

Diary Dates

- Sun 1 Sept **Green Festival** at Victoria Embankment
- Thu 5 Sept **Dont Attack Iraq – Public Meeting**
Organised by Stop the War, at the Comfort Hotel, George Street. More details below
- Sat 7 Sept **Founding meeting of East Midlands CND**, Queen's Walk Community Centre, The Meadows, 11.30am
- Sat 28 Sept **Dont Attack Iraq – National Demo in London**
Buses leave Nottingham at 8am. More details below.

East Midlands CND – Founding Meeting

7th Sept, Queens Walk Community Centre, 11.30am

Help CND in building its activists links across the East Midlands – be part of the solution

Don't Attack Iraq

If bombing of Iraq starts, there will be a silent vigil that day from 5.30pm outside the Council House, Market Square.

Sept 5th 7.30pm Public Meeting

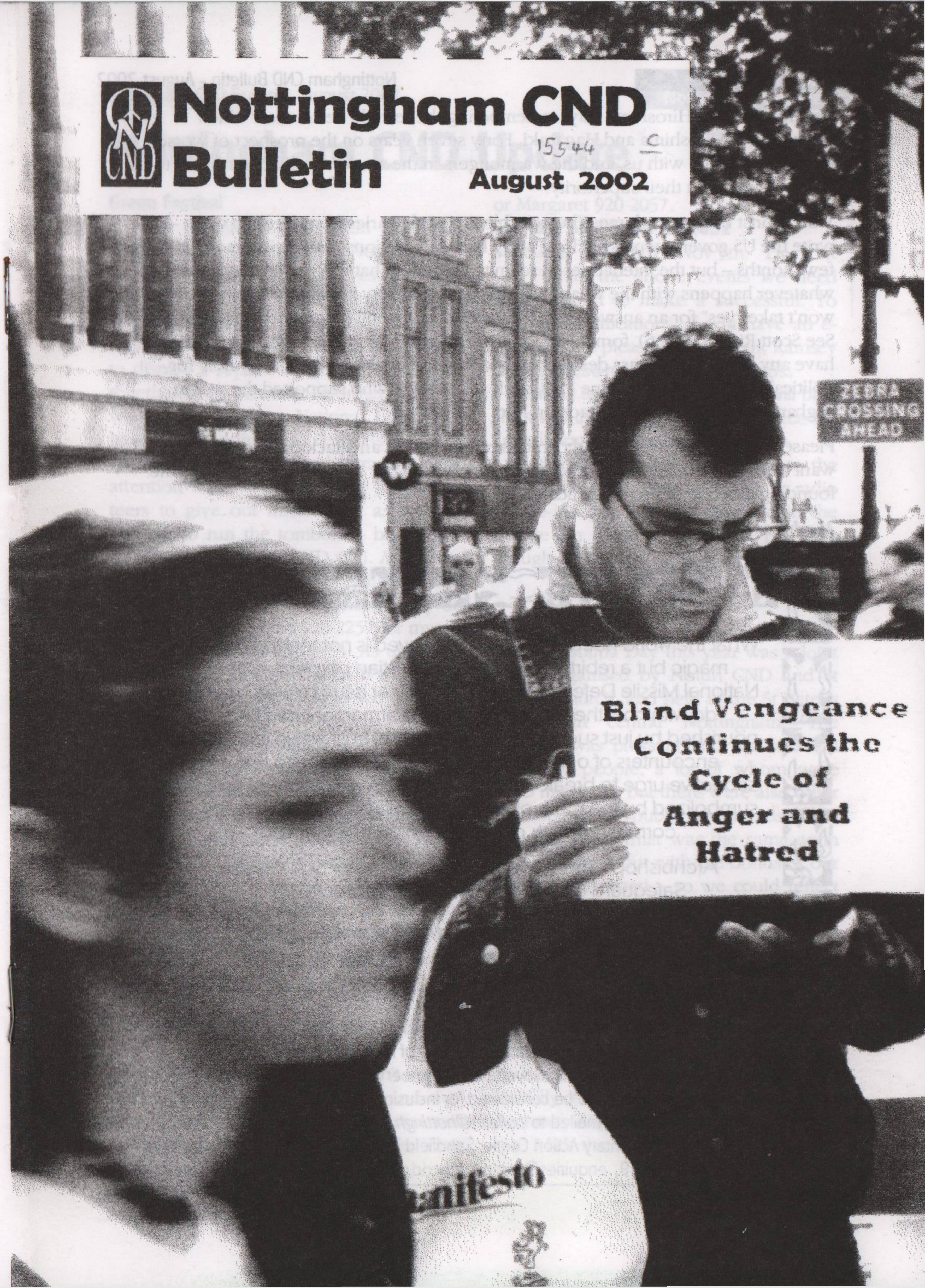
Organised by Stop the War, at the Comfort Hotel, George Street. Main speaker Mike Marqusee, freelance journalist, Guardian contributor, author of best-seller 'Redemption' and Muhammed Ali biography.

