iran. The $800 million Russian contract promises the delivery of fuel to Iran's nuclear reactor in Bushehr by mid 2005, enabling the reactor to commence operations by 2006. Both countries have maintained that the cooperation complies with international legislation. Iran's Ambassador to Russia, Gholam-Reza Shafei, said a Russian-Iran protocol on the return of spent fuel from Bushehr to Russia will be signed in the near future.


NORTH KOREA REJECTS US DENUCLEARIZATION FORMULA

On 27 March, North Korea explicitly rejected the formula the US put forward as its bottom-line position in talks aimed at ending North Korea's nuclear programs, raising doubts about whether the fitful negotiations are making even limited progress.

A statement was carried by Radio Pyongyang and monitored by news agencies in South Korea. It came just after a visit to North Korea by China's foreign minister, Li Zhaoxing, and shortly before a visit to the region by Vice President Dick Cheney that is planned for April. According to the statement, "The present situation on the Korean peninsula remains dangerous owing to the reckless moves of the US war hawks and their followers to unleash a war of aggression against the DPRK (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) so that a nuclear war may break there anytime."

China's foreign minister, Li Zhaoxing, said this week that North Korea was ready to "push forward" with a third round of talks involving the US, South Korea, China, Japan and Russia. However, the North Korean statement rejected the American demand for a "complete, verifiable, irreversible dismantling" of the country's nuclear programs. US officials have repeatedly stated that they will not sign any agreement with North Korea that does not use this exact wording. The administration also says it will not provide aid or other benefits to North Korea before it scraps all its nuclear programs and allows rigorous inspections.
The statement issued by North Korea rejected the American formula point by point. According to the statement, "Complete nuclear dismantling is a plot to overthrow the North's socialist system after stripping it of its nuclear deterrent. Verifiable nuclear dismantling, reflects a US intention to spy on our military capabilities before starting a war...Irreversible nuclear dismantling is nothing other than a noose to stifle us after eradicating our peaceful nuclear-energy industry."

The US and North Korea disagree about the range of North Korea's nuclear efforts and the US demand that an accord eliminate all nuclear programs, including those North Korea contends are intended to produce nuclear power for civilian uses. North Korea says it is willing to end its nuclear weapons programs. However, it has demanded that the United States make concessions, including providing energy aid and pledging not to use force against North Korea, before it fully dispenses with what it calls its nuclear deterrent.

Rodong Sinmun, the official newspaper of North Korea's ruling Workers Party, said, "If the six-way talks are to be continued, an atmosphere favorable for them should be created before anything else...The United States often talks about dialogue and peaceful settlement of the nuclear issue, but it seeks to stage a test war reminiscent of a full-scale war aimed to invade North Korea by force."


**US REWARDS PAKISTAN DESPITE ITS NUCLEAR MODERNIZATION**

During a trip to Islamabad on 18 March 2004, US Secretary of State Colin Powell announced that the US will reward Pakistan for its support in the war on terrorism by designating the country as a "major non-NATO ally." Powell also offered financial assistance and deterrent capabilities if Pakistan agreed to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and sign the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Additional Protocol.

To date, Pakistan has vehemently resisted any foreign inspections of its nuclear sites. However, it has now agreed to start "discussions" with the US and the IAEA over the NPT.

In addition to nuclear warheads, it was discovered on 20 March that Pakistan has also developed the capability to produce plutonium for potential weapons use. Admiral Lowell Jacoby recently told Congress to expect a growth of weapons stockpiles in the South Asian region, adding, "The US is not protesting the idea that both Pakistan and India are modernizing their stockpiles to make them more deliverable and in the process increasing the risk of accidental nuclear war."


**MAN HELD WITH PLUTONIUM FOR SALE**

On 15 March 2004, Tajik authorities arrested a man with three grams of factory-grade plutonium that he allegedly planned to sell to someone in Afghanistan or Pakistan. Avaz Yuldashev, spokesman for the drug control agency in Tajikistan, stated, "The arrested man confessed that he intended to sell the plutonium to citizens of Afghanistan or Pakistan for $21,000."

Yuldashev did not release the suspect's name, but said he was a citizen of neighboring Uzbekistan. According to Yuldashev, "Tajik special services suspected him of drug smuggling, but during a search found a capsule of factory-grade plutonium that was likely made either in Russia or Kazakhstan." Tajikistan is a main smuggling route for drugs destined for Western markets from Afghanistan, with which it shares a 1,340-kilometre border that is patrolled by thousands of Tajik and Russian troops.


