

GLOBAL ZERO STUDENT INSTITUTE

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INDIA-PAKISTAN

WELCOME REMARKS

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Good Evening!

I am very pleased to welcome you to the Global Zero Student Institute in Istanbul. This is my second visit to this wonderful city; and for years I have been longing to return. I hope you have plenty of time to look around, to explore one of the world's greatest cities!

I commend you for concern about the issue of nuclear disarmament. You live in, what I believe to be, the most dangerous region in the world. And I admire you for the strength of your convictions, and for your willingness to take action to resolve a most difficult but essential peace-making task: and as Global Zero Ambassadors for South Asia, to work for not only a world free of nuclear weapons, but specifically, to address the critical need for their elimination in Pakistan and India.

It is quite a challenge to work for the elimination of nuclear weapons in two countries, side-by-side, sharing a *contentious* common border; in a constant state of war and engaged in a nuclear arms race.

Pakistan and India *do have* a bi-lateral nuclear non-aggression agreement. But this agreement prohibits only an attack on each other's nuclear installations and facilities, that is, power and research reactors, uranium enrichment, isotope separation and reprocessing, and any other installations with fresh or irradiated nuclear fuel and materials in any form - in other words it is an agreement to preserve each state's nuclear development infrastructure and its nuclear weapon capability.

Pakistan has continuously rejected India's proposals to extend the agreement to cover civilian and economic targets. And it now may no longer be an option because of a clause added to India's draft nuclear doctrine stating that India would use nuclear weapons if subjected to unacceptable damage from an opponent.

Neither India nor Pakistan has joined the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, nor have they signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. And Pakistan is the sole country blocking the UN negotiations on the Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty. The two states continue to develop, upgrade and enlarge their nuclear arsenals and their delivery vehicles.

Pakistan has been characterized "as having 'the world's fastest-growing nuclear stockpile'" possessing between 100 and 110 nuclear weapons and with sufficient material for over 200 more weapons.¹ India has in its possession between 90 and 110 nuclear warheads, and stockpiles of some 2.5 tons of highly-enriched uranium, and more than half a ton of weapons-grade plutonium.

¹ Hans M. Kristensen and Robert S. Norris, "Pakistan's Nuclear Forces, 2011," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 67(4), 2011. Phillip Schell and Hans M. Kristensen, "Pakistani Nuclear Forces," SIPRI Yearbook 2013 (Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 2013). [3] "Pakistan," International Panel on Fissile Materials, February 2013, www.fissilematerials.org.

There are no constraints on India and Pakistan in their acquisition, development and stockpiling of nuclear weapons. Only following use would they be in violation of International Humanitarian Law – the laws of War; and condemned and charged with committing a crime against humanity. However, this is academic because after such an exchange between India and Pakistan there would be no one left to prosecute.

I imagine that you know of the case study, undertaken by The International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War on the consequences of nuclear weapons use. For the study, the physicians selected a limited nuclear war between your countries - India and Pakistan - with each country detonating 50 small nuclear bombs the size of the one used on Hiroshima - 16 kilotons - which is large enough to destroy a city.

The results of the study were that the bomb itself, the subsequent fire and the radiation from 100 small nuclear weapons would kill 20 million people in less than a week. As well, the fires would inject about 5 million tons of soot into the upper atmosphere and cause a decade-long radical drop in temperature - “a nuclear winter”. This would affect food-growing regions in most parts of the world, and the lives of over 1 billion people would be a risk from famine.

Nuclear war between the two countries is, of course, the worst case imaginable and it is the profound hope of all of us that it never occurs.

There is the risk, however, of an accidental or an unauthorized – a malicious - launch. And this – more than likely - would have the same consequences as a deliberate attack for reason that the countries are side by side; and because the nuclear command and control systems are highly automated, there would not be enough time to stop the automatic chain of action, in order to prevent a counter-attack.

Another possibility is an accident involving nuclear weapons, or - more frightening still - theft and use – detonation – by terrorists. This is a distinct possibility. The security of Pakistan’s nuclear weapons is at great risk – a situation of concern to all in the global community.

For many years Al Qaeda has been seeking nuclear weapons. Also, incursions into Pakistan by the Taliban are responsible for increased terrorism and outbreaks of violence. Groups linked to the Taliban have attacked government and military installations. And a year ago last August, one of these terrorist groups gained access to a site which is said to house nuclear weapons. As well, attempts have been made to kidnap officials and technicians who work at nuclear sites. So the situation is exceedingly dangerous.

I apologize if I have frightened you into not returning home! But what better place is there than Istanbul to declare asylum!

Seriously though, it *is* a terrifying situation and one of great concern in the world community.

It is to be regretted that the legacy of colonialism still haunts India and Pakistan; and that generations later, the consequences continue to have such an impact on the lives of the people in your countries. In 1947 with the slash of a pen the country was - for the main part divided into two, in a benevolent attempt - and supported by the British, the Indian Congress and the Muslim League - to accommodate religious differences.

And because of its location, the princedom of Kashmir, was to choose between joining either Pakistan or India. The population of Kashmir was predominantly Muslim, and the Maharaja, who was Hindu, decided to remain neutral. However, an invasion of Pakistani tribesmen forced the Maharaja to flee to India, where he signed a document of Accession ceding Kashmir to India - the root cause of the conflict between the countries.

It was a time of terror with Hindus and Muslims killing each other. My parents were in India at the time of partition; and my father, with his servant Mohammed and his family crouched down in the Australian High Commission car, drove them to the station for the train to Pakistan. My parents never heard whether or not they arrived there or were safe. My seven-year-old brother was at Bishop Cotton School in Simla, and each night the students slept in the basement and the senior Sikh students patrolled the grounds armed with rifles to protect both the Hindu and the Muslim students.