Sept 28th National Demo in London

Organised by Stop the War and supported by National CND. Tickets for sale price £8 waged, £6 unwaged. Buses leave the Salutation Inn, Maid Marian Way at 8.00 am. For tickets contact



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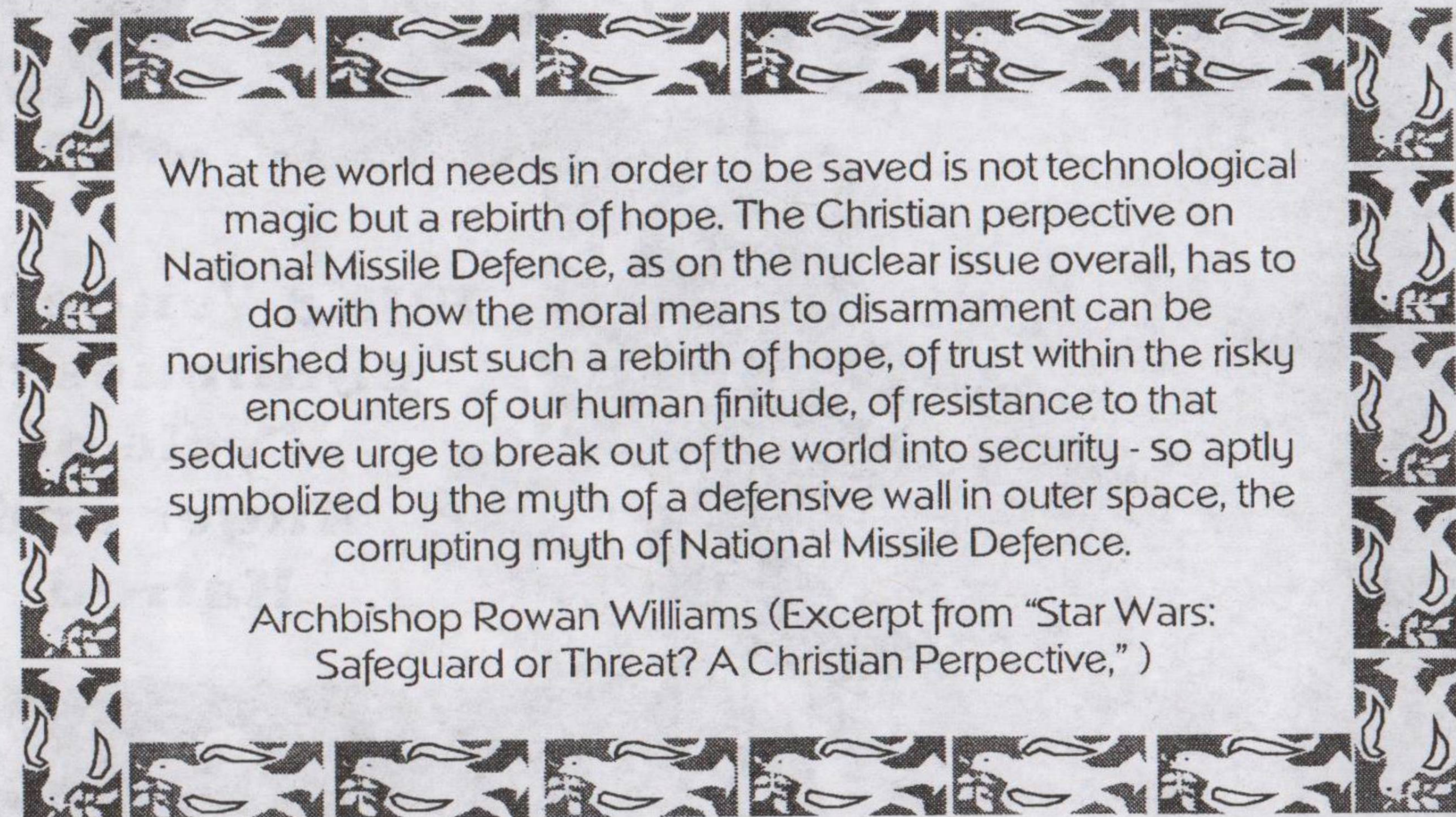


Recently we had Hiroshima Day, remembering the terrible destruction which happened at Hiroshima and Haganaki. Forty seven years on the prospect of worse devastation is still with us, and the warmongers in the world are still determined to use weapons to assert their superiority.

War against Iraq looms large. The possible timescale varies from week to week – as I write the US government is backing away from suggestions that it will attack in the next few months – but the intent doesn't seem to change. Whatever the legality, and whatever happens with the weapons inspectors (as I saw it written elsewhere, the US won't take "yes" for an answer), the US government is still determined to attack Iraq. See Scott Ritter (page 6), former weapons inspector in Iraq, who says that it doesn't have any weapons of mass destruction and that the proposed attack is purely for political motives. At least some MPs, such as my own, who supported the war in Afghanistan, are against an attack on Iraq.

Please come to the meeting and demonstration against an attack on Iraq. And if you want to help build links with other CND members in our area, why not come to the founding meeting of East Midlands CND?

Mark Ramsey – Editor



What the world needs in order to be saved is not technological magic but a rebirth of hope. The Christian perspective on National Missile Defence, as on the nuclear issue overall, has to do with how the moral means to disarmament can be nourished by just such a rebirth of hope, of trust within the risky encounters of our human finitude, of resistance to that seductive urge to break out of the world into security - so aptly symbolized by the myth of a defensive wall in outer space, the corrupting myth of National Missile Defence.

Archbishop Rowan Williams (Excerpt from "Star Wars: Safeguard or Threat? A Christian Perspective,")