**NIGERIA’S NUCLEAR BLUFF**

On 3 March 2004, Nigerian Defense Minister Rabiu Kwankwaso claimed General Muhammad Aziz Khan, chairman of Pakistan's Joint Chiefs of Staff, had made an offer to share its military assistance with Nigeria, including "nuclear power."

According to Kwankwaso, General Aziz Khan said Pakistan "is working out the dynamics of how they can assist Nigeria's armed forces to strengthen its military capability and to acquire nuclear power." This announcement comes just a month after Abdul Qadeer Khan, the "father" of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program, admitted to running a black market in which he sold nuclear weapons and technology to several nations, including Iran, Libya, and North Korea.

US officials suspect that Nigeria is bluffing in its reports in order to spark international concern. If Nigeria were to pose a
nuclear threat, it could demand international aid in return for abandonment of its nuclear ambitions.

The Pakistani government has denied its role in the exchange, claiming they had made no such offer to the Nigerian defense ministry. Two months ago, Nigeria announced that North Korea would share its missile technology, but North Korean officials promptly denied this claim as well.


### Disarmament & Non-proliferation

**ElBaradei Says WMD Threat is "Everybody's Fight"**

On 18 March 2004, International Atomic Energy Agency Director General Mohammed ElBaradei met with President Bush, bringing about an agreement that would strengthen curbs on the purchase and maintenance of nuclear material around the world.

ElBaradei stated, "We are facing now the threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction which is everybody's fight. One of the first priorities that I put to President Bush and he fully agreed, is that we need to clean up all the nuclear materials that lie around, either in highly enriched uranium [HEU] in research reactors or in fabrication facilities."

ElBaradei said that the US government is working on an action plan to create a global inventory of nuclear facilities and materials in order to rid civilian fuel cycles of weapons-usable material. The inventory would take stock of some 100 facilities, some 21 of which are research reactors and the rest are fuel production plants spread over some 40 countries.

In addition to his US visit, ElBaradei has planned a series of regional seminars to encourage more countries to place all their nuclear activities and materials under strengthened safeguards. A seminar has already been held in Burkina Faso, and more are to be scheduled in Namibia, Vienna and Jamaica.


**International Nuclear Safety Group Inaugurated**

It was announced on 26 March 2004 that experts from 15 countries have joined to form the newly constituted International Nuclear Safety Group (INSAG) to provide authoritative advice and guidance on safety approaches, policies and principles at nuclear power plants and other nuclear facilities. The group was formed at the request of IAEA Director General Mohamed ElBaradei, and Dr. Richard Meserve, Chairman of INSAG, who is the former head of the US Nuclear Regulatory Commission and presently President of the Carnegie Institution. INSAG Members include representatives from Canada, France, Finland, Russian Federation, Spain, Germany, Brazil, United Kingdom, United States, South Africa, Republic of Korea, Japan, Hungary, India, China, and the NEA/OECD.

Source: IAEA Staff Report, 26 March 2004.

**Libya Completes Disarmament Efforts**

Following the hand over of the remainder of its nuclear weapons related equipment, Libya signed the International Atomic Energy Agency's (IAEA) Additional Protocol on 10 March 2004, granting IAEA inspectors broader inspection rights and access to Libya's nuclear sites. In the meantime, IAEA Director General ElBaradei assured that "Libya will continue to reap the full benefits of nuclear applications for peaceful uses such as energy, agriculture and medicine."

The IAEA also assisted Libya in removing highly enriched uranium (HEU) stored at a research reactor facility on the outskirts of Tripoli on 8 March. The HEU was returned to Russia, where it will be blended down to low enriched uranium, suitable for civilian reactor use. The $700,000 fuel removal was funded by the US Department of Energy.

Earlier in March, the US administration showed reporters a dozen uranium centrifuges, which they say was from a cache of about 4,000 centrifuges that Libya had obtained before agreeing to dismantle its nuclear program in December 2003. However, the Institute for Science and International Security claimed that the US administration gave an inaccurate briefing. Instead, ISIS found that, while Libya obtained 4,000 casings for centrifuges, few, if any, had finely tooled rotors that make the core of the machine. In response, Jeanne Lopatto, a DoE spokeswoman, stated, "Libya had a nuclear weapons program - that's not in dispute. [Libya] either had the parts in hand, or the ability to make them."