I imagine I am telling what you already know about the terror of this time because this situation has kept India and Pakistan in a state of war, since 1947. There was one agreed ceasefire in 1949; and with a United Nations mandate, Kashmir was unequally divided - 65% to India and 35% to Pakistan, with a de facto border, the Line of Control. Three wars were fought over Kashmir and the violence continues to this day, with cross-border artillery exchanges; and infiltration and insurgent attacks into India, supported by the Pakistan military.

Prime Ministers Manmohan Singh of India and Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan, I believe, can be trusted to keep the states free of nuclear war and to do their utmost to bring peace to both countries. And indeed, have reached out to each other in the past few months. But they need your help. There are many in both countries who resist this. Prime Ministers Singh and Sharif need people, and others like you, to join together to build a network of knowledge and actions centres both within India and Pakistan as well as a trans-border network to build support for, and to educate people about, the dangers, and the need for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

As Global Zero Regional Ambassadors a major component of your development of networks of University chapters is education – education on what a nuclear weapon is, how it differs from weapons of war. People need to understand the humanitarian consequences of a nuclear detonation; that a nuclear weapon is a genocide weapon - a weapon of mass extinction. It is essential that people understand the damage it does.

Television brought the Vietnam War into the living rooms of the United States and these war images played a great part in ending the war. A few months ago, real-time images of Syrian men, women and children, victims of Chemical Weapons attacks - conveyed by satellite and transmitted around the world via cell-phones, the internet, on You-Tube and Face Book, on television and in the print media - created an outpouring of global moral outrage which brought results.

Though it did not end the war in Syria which has so far killed over 100, 000 people, it resulted in the government of Syria acceding to the Chemical Weapons Treaty and ridding itself of its chemical weaponry, and in peace negotiations still to take place.

These technologies were not invented when Hiroshima and Nagasaki were bombed. There was no television, there were no satellites, no internet, no social media. The devastating consequences to humans *was* filmed, most of it by the US Military, and the footage was not made public. The images seen by the general public, for the most part, were - and still are - cleansed of desperately injured and distressed people. One commonly-used image is of a devastated rubble-strewn city, the skeletal remnants of what is now the Peace Tower, and distant images of a few people walking around – one imagines dazed and looking for lost family.

The dreadful and shocking footages of the immediate consequences to the survivors of Hiroshima - painfully injured adults, screaming children, burned skin dropping like cloth from people's flesh, eyeballs burned from their sockets, skin hanging off their bodies and desperate for help, sheltering in one of the still-standing buildings in Hiroshima - remains in the archives. The images of these suffering victims some of whom only survived a few hours, some a few days, should be obtained and widely disseminated in order that people understand the consequences of a nuclear detonation; and feel the same moral compulsion to take action which led to the end of the Vietnam war and to action on Syria, in order to remove the threat of nuclear annihilation which hangs over us – as President Kennedy said – like the Sword of Damocles!².

The survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki suffered from bomb-related health problems for their entire lives, many who became pregnant gave birth to malformed children. The survivors of nuclear weapon testing in the Marshall Islands gave birth to entities like bunches of grapes, or babies born with transparent skin so that their hearts could be seen beating, their brains visible – all of whom died within a few days.

To tell people that there are 17,000 nuclear weapons in the world doesn't seem to change much. It is so abstract and a relative unknown because nuclear secrecy. The nuclear plan, the dangers, the accidents, the consequences are deliberate government secrets. Numbers, sizes or power of the warheads do not resonate - do not have much meaning!

² *Today, every inhabitant of this planet must contemplate the day when this planet may no longer be habitable. Every man, woman and child lives under a nuclear sword of Damocles, hanging by the slenderest of threads, capable of being cut at any moment by accident or miscalculation or by madness*

In fact one young man in Canada believed a nuclear weapon to be the destructive and evil equivalent of a drone.

When India tested its bomb in 1998, the public response in India was one of jubilation. The bomb was seen as a symbol of global prestige! “*India now belonged to the select nuclear weapons club!*” But what India actually did was sign a pact with the devil – joined the devil’s club.

When aborigines appeared in the High Court of Australia to protect their land from the uranium mining companies, they said the lands were sacred and their name for the lands, translated is “The Sickness Lands.” They said if one touches the earth he or she will die. They knew the dangers of uranium. And we know that when it is refined to weapons-grade and loaded onto a weapon, some one million will die with one bomb.

This is why it is so important for you to undertake this challenge. I began this task in the 1980s. I was a University student, marching in protests against the nuclear weapons build-up of the Reagan era. There was so much fear and anger in the public realm about this immense and growing arsenal that my young daughter began having nightmares about nuclear war. So I established The Simons Foundation because I believed that a world free of nuclear weapons would be the greatest legacy I could give her.

This has not been a successful career for me! However there is progress! The numbers have come down. But even though there are now only some 17,000, this number can still destroy us all. Zero is the only safe number! So we need you - we need your youth, your energy, your commitment, and your zeal - to carry on this task!

I am not retiring! And I am so pleased that you are joining with those of us who have been working for a generation and more, to rid the world of the greatest menace to humanity ever invented. So thank you! Thank you very much!

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Jennifer Allen Simons was a member of the Canadian Delegation to the 2000 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference and the 2002 PrepCom for the 2005 Conference. She is Founding Partner of Global Zero and, at Simon Fraser University, is Senior Fellow at the Centre for Dialogue and Adjunct Professor at the School for International Studies.