Nottingham CND Bulletin #2002/3

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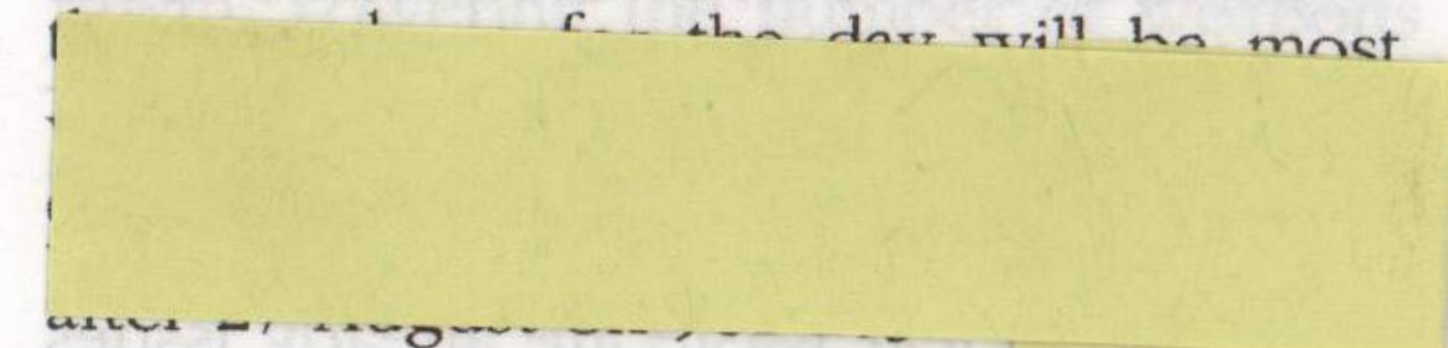
The next issue of the Bulletin is due in November/December 2002. Articles (preferably on PC computer disk) or other material to be considered for inclusion should be sent to Nottingham CND at the address below or e-mailed to bulletin@nottinghamcnd.org.uk by October 20th.

Nottingham CND, Nottm Voluntary Action Centre, Sandfield House, 7 Mansfield Road, Nottingham
www.nottinghamcnd.org.uk

Nottingham CND Update

Green Festival

On September 1st, Nottm CND will be taking part yet again in Nottm Green Festival. It seems like only yesterday we were arranging the similar event, but with all the activity since September 11th time seems to have flown by. This year we hope to display a replica of the Trident missile together with relevant information. This we are getting from National CND who have been lending it to Festivals throughout the country. We hope it attracts a lot of attention and we are looking for volunteers to give out information as well as helping to run the tombola – bric-a-brac stall, and our normal CND stall. Any items for the day will be most



more help we get, the better. We are hoping to purchase a gazebo so we will look more professional.

Other events of importance

Sept 5th Public Meeting organised by Stop the War: Comfort Hotel, George St. 7.30. 'Don't Attack Iraq' - Main speaker Mike Marqusee, freelance journalist, Guardian contributor, author of best-seller 'Redemption', also Muhammed Ali biography. It is hoped a CND speaker will also participate.

Sept 7th First meeting of East Midlands CND, Queen's Walk Community Centre, The Meadows, 11.30am – to set up a collaborative grouping for the area – see Tom Cuthbert's article on page 4.

Sept 28th National Demo: Don't Attack Iraq, organised by Stop the War and supported by National CND. Tickets for sale price £8 waged, £6 unwaged. Buses leave the Salutation Inn, Maid Marian Way at 8.00 am. For tickets contact Diane 981 2034

or Margaret 920 2057.

Saturday Stall Dates for 2002

Sept 21st Oct 26th Nov 9th Dec 21st

For all the above events we need your support to make it successful. To ease communications, if you have an e-mail address please contact Mark Ramsey at enquiries@nottinghamcnd.org.uk.

If bombing of Iraq does start, there will be a silent vigil that day from 5.30pm outside the Council House, Market Square.

Please remember – all letters to the press, MP's etc, and contributions to radio phone-ins can be most effective in the debate on recent events and possible, though unimaginable, nuclear attack.

Diane Lunzer - Secretary

Hiroshima Day Report

Hiroshima Day this year was a joint event organised by Nottm CND and St Peter's Church, and held in the St Peter's garden in central Nottingham. The weather was pleasant and we attracted about 60 people, a lot of whom were CND members, but there were also other members of the public and friends of the Church. The format was the same as in previous years but with the bonus of our not feeling rushed – so we could reflect on past and recent events and hope for a better future. As dusk came down we were given the opportunity to place a lighted candle for peace on a large world map, each of us choosing a country. This looked very effective – especially seeing people holding the paper cranes which had been passed around (having been skilfully folded all evening by Church Secretary Angela).

I felt the event went very well, and was very moving, but with a bit more continued on page 4

East Midlands CND

August has a dreadful resonance for any activist in CND, since of all the mind numbing horrors generated by World War 2, the US bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, speaks to us across the millennium of the fears we still face from nuclear weapons. Hiroshima held its 57th memorial service on August 6th, when children released hundreds of paper lanterns down the Moto Yasu river in front of the A bomb dome, the shell of one of the few buildings to survive.

With staggering ignorance of the consequences, military planners at the Pentagon are planning another attack on Iraq. Despite assurances to the contrary the US president is playing politics with the tragedy of Sept 11th to gain support for this dangerous fantasy. Central to Bush's hypocrisy is the assertion that Iraq will possess weapons of mass destruction and will use them unless stopped. The perceived prize is control of one fifth of the world's oil reserves.

Hugely damaging wars dispose of thousands of lives in Afghanistan, Israel and Palestine, nuclear conflict is being held off over Kashmir, and threatened with Iraq. The British government has a major responsibility.

There have been few better chances or worst times to propose a revival of the peace movement and CND's part in it. Campaigning here in the East Midlands is well established in towns like Leicester and Nottingham, but even experienced activists need support. Work on an East

Hiroshima Day Report (continued)

forward planning could be even better next year. Thanks to everyone who attended, especially those who performed, spoke and read. Nottm CND will be sending a card of particular thanks to the

Midlands CND began realistically after the Development and Support resolution at CND Conference 2001. CND Council established a group whose first meeting was in Birmingham in February 2002. Meetings advocating the regional idea were held in Nottingham, Leicester, Derby and Lutterworth. Others were contacted in Grantham and Loughborough. A constitution was drawn up, circulated and feedback generated. To bring the project to fruition a steering group is being proposed and a founding meeting set up in Nottingham on September 7th 2002.