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) called upon the international community to help control access to the Shinkolobwe mine. According to industry experts, uranium is being illegally quarried and exported without control. DRC Mining Minister Diomi Ndongala said officials from North Korea and African countries have expressed an interest in DRC uranium in recent years. The Shinkolobwe mine produced uranium for the US nuclear weapons dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan during World War II.

Earlier in March, DRC officials seized two cases containing illegal radioactive uranium in Kinshasa. According to Professor Fortunat Lumu, DRC’s General Atomic Energy Officer, the two suitcases contained 100 kg of low level radioactive uranium, enough to cause substantial radioactive contamination if detonated in a home-made bomb. Over the last four years, 50 cases of radioactive uranium and highly radioactive cesium have been seized by Congolese authorities. It is suspected that the materials are traded across the DRC’s sparsely guarded borders to nine neighbors, circumventing international laws on shipping radioactive materials.

Prior to this incident, Zambian authorities arrested two men in possession of a suspected bomb-grade uranium cache, thought to have derived from the DRC.


The US has given weapons-grade uranium to 43 countries since the 1950s under the Atoms for Peace program and is making little effort to retrieve them. The US Department of Energy (DoE) said 12 countries have refused to return the material, including Britain, Belgium, Pakistan, Iran, Israel, Jamaica, Mexico, the Netherlands and South Africa. Since 1996, the DoE has only collected 2.6 out of 15 tons of highly enriched uranium that it had previously given out. The US is charging countries $5,000 per kilogram to retrieve weapons-grade uranium.


Canada Resists Joining US Missile Defense Project

Following Canadian Defense Minister David Pratt’s indication in January 2004 that Canada is not ready to join the US missile defense program, Canadian New Democratic Party (NDP) leader Jack Layton said on 18 March 2004 that his country should halt all negotiations with the US on joining the project. According to Layton, “[Canada] should withdraw from the talks. That would send a strong message to the world that we’re actually serious about re-engaging around disarmament.”

Earlier in March, Philip Coyle, Assistant Defense Secretary in the Clinton administration, said, “Anyone who feels Canadian participation will lead to better protection for Canada misunderstands the system.” Coyle noted that the US missile defense system is potentially “destabilizing” and could encourage Russia and China to build up nuclear arms in response. He also added that the missile defense system would inevitably lead to the militarization of space.

Moreover, according to a new Ipsos-Reid survey conducted on behalf of the Council of Canadians and the Polaris Institute, seven in ten (69%) of Canadians disagree with the statement “Canada should actively support the Bush administration’s missile defense system even if it may require dedicating military spending to the program or allowing US missile launchers in Canada.” The findings from Ipsos-Reid/Canadian Council/Polaris Institute were from a poll conducted from 23-25 March 2004.


Generals and Admirals Cast Doubts on US Missile Defense System

In an “Open Letter” addressed to President Bush on 26 March 2004, 49 Generals and Admirals, including former Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Admiral William Crowe, Air Force General Alfred Hansen and Marine Corps General Joseph Hoar, asked for a delay in activating the missile defense system.

The letter concludes: “We therefore recommend, as the militarily responsible course of action, that you postpone operational deployment of the expensive and untested GMD (Global Missile Defense) system and transfer the associated funding to accelerated programs to secure the multitude of facilities containing nuclear weapons and materials and to protect our ports and borders against terrorists who may attempt to smuggle weapons of mass destruction into the United States.”

Earlier in March, the $10.5 billion request for the missile defense project in the US 2005 fiscal year budget request raised intense questioning at the Senate Armed Services Committee. Weapons experts argue that there is no imminent threat that justifies the program’s expenditure, and critics say that the purpose of deploying a limited missile defense system in 2004 is to fulfill President Bush’s campaign pledge in 2000. Thomas Christie, the Pentagon’s chief weapons evaluator, told Congress that he couldn’t be sure whether or not the system would knock down North Korean missiles launched at the US.

RUSSIA Responds to US Missile Defense

On 25 March 2004, Russian Defense Minister Sergei Ivanov warned that US plans to develop new types of nuclear weapons may force Russia to adopt tougher defense measures. Ivanov also repeated his earlier warning to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) that he may order a build up of their nuclear defenses should the US-led alliance continue to expand its hostile approach towards Russia. Ivanov stated, “If NATO continues to keep to its offensive military doctrine, then Russia’s military planning and the principles of Russia’s military procurement - including in the nuclear sphere - will be adequately re-evaluated.”