Two prominent Defence Ministers, Geoff Hoon MP for Ashfield and Lord William Bach of Lutterworth, reside in the East Midlands. The Trident submarine refit is contracted to Rolls Royce in Derby. The transport of nuclear materials and the disposal of nuclear waste are already issues in the area. NASA already have a considerable input to the National Space Centre based in Leicester, in reality it disguises the US military and nuclear input to space research with the wonder of science in the universe.

Will you give your support to CND in building its activists links across the East Midlands? Why not attend the founding meeting in Nottingham (details on back page)? Your involvement could make the difference this troubled world needs. Be part of the solution.

For
Cuthbe
at Nott

Rector, Andrew Deuchar, for allowing the use of the Church grounds, and for his help and participation. We hope to be back next year – unless anybody has any other alternative ideas they want us to look into...

US & Russia Sign Nuclear Treaty

In May the US & Russia signed a treaty to reduce their nuclear weapons arsenals to between 1,700 and 2,200 to be achieved by 2012. This to be welcomed as a step in the right direction, but there are significant weaknesses.

Last year it was clear that while both leaders were aiming towards this objective there were significant differences between them. The US wanted an informal agreement and to keep its weapons in reserve. Russia wanted the extra warheads to be destroyed and a binding treaty to be signed. In the end there is a Treaty, but it allows both sides to keep their old weapons in bunkers, rather than destroying them. Lowering the number of weapons deployed on alert is a positive step. But retaining the old warheads leaves an easy route for either side to rapidly increase their arsenals in the future. It also means that there will be thousands of old nuclear weapons lying around the former Soviet Union.

The new Treaty has to be seen in the context of the Nuclear Policy Review re-

cently conducted in the USA. The contents of the review were leaked to the media in March. It calls for an arsenal which is smaller and more useable. While reducing the number of operational weapons, the Pentagon also plans to build new lower yield nuclear bombs. There may be less restraint is using such a weapon and so the nuclear threshold is more likely to be crossed. The US also plans to build bunker busting bombs. If these were ever used they would be detonated on or below the surface causing huge amounts of radioactive fallout.

The review also details circumstances in which nuclear arms might be used. These include against targets which cannot be destroyed by conventional weapons, eg bunkers, and in the event of "unforeseen circumstances". Particular scenarios which have been considered involve Iraq, Iran, Syria, Libya, and North Korea as well as China and Russia.

*Taken from Scottish CND website
www.banthebomb.org*

Church leaders join anti-war lobby

Church leaders including the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, yesterday questioned the legality and morality of an American-led assault on Iraq in a strongly worded declaration handed to Downing Street. The declaration has attracted nearly 3,000 signatories including a number of bishops representing a broad section of Anglican opinion, as well as Catholic bishops.

The declaration, drawn up by Pax Christi, the international Catholic peace movement, states: "It is deplorable that the

world's most powerful nations continue to regard war and the threat of war as an acceptable instrument of foreign policy, in violation of the ethos of both the United Nations and Christian moral teaching. The way to peace does not lie through war but through the transformation of structures of injustice and of the politics of exclusion, and that is the cause to which the west should be devoting its technological, diplomatic and economic resources."

Taken from The Guardian, 7 Aug 2002

Scott Ritter: The Coming War with Iraq

Scott Ritter, Marine Corps veteran and former UN weapons inspector in Iraq, stood in front of the meeting he was about to address. The contrast between him and his audience – peace activists, ageing hippies and assorted freaks – at this meeting organized by the United For Justice With Peace Coalition could hardly have been greater.

"I need to say right out front," he said minutes into his speech, "I'm a card-carrying Republican in the conservative-moderate range who voted for George W. Bush for President. I'm not here with a political agenda. I'm not here to slam Republicans. I am one." Yet this was a lie. Scott Ritter had come with a political agenda: to denounce the coming American war in Iraq. According to Ritter, this coming war is about nothing more or less than domestic American politics, based upon speculation and rhetoric entirely divorced from fact. According to Ritter, that war is just over the horizon.

"The Third Marine Expeditionary Force in California is preparing to have 20,000 Marines deployed in the (Iraq) region for ground combat operations by mid-October," he said. "The Air Force has been told to have three air expeditionary wings ready for combat operations in Iraq by mid-October. As a guy who was part of the first Gulf War," said Ritter, "when you deploy that much military power forward - disrupting their training cycles, disrupting their operational cycles, disrupting everything, spending a lot of money - it is very difficult to pull them back without using them. You got 20,000 Marines forward deployed in October, you better expect war in October."

Since September 11th there has been much talk of war, and much talk of war

with Iraq. Ritter was careful to note that there are no good wars – as a veteran, he described war as purely awful and something not to be trivialized – but that there is such a thing as a just war. He described America as a good place, filled with potential and worth fighting for. We go to just war, he said, when our national existence has been threatened.

According to Ritter, there is no justification in fact, national security, international law or basic morality to justify this coming war with Iraq. "This is not about the security of the United States," he said this card-carrying Republican. "This is about domestic American politics. The national security of the United States of America has been hijacked by a handful of neo-conservatives who are using their position of authority to pursue their own ideologically-driven political ambitions. The day we go to war for that reason is the day we have failed collectively as a nation."

Saddam Hussein has been demonized for twelve years by American politicians and the media. He gassed his own people, and America has already fought one war to keep him under control. Ritter's presence in Iraq was demanded in the first place by Hussein's pursuit of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons of mass destruction, along with the ballistic missile technology that could deliver these weapons to all points on the compass. According to the Bush administration, Hussein has ties to the same Al Qaeda terrorists that brought down the World Trade Center. It is certain that Hussein will use these terrorist links to deliver a lethal blow to America, using any number of the aforementioned weap-

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ons. The argument, propounded by Bush administration officials on any number of Sunday news talk shows, is that a pre-emptive strike against Iraq, and the unseating of Saddam Hussein, is critical to American national security. Why wait for them to hit us first?

If an unquestionable case could be made that such weapons and terrorist connections existed, said Ritter, then he would be all for a war in Iraq. It would be just, smart, and in the interest of national defense.

However, according to Scott Ritter, who spent seven years in Iraq with the UNSCOM weapons inspection teams performing acidly detailed investigations into Iraq's weapons program, no such capability exists. Iraq simply does not have weapons of mass destruction, and does not have threatening ties to international terrorism. Therefore, no premise for a war in Iraq exists. Considering the American military lives and the Iraqi civilian lives that will be spent in such an endeavor, not to mention the deadly regional destabilization that will ensue, such a baseless war must be avoided at all costs.

"The Bush administration has provided the American public with little more than rhetorically laced speculation," said Ritter. "There has been nothing in the way of substantive fact presented that makes the case that Iraq possesses these weapons or has links to international terror, that Iraq poses a threat to the United States of America worthy of war."

Ritter regaled the crowd with stories of his time in Iraq with UNSCOM. The basis for the coming October war is the continued existence of a weapons program that threatens America. Ritter noted explicitly that Iraq, of course, had these

weapons at one time – he spent seven years there tracking them down. At the outset, said Ritter, they lied about it. They hid everything they could, as cleverly as they could.

After the first lie, Ritter and his team refused to believe anything else they said. They meticulously tracked down every bomb, every missile, every factory designed to produce chemical, biological and nuclear weaponry. They went to Europe and found the manufacturers who sold them the equipment, got invoices, tracked the shipping of these materials and cross-referenced this data against the invoices. They lifted the foundations of buildings destroyed in the Gulf War to find wrecked research and development labs, at great risk to their lives, and used the paperwork there to cross-reference what they had already cross-referenced. Everything they found was later destroyed in place.

After a while, the Iraqis knew Ritter and his people were robotically thorough. Fearing military retaliation if they hid anything, the Iraqis instituted a policy of full disclosure. Still, Ritter believed nothing they said and tracked everything down. By the time he was finished, Ritter was mortally sure that he and his UNSCOM investigators had stripped Iraq of 90-95% of all their weapons of mass destruction.

What of the missing 10%? Is this not still a threat? Ritter believes that the ravages of the Gulf War accounted for a great deal of the missing material, as did the governmental chaos caused by sanctions. The Iraqis' policy of full disclosure, also, was of a curious nature that deserved all of Ritter's mistrust. Fearing the aforementioned attacks, Iraq instituted a policy of

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destroying whatever Ritter's people had not yet found, and then pretending it never existed in the first place. Some of that also accounts for a portion of that missing 10%.

Ritter told a story about running down 98 missiles the Iraqis tried to pretend never existed. UNSCOM got hold of the documentation describing them, and demanded proof that they had, in fact, been destroyed. He was brought to a field where, according to Iraqi officials, the missiles had been blown up and then buried. At this point, Ritter and his team became "forensic archaeologists," digging up every single missile component they could find there. When they had finished checking the serial numbers on the components, they had accounted for 96 of the missiles. Left over was a pile of metal with no identifying marks, which the Iraqis claimed were the other two missiles.

The pile of metal left over from this investigation that could not be identified means Iraq, technically, could not receive a 100% confirmation that all its weapons were destroyed. Along with the other mitigating factors described above, it seems clear that 100% compliance under the UNSCOM rules was impossible to achieve. 90-95%, however, is an impressive record.

The fact that chemical and biological weapons ever existed in the first place demands action, according to the Bush administration. After all, they could have managed to hide vast amounts of the stuff from Ritter's investigators. Iraq manufactured three kinds of these nerve agents: VX, Sarin and Tabou. However, two of these have a shelf life of five years. And would now be a useless and completely harmless goo.

The VX gas was of a greater concern

to Ritter. It is harder to manufacture than the others, but once made stable, it can be kept for much longer. Ritter's people found the VX manufacturing facility that the Iraqis claimed never existed totally destroyed, hit by a Gulf War bomb on January 23, 1991. The field where the material they had manufactured was subsequently buried underwent more forensic archaeology to determine that whatever they had made had also been destroyed. All of this, again, was cross-referenced and meticulously researched.

"The research and development factory is destroyed," said Ritter. "The product of that factory is destroyed. The weapons they loaded up have been destroyed. More importantly, the equipment procured from Europe that was going to be used for their large-scale VX nerve agent factory was identified by the special commission - still packed in its crates in 1997 - and destroyed. Is there a VX nerve agent factory in Iraq today? Not on your life."

As no weapons inspection team has set foot in Iraq since 1998, it could have restarted its weapons manufacturing capabilities within six months of Ritter's departure. But they would have to start completely from scratch, having been deprived of all equipment, facilities and research because of Ritter's work. The procurement of the necessary tools and technology, the manufacture of chemical and biological weapons, and the manufacture of nuclear weapons would have been detected. We have been watching, via satellite and other means, and we have detected nothing.

"If Iraq was producing weapons today, we would have definitive proof," said Ritter, "plain and simple."

And yet we march to war, and soon.

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Why? What motivates this, if not hard facts and true threats? According to Ritter, it comes down to opportunistic politics and a decade of hard anti-Hussein rhetoric that has boxed the Bush administration into a rhetorical corner.

Back in 1991, the UN Security Council mandated the destruction of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Sanctions were placed upon Iraq to pressure them to comply. The first Bush administration signed on to this, but also issued a covert finding that mandated the removal of Saddam Hussein. Even if all the weapons were destroyed, Bush Sr. would not lift the sanctions until Hussein was gone.