On 29 March, Russian news agencies ITAR-Tass and Interfax reported that Russia has designed a “revolutionary” weapon that would make the prospective US missile defense useless. The Defense Ministry Official, who was not identified by name, was quoted as saying that if deployed, the new weapon would take the value of any US missile shield to “zero.” The official said the new weapon would be inexpensive, providing an “asymmetric answer” to the US missile defenses, which are proving extremely costly to develop. The official also claimed that Russia has continued research in prospective missile defenses and has an edge in some areas compared to other nations.

The statement was in line with claims made by President Vladimir Putin that experiments performed during last month's maneuvers proved that Russia could soon build strategic weapons that could puncture any missile-defense system. During the maneuvers, Colonel General Yuri Baluyevsky, the first deputy chief of the General Staff of the Russian Armed Forces, said that the military had tested a “hypersonic flying vehicle” that was able to maneuver between space and the earth's atmosphere. Military analysts said that the mysterious new weapon could be a maneuverable ballistic missile warhead or a hypersonic cruise missile. While President Putin said the development of such new weapons wasn't aimed against the US, most observers viewed the move as Moscow's response to US missile defense plans.

Meanwhile, the Pentagon is considering to continue maintaining 800 warheads of its land-based ballistic missiles in Wyoming, Montana and North Dakota. Designed by University of California scientists, the multiple warheads are aimed at Russian Intercontinental Ballistic Missile sites.


Pakistan & India Test Missile Capabilities

On 9 March 2004, Pakistan tested its Shaheen II missile, which is capable of carrying nuclear warheads. With a range of 1240 miles, the Shaheen II can hit targets deep in its neighbor India. Ten days later, India successfully tested its short-range (95-190 miles) Prithvi missile, which is also capable of carrying nuclear warheads. On 23 March, Vasudev Aatre, Chief of India's Defense Research and Development Organization announced his country's intention to test in late 2004 its most advanced long-range nuclear-capable Agni III missile, which has a range of some 1860 miles.

China Flaunts Missile Muscle in Face of Taiwan Decisions

Since January 2004, China has carried out at least five missile tests. The most recent test in mid-March involved a "cluster warhead," that spreads multiple bomblets rather than a single blast. Taiwan views such tests as coinciding with a referendum vote held on 27 March. The referendum asked if Taiwan should buy advanced missile defenses - including buying US Patriot PAC-3 systems and Aegis equipped warships for sea-based missile defense - if China refuses to withdraw its 500 missiles currently deployed within striking distance. In summer 2004, the Taiwanese government plans to submit a budget request for $16 billion in defense spending over the next decade, which is double its current budget.


International Law

US Pushes for Security Council Resolution

Six months following President Bush's appeal to the United Nations General Assembly to adopt a resolution that would "criminalize the proliferation of weapons," the US is pressing the Security Council to endorse a five-page draft resolution that would require all UN members to "adopt and enforce appropriate effective laws" to prevent "any non-state actor" from being able to "manufacture, acquire, possess, develop, transport or use nuclear, chemical or biological weapons and their means of delivery." The resolution not only targets terrorist threats but also requires states, including alleged proliferators such as Pakistan, Iran and North Korea to adopt laws or regulations to enforce the ban on the transfer of prohibited weapons.

The resolution fails to take into account commitments made by nuclear weapons states under Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty to pursue the elimination of nuclear weapons in order to enforce non-proliferation efforts. Furthermore, the negotiations on the resolution were restricted to the Permanent Security Council Members (China, France, Russia, UK and US), perpetuating concerns regarding the longstanding monopoly on nuclear weapons by those five nations. In addition, the resolution is planned on being adopted under Chapter 7 of the UN charter, a provision that permits the Security Council to use sanctions or military force to compel states to abide by its demands. The resolution may also allow UN members to "criminalize the proliferation of weapons," which would make the prospective US missile defense useless.

For full text of the draft resolution, go to http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/political/WMD_SCRes.pdf

**Non-Aligned Movement Calls for Establishment of Nuclear-Free Middle East**

On 8 March 2004, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) announced support for a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East. Calling for urgent decisions and practical steps to meet that end, NAM also urged Israel to put all its nuclear facilities under the full supervision of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

In late March, IAEA Director General Mohammed ElBaradei traveled to the Middle East to gather support for the agency’s attempt to shut down the nuclear market. However, when questioned on Israeli nuclear capabilities, ElBaradei said he had no jurisdiction over them, stating that Israel and Arab leaders should address the nuclear issue as part of the Middle East peace process.