Bush Sr., and Clinton after him, came to realize that talking about removing Hussein was far, far easier than achieving that goal. Hussein was, and remains, virtually coup-proof. Starting the massive military engagement that would have been required to remove Hussein by force presented insurmountable political obstacles. The tough talk about confronting Hussein continued, but the Bush and Clinton administrations treaded water. Politicians began making a living off of demonizing Hussein, and lambasting Clinton for failing to have him removed. Before long, the American people knew the drill - Saddam is an evil threat and must be met with military force, period.

The removal of Saddam Hussein became a plank in the Republican's race for the US Presidency in 2000. Once in power, however, George W. Bush came to realize that talking tough was easy but removing Hussein from power was not easy at all. His own rhetoric was all around him, however, pushing him into that corner which had only one exit. Still, like the two Presidents before him, he treaded

water.

Then came September 11th. Within days, Bush was on television claiming that the terrorists must have had state-sponsored help, and that state sponsor must be Iraq. When the anthrax attacks came, Bush blamed Iraq again. Both times, he had no basis whatsoever in fact for his claims.

The dearth of definitive proof of an Iraqi threat against America began to go international. Defense Secretary Rumsfeld appeared before NATO not long ago and demanded that they support America's looming Iraq war. But when they tried to ask questions of him about the basis for this war, Rumsfeld absolutely refused to answer any of them. Instead, he said "The absence of evidence is not the evidence of absence." Scott Ritter appeared before NATO some days after this at their invitation to offer answers to their questions. After he was finished, 16 of the 19 NATO nations present wrote letters of complaint to the American government about Rumsfeld's comments, and about its basis for war.

Some have claimed that the Bush administration may hold secret evidence pointing to a threat within Iraq, one that cannot be exposed for fear of compromising a source. Ritter dismissed this out of hand: "If the administration had such secret evidence we'd be at war in Iraq right now. We wouldn't be talking about it. It would be a fait accompli."

Ritter made no bones about the fact that Saddam Hussein is an evil man. His work in Iraq, and his detailed understanding of the incredible technological requirements for the production of weapons of mass destruction, leads him to believe beyond question that there is no

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basis in fact or in the needs of national security for a war in Iraq.

"The clock is ticking," he said, "and it's ticking towards war. And it's going to be a real war. It's going to be a war that will result in the deaths of hundreds, if not thousands, of Americans and tens of thousands of Iraqi civilians. It's a war that is going to devastate Iraq. It's a war that's going to destroy the credibility of the USA. I just came back from London, and I can tell you this - Tony Blair may talk a good show about war, but the British people and the bulk of the British government do not support this war. The Europeans do not support this war. NATO does not support this war. No one supports this war."

It is of a certainty that few in the Muslim world support another American war with Iraq. Osama bin Laden used the civilian suffering in Iraq under the san-

ctions to demonstrate to his followers the evils of America and the West. Another war would exacerbate those already-raw emotions.

Scott Ritter wants to be present as a witness on Monday when the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee convenes a hearing that will decide whether or not America goes to war in Iraq. He wants to share his information with Senators who have spent too many years listening to, or propounding, rhetorical and speculative fearmongering about an Iraqi threat to America that does not exist. Instead, he wants the inspectors back in Iraq, doing their jobs.

"This is not theory," said Ritter as he closed his comments. "This is real. And the only way this war is going to be stopped is if Congress stops this war."

Extracted from an article by William Rivers Pitt, 24 July 2002

Taken from www.truthout.org

The (il)Legality of an Attack on Iraq

The US may try to argue that existing UN security council resolutions provide sufficient legal authority for a new attack on Iraq. Saddam is certainly in breach of UN resolutions passed after the invasion of Kuwait, but these resolutions do not envisage, or authorise, the sort of invasion and "regime change" being proposed.

To justify such an assault the US must persuade the security council to invoke chapter VII, article 42, of the UN charter, having first made the case that Iraq currently presents a "threat to the peace", under article 39, that cannot be countered in any other way. This will be very difficult to do - Iraq's weapons of mass destruction capability is assumed rather than known and there is no evidence that Saddam

plans to use such weapons in future nor that the US is a WMD target and is acting in self-defence (article 51).

US intervention on humanitarian grounds could be justified in theory by UNSC resolution 688 which proscribes repression of Iraq's civilian population. Such repression undoubtedly continues, but given the likely cost in civilian lives of a major US attack and the following chaos it would not be a reasonable justification.

For these reasons, the US can be expected to try to bypass the security council while still vaguely claiming to act in accordance with "international law". It must not be allowed to do so.

Extracted from a Guardian Editorial, 30 July 2002

Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction

Missiles

All medium and long range missiles and missile production facilities were destroyed by UNSCOM between September 1991 and June 1992. Inspectors certified in October 1997 that they had proof that 817 out of the 819 Iraqi missiles of a range longer than 150km were destroyed (para.7). UNSCOM recorded that Iraq had no missile launchers.

The Panel on Disarmament, established by the Security Council to review the extent and future of the Iraqi disarmament process, reported in March 1999 that "UNSCOM has also concluded that Iraq does not possess a capability to indigenously produce" either long range missiles or the so-called "Supergun" (para.17). There have been claims that Iraq has converted lorries into missile launchers since 1999 - but at issue are only short-range rocket systems which Iraq is not prohibited from developing.

Nuclear

Iraq's nuclear facilities were fully accounted for. After rigorous inspection, the IAEA reported to the Security Council on 13 April 1998 that Iraq had compiled a "full, final and complete" account of its previous nuclear projects, and there was no indication of any prohibited activity. The IAEA repeated this conclusion in its report of 4 July 1998, and stated in December 1998 to the Security Council that Iraq's nuclear weapon programme had been eliminated, "efficiently and effectively", with Iraqi co-operation. The Security Council Panel on Disarmament itself reported in March 1999 that "there is no indication that Iraq possesses nuclear weapons or any meaningful amounts of weapon-usable nuclear material or that Iraq has retained any practical capability

(facilities or hardware) for the production of such material". Iraq continues to allow IAEA inspectors into Iraq to check its facilities: the IAEA reported that its most recent inspection in January 2002 was carried out with full Iraqi compliance.

Biological Weapons (BWs)

UNSCOM recorded its destruction of al-Hakam, Iraq's main biological weapons facility, in May-June 1996. The Security Council's panel recorded in March 1999 that "the declared facilities of Iraq's BW programme have been destroyed and rendered harmless" (para.23).

Chemical Weapons (CWs)

On 15 October 1993, Rolf Ekeus, Executive Chairman of UNSCOM from 1991 to 1997, reported to the Security Council that substantial progress had been made in dismantling Iraq's chemical programmes. Ritter has reported that both he and Ekeus were convinced that the disarmament of Iraq's chemical weapons was almost complete by early 1995.

UK government ministers have frequently cited the final substantive reports delivered by UNSCOM on 25 January 1999 to back up their claim of Iraq's retention of chemical weapons. The reports' recurring phrase was that Iraq's claims to no longer possess quantities of CWs (and, to a lesser extent, BWs) that it is known to have produced prior to 1990 "cannot be verified". However, a large quantity of the CWs produced by Iraq in the 1980s and unaccounted for by UNSCOM would have been used against Iranian civilians and armed forces; even if some were retained by Iraq the chemical agents would have long deteriorated (UNSCOM internal papers of January 1998).

Taken from Labour Against the War parliamentary briefing April 2002.

Why Bush's deal with Putin doesn't make the world safer

As President Bush travels around Europe this week, he faces many familiar criticisms of his aggressive stance in international affairs. He hopes to assuage these concerns by concluding new agreements with Russia. But a closer look at these deals shows that they have done little to change the wider Bush approach to international affairs. It is the Republican right's refusal to deal with the world in any way beyond insisting that America must have everything it wants which guarantees not just continuing dissent in Europe and beyond, but also a less stable world for American interests.

Let's start with the nuclear arms reduction treaty. Bush has described it as finally ending the Cold War. Of course, the Cold War ended ten years ago with the collapse of the Soviet Union. What Bush appears to be claiming is that the nuclear confrontation is now also over. But this too is untrue. He has signed a treaty which is said to cut two-thirds of US and Russian nuclear missiles but still keeps thousands ready to fire at a few minutes notice. But this is also a decade-old news. His treaty is similar to the START 2 Treaty signed by his father in 1992. It was never implemented because of opposition in the US Senate from those Republicans than now make up Bush's administration. This latest agreement does not even require the missiles to be destroyed and can be cancelled at ninety days notice.

Bush junior's wing of the Republican Party came to office on a platform of outright rejection of any more nuclear arms treaties with Russia, condemning them as agreements of a bygone age. But after little more than a year they had to

concede to Russian insistence that a treaty was essential. In the meantime a decade has been lost that could have been used to manage and eliminate nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. These weapons are forever being described as the greatest threat to peace by world leaders including Blair and Bush. But the problems of proliferation in the third world, of "loose nukes" in Russia and of the continuing US-Russian standoff all remain off the agenda of the Moscow Summit.

In the US, the details of the thousands of Russian weapons and enormous quantities of nuclear materials are publicised by many non-governmental groups anxious that they be brought under control. Their voices fall on deaf ears. These "loose nukes" and radioactive materials in other nations, including Britain, remain a source of supply for terrorists and yet Bush is blocking global efforts to control them. The consensus amongst his supporters is that efforts at control are doomed to failure and should never be attempted. Abandoning these efforts at control is recklessness which his agreement with Putin does little to rectify.

The next order of business for Bush and Putin is a new NATO-Russia agreement. Again, it is certainly better to have some deal than none, but it offers little more than the existing NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council. This fell into disuse after the Kosovo war. The new agreement calls for cooperation on counter-terrorism, missile proliferation and missile defence. One result of this new relationship has been that despite Bush's rhetoric on freedom, Russian abuses in Chechnya are no

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Why Bush's deal doesn't make the world safer

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longer criticised by the White House.

Also on Bush's itinerary is a trip to the Normandy beaches where he will attempt to wrap himself in the aura of the many who died there liberating Europe. But Roosevelt and his generation of Americans sought to build the UN and other international institutions to prevent the renewal of war, Bush on the other hand is bent on belittling the UN and dispensing with international security agreements wherever possible. There is now a formal State Department edict that the US should not even begin a negotiation if it thinks it might have to make concessions.

At first sight this strong-minded approach may suit the lone superpower. But any considered view shows that this lack of flexibility and imagination in the application of power has not produced security. Israel is out of control, the Indo-Pakistan conflict has occurred after sanctions caused by the nuclear weapons programmes had been lifted by Washington; in Afghanistan military victory seems far off. The US military is now advising Bush that despite a near \$300bn budget they cannot attack Iraq for at least six months.

The militarist culture has yet to face up to the real requirements of intelligence

and secrecy. On a recent trip to Washington, talking to experienced writers on American intelligence, I was shown two graphic examples of the failure of the national security culture. These are not simply isolated lapses but are indicative of a far broader lack of understanding of the real requirements of meeting the threat that certainly does exist from Al Qaeda and its imitators. For the Bush team a military solution is the only solution they are interested in. Nation-building and other "social work" is suitable only for the Europeans. In the real world the military have a role to play but not the only role and on many occasions not even the most important.

The Bush approach can be compared to trying to keep law and order just using a riot squad. If the riot squad is all one has, then it will be used more and more. Debate will turn to the need for more and better tear-gas, riot shields and the like. In reality social programs, cops on the beat, economic development and a legal system are essential to our security. Denying that these are essential tools of global governance plays into the hands of the wreckers.