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**Nuclear Energy & Waste**

**Low-Level Nuclear Waste Deregulation**

The mission of the US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) "is to protect human health and to safeguard the natural environment - air, water, and land - upon which life depends." Yet, the EPA has proposed a deregulation of nuclear wastes. In addition, along with the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), the EPA is proposing a reclassification of what constitutes radioactive waste in order to dispose of the nuclear waste which has been accumulating in weapons laboratories and commercial energy reactors.

Such a reclassification would give the nuclear industry the chance to dump low-level radioactive materials in facilities without hazardous or radioactive waste permits such as standard garbage dumps, landfills, incinerators, and commercial recycling centers. Dumping nuclear waste in facilities unprepared to contain radiation will compound the damage caused by existing carcinogens by increasing daily exposure to background radiation. Dr. Karl Morgan, founder of the Science of Health Physics, stated, "There is no safe level of exposure and there is no dose of radiation so low that the risk of a malignancy is zero."

This is not the first time the nuclear industry has lobbied for a reclassification of nuclear waste. In 1992, Congress was bombarded by civil society in response to similar NRC proposals that certain nuclear waste be redefined as below-regulatory-concern (BRC). Civil society prevailed in 1992 and Congress revoked the NRC proposals.

**Sources:** BushGreenwatch, 22 March 2004; Environmental Health Alliance.

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**25 Years After Three Mile Island**

28 March 2004 marks the 25th anniversary of the meltdown at Pennsylvania’s Three Mile Island nuclear reactor, the most hazardous accident in the history of US nuclear production. Former Nuclear Regulatory Commission official Harold Denton stated, "We actually thought the plant was too well designed to have a serious accident. It was kind of like the Titanic."

25 years after Three Mile Island, an even greater nuclear catastrophe is underway at Yucca Mountain. Energy Secretary Spencer Abraham is confident that Yucca Mountain will safely house over 70,000 tons of high-level radioactive waste (HLRW), citing "sound science." Contradicting Abraham, the US Nuclear Waste Technical Review Board warns that a HLRW repository at Yucca Mountain will certainly lead to radioactive releases into surrounding environments.

Should the Department of Energy complete the Yucca Mountain project, when disaster strikes at the site, perhaps the US populace can expect to hear, "We thought Yucca Mountain was foolproof. It was kind of like Three Mile Island."

**Sources:** Inter Press Service, 27 February 2004; CNN Interactive; Environmental Health Alliance.

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**Nuclear Terrorism**

**ElBaradei Warns Terrorists Could Go Nuclear**

Responding to terrorist train bombings in Spain on 11 March 2004, International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Director General Mohammed ElBaradei underlined the concern that terrorists could one day go nuclear. ElBaradei stated, "There's obviously a high level of sophistication in the terrorist community…. That heightens the sense of concern that [terrorists] might get their hands on any nuclear device or nuclear material."

The IAEA has repeatedly warned about the danger from terrorists possibly making so-called dirty bombs, conventional explosives laced with nuclear material that would spread radiation once detonated. On 21 March, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation aired an interview with Pakistani journalist Hamid Mir, who claimed that al-Qaeda's number two, Ayman al-Zawahiri, told him that they have purchased small, suitcase portable nuclear weapons on the black market. However, weapons and non-proliferation experts doubt such claims. According to Joseph Cirincione, a non-proliferation expert with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, "My instinct is if they [al-Qaeda] have one we would first find out when they used it."

**Sources:** United Press International, 22 March 2004; Associated Press, 21 March 2004; Middle East Online, 19 March 2004.
YOUTH LEADERSHIP TRAININGS

This year, the Foundation will once again be conducting youth leadership trainings for high school and college students to empower them to become more effective in creating social change on their campus, in their community, across the nation and around the world. The trainings comprise both educational and skill-building components, allowing students to become more familiar with the issues they seek to address and to develop tangible skills in order to advocate for these issues. Specific skill-sets covered include public speaking, coalition-building, working with the media, campus organizing, fundraising and non-violent direct action. To view a list of dates for trainings this year and for more information about the trainings, please visit the Foundation's website at: http://www.wagingpeace.org/menu/programs/youth-outreach/index.htm

PEACE EDUCATION WORKSHOPS

The Foundation’s Peace Education Consultant Leah Wells is taking her curriculum entitled, “Teaching Peace: Lessons for the Classroom and Everyday Life,” to the masses! In March, Leah conducted several Peace Education Training workshops in California in Oakland, Santa Barbara, and San Diego. In April, she will conduct a workshop in Chicago, IL.