By Dan Plesch

Taken from *The Observer*, 26 May 2002

Write to the Government Opposing War with Iraq

Please write to your MP, and the Prime Minister, about the intention of the US to attack Iraq to cause a "regime change". Ask him to advise President Bush to think again about this decision. There are some points below which you could use, or you may have ideas of your own. Send your letter to The Prime Minister, 10 Downing Street, London, London SW1A 2AA, or your MP at House of Commons, Westminster, London SW1A 1AA.

- The attack would be illegal – there is no evidence that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction or intends to use such weapons against the US, so the US cannot attack in "self-defence". There is no UN resolution authorising the attack.
- The attack would be immoral – likely to cause the deaths of thousands of Iraqi civilians.
- The attack would inflame anti-US and anti-West feelings around the world and would be likely to increase the risk of terrorist attack against Western interests and civilians.

India & Pakistan – nuclear states in conflict

Background

When the British withdrew from the Indian subcontinent after the second world war, it was divided, primarily on religious grounds, into the two states of India and Pakistan. At that time Kashmir was included in India, but the issue of which state it should belong to has been contested ever since, largely because Kashmir's population is largely Muslim.

Around 30,000 people have died in Kashmir in the last 11 years. What happens in Kashmir is at the heart of the continuing tension between India and Pakistan. The history of the conflict over Kashmir is well documented with three India/Pakistan wars taking place since 1947.

Nuclear numbers

Estimates on warhead numbers vary wildly. India has between 50-150 warheads and Pakistan 10-100.

The current situation

Since the attack on the Indian Parliament building in December 2001, the tension and rhetoric have grown considerably. India accused Pakistan of supporting terrorist groups. Pakistan, in turn, pledges its support for Kashmiri freedom fighters. Officials in both countries claimed that they would not use nuclear weapons first, but they seem keen to use them second. Given the proximity of the two states, it is clear that millions of their own people would die along with millions of their nearest neighbours.

Both sides have had internal problems as well. In Pakistan, Musharraf has been promising a democratic election ever since the army took control, but there has been only a referendum. Meanwhile in India, the ruling BJP has lost every state election for over a year, so now uses the well-known tactic of uniting the country

against an outside 'threat'. Whatever the reasons for the tensions, the crucial aim is to avoid the devastation of nuclear war.

British Prime Minister Tony Blair visited the region in January 2002 to try to persuade both sides that a war was not a good idea. This took place against the background of the bombing in Afghanistan. His approach raised concerns about Western hypocrisy, as if war is fine for some countries but not others. The sincerity of Blair's mission was also in question after it transpired that his plea for peace preceded two British trade missions to Delhi in February designed to sell weapons to India. Britain has also resumed arms sales to Pakistan, as a result of its support for the war in Afghanistan.

What's the answer? The situation in south Asia shows the importance of nuclear disarmament. A war even with conventional weapons would be an appalling waste of life. But this would be turned into a complete disaster on an unimaginable scale if nuclear weapons were used. In the short term there must be more diplomatic language and there must be proper international negotiations at the UN to resolve the problem of Kashmir.

In the long term, the declared nuclear 'weapon states' (NWS) – US, UK, France, Russia and China – must carry out their obligations under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and get rid of their nuclear weapons. If the NWS put the words of the NPT into action, they would be in a position to push India and Pakistan to sign the NPT themselves. Part of the excuse given by India and Pakistan for the 1998 nuclear tests was that those nuclear weapon states had done nothing about their NPT commitments, so if nuclear

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Campaigners Attack "Meddling" with Arms Laws

Press Release from UK Working Group on Arms, 22 July 2002

A new law to stop British weapons fuelling misery around the world will be dangerously weakened if government ministers can change the rules at will, arms campaigners warned today. Without guarantees to stop Jack Straw or his successors bypassing the key principles of the Export Control Bill – to be debated in the House of Lords on Tuesday – the bill will be seriously undermined, said members of the UK Working Group on Arms.

Earlier this month, Jack Straw caused outrage by introducing new guidelines about where the UK can sell military components. The move contradicted a clear UK government policy that British arms should not be sent to places where they might be used to fuel conflict or for internal repression – and cleared the way for parts to be sold to the US to be used in F16 fighter jets destined for Israel.

"Jack Straw is rewriting the rules as he's going along," said Adrian Lovett, Oxfam's Director of Campaigns. "This contradicts the Government's previous rhetoric about tougher arms laws and opens the way for more dodgy arms deals that end up wrecking the lives of innocent people." In an opinion poll commissioned by Oxfam and Amnesty International, 79% of those polled said the Government should not be able to change the rules on arms

India & Pakistan - nuclear states in conflict

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weapons were good enough for them ...

There are peace activists in both India and Pakistan working hard to get their views across. Their work has been particularly difficult since the nuclear tests

exports without letting MPs discuss it first.

"It's business as usual for the UK repression trade", said Robert Parker, Amnesty International UK's Arms and Security Trade Campaigner. "Without the necessary parliamentary debate the public wants to see, human rights will continue to play second fiddle to the interests of the UK defence industry." The Rt. Revd. Richard Harries, Bishop of Oxford and board member of Christian Aid, said: "I am deeply concerned by the Government's decision to change the rules on arms sales without parliamentary approval. Britain should be in the forefront of championing the cause of genuinely tough arms controls, and not sell weapons where they could contribute to the suffering of innocent victims of conflict."

UK Working Group members are calling on the House of Lords to protest against ministerial interference, and for stronger safeguards to be introduced when the arms bill is fine-tuned in the autumn.

The UK Working Group on Arms is an alliance of organisations working towards a more ethical arms trade. Its members are Amnesty International, BASIC, Christian Aid, International Alert, Oxfam, and Saferworld.

carried out by both countries in 1998. They have the entire might of the government and military propaganda machine ranged against them. We should do all we can to support them.

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