To schedule a Peace Education training in your community or for more information on Peace Education, please visit www.PeaceEd.org. You may also sign up for regular Peace Education updates by subscribing to the PeaceEd.org newsletter at http://www.peaced.org/newsletter.htm. A copy of Leah’s curriculum can also be downloaded in pdf format from the Foundation’s website at http://www.wagingpeace.org/menu/programs/youth-outreach/index.htm#peace-ed

Resources

IRAQ ON THE RECORD: THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION’S PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON IRAQ

The Special Investigation Division of the House of Representatives Committee on Government Reform prepared Iraq on the Record for Representative Henry Waxman. Iraq on the Record is a compilation of over 230 misleading statements by top US leadership about the threat posed by Iraq. To read the full report visit: http://www.house.gov/reform/min/pdfs_108_2/pdfs_inves/pdf_admin_iraq_on_the_record_rep.pdf

To search the database of misleading statements visit: http://www.house.gov/reform/min/features/iraq_on_the_record/

DISARMING IRAQ BY HANS BLIX

Never in the history of weapons inspections has a country been more meticulously scrutinized than Iraq. Disarming Iraq is authored by Hans Blix, the executive directory of UNMOVIC (United Nations Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission), who managed the international team of weapons inspectors in Iraq from 2000 to 2003. Blix finds that years of containment worked, that international pressures prevented Iraq from developing and maintaining prohibited weapons programs.

A Year After the Iraq War: A Nine-Country Survey by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press

Nearly 8,000 people from the US, Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Turkey, Morocco, Jordan and Pakistan were surveyed between 19 February and 3 March 2004. Those surveyed were asked about the Iraq war, America’s image in the world, European-U.S. relations, and attitudes in the Muslim world on these and related issues.


AGAINST ALL ENEMIES: INSIDE THE WHITE HOUSE’S WAR ON TERROR - WHAT REALLY HAPPENED BY RICHARD CLARKE

Against All Enemies is Clarke’s account of a White House preoccupied with ideological interests, instead of national security. Richard Clarke was appointed by President Clinton in 1998 as the first National Coordinator for Security, Infrastructure Protection, and Counter-terrorism. Clarke remained as the National Coordinator when Bush took over the White House, and began reporting directly to National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice. Less than one month after 11 September 2001, Clarke was reappointed as Special Advisor to the President for Cyberspace Security. On 23 March 2004, Clarke resigned as Special Advisor, ending 30 years of Government service. Since Clarke’s resignation and the release of Against All Enemies, he has issued an apology to 9/11 family members and said President Bush has “done a terrible job on the war against terrorism.”
SUPPORT THE FOUNDATION’S NATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO CHART A NEW COURSE FOR US NUCLEAR POLICY

The 2004 election year has officially begun and, with it, comes an opportunity to engage presidential and congressional candidates in a public debate on nuclear policies. This is our chance to boldly and decisively move America's nuclear policies in a positive new direction that will ensure security for you, your children and grandchildren.

With this in mind, the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation is launching a national grassroots campaign to mobilize broad-based public support for positive US nuclear disarmament policies that will make us all more secure. In continuing its long tradition of demonstrating world leadership, the US should protect its citizens from the nuclear weapons threat by advancing and implementing nuclear policies that will lead to a safer and more secure environment both in America and around the world.

It is vitally important that you immediately lend your financial support to the critical next phase of launching this campaign. We cannot do it without your support.

Every individual concerned with the future of our security must step forward right now and help. There can be no waiting, no hesitation. This campaign is your opportunity to voice your concerns about nuclear policies and call for US Presidential and Congressional leadership.

Citizens must be the force for change. We cannot stand idly by, waiting for governments to change their policies. It will never happen.

We know you have done a great deal already to support the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation in one of the most critical times in history. But, we urge you to get our campaign efforts off to a strong start by sending an immediate donation in as generous an amount as you can possibly afford.

We need your energy, your spirit, your determination -- and your financial support. Please respond as quickly and as generously as you can.

To make a donation, please visit: https://www.wagingpeace.org/donate