

## Diary Dates

- Every Sunday **Stand For Peace.** Silent Vigil for Peace held in Market Square 12.30 - 1pm. See article on page 15.
- Fri 25 Oct **Autumn Concert** of classical music in aid of Amnesty International. 7.30pm at the University Adult Education Centre, 14 Shakespeare St, Nottingham. Tickets on the door £5.50/£4.
- Wed 30 Oct **Anti War Public Meeting** at Nottingham Trent Students Union, Shakespeare Street at 7.30pm Hear Jeremy Corbyn MP, Billy Hayes, General secretary of the Union of Communication Workers and Lindsey German from the Stop the War Coalition.
- Thu 31 Oct **Don't Attack Iraq - National Day of Protest** Organised by the Stop the War Coalition. See below for details.
- Sat 2 Nov **Work and Welfare - not Weapons.** One day conference on diversification from military production, and the creation of a non-military economy. See page 15 for details.
- Sat 9 Nov **East Midlands CND** meeting at Queen's Walk Community Centre, The Meadows, 11am.
- Sun 24 Nov **Nottingham CND AGM** at Queen's Walk Community Centre, The Meadows, 2.30pm.
- Sat 30 Nov **Nottingham One World Christmas Fair** at YMCA 10am - 4pm.

## Don't Attack Iraq Day of Protest October 31st

### Silent Vigil for Peace in Market Square 12.30-1.30pm

We invite all who desire peace and wish to demonstrate their objection to the US and UK Governments' warmongering over Iraq to join us for a silent vigil.

### Other activities throughout the day ...

including Street Theatre, Teach-ins, Civil Disobedience

### Don't Attack Iraq Rally in Market Square

#### Meet from 5pm, Rally at 6pm

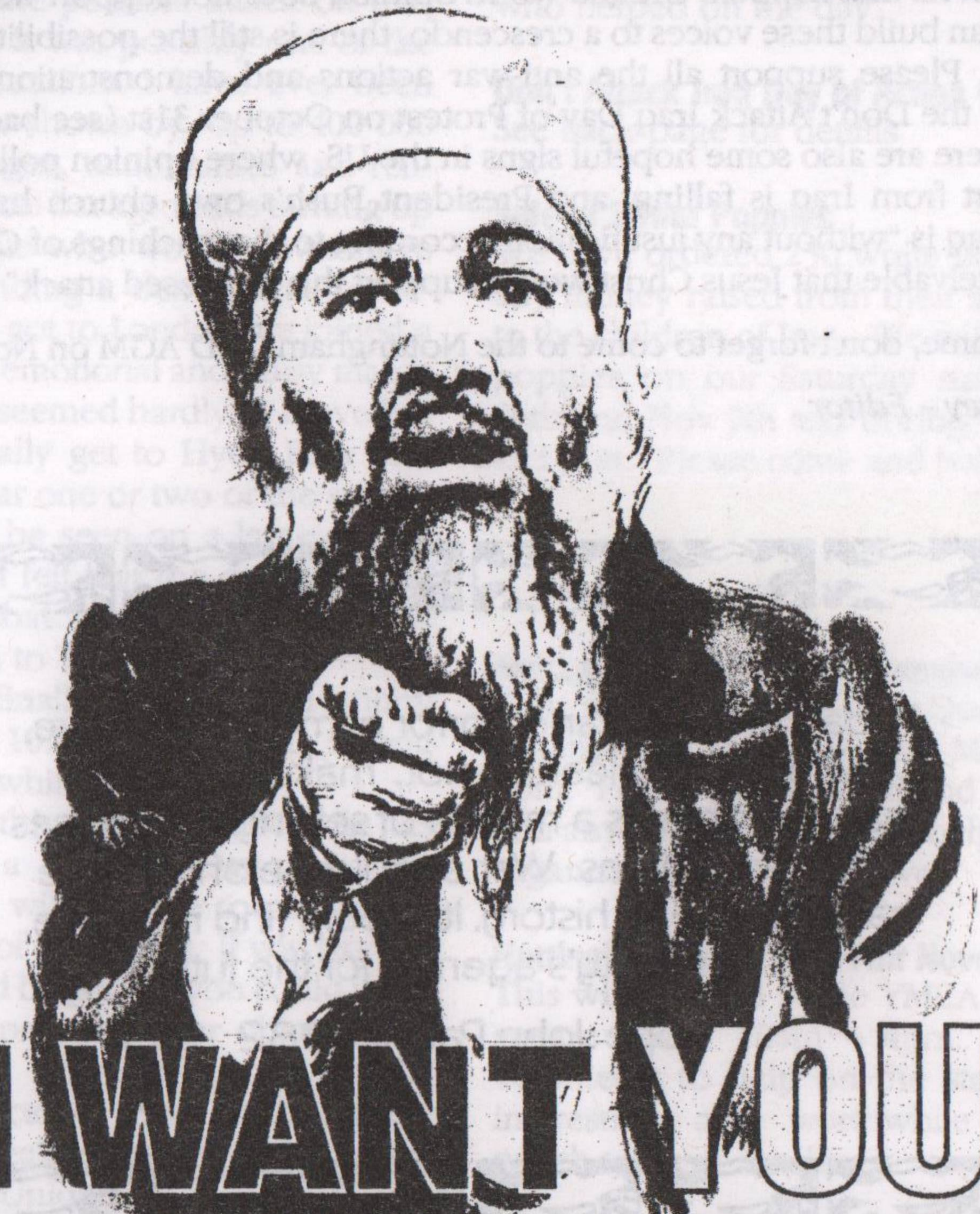
Featuring local speakers, music, other activities, and a chance for members of the public to air their views on the issue.

For more information: contact John [redacted]  
[www.nottmstopwar.org](http://www.nottmstopwar.org) for a



# Nottingham CND Bulletin

October 2002



# I WANT YOU TO INVADE IRAQ

Go ahead. Send me a new generation of recruits. Your bombs will fuel their hatred of America and their desire for revenge. Americans won't be safe anywhere. Please, attack Iraq. Distract yourself from fighting Al Qaeda. Divide the international community. Go ahead. Destabilize the region. Maybe Pakistan will fall - we want its nuclear weapons. Give Saddam a reason to strike first. He might draw Israel into a fight. Perfect! So please - invade Iraq. Make my day.

TomPaine.common sense

Osama says: 'I Want You to Invade Iraq.'  
TomPaine.com features reasons  
why we shouldn't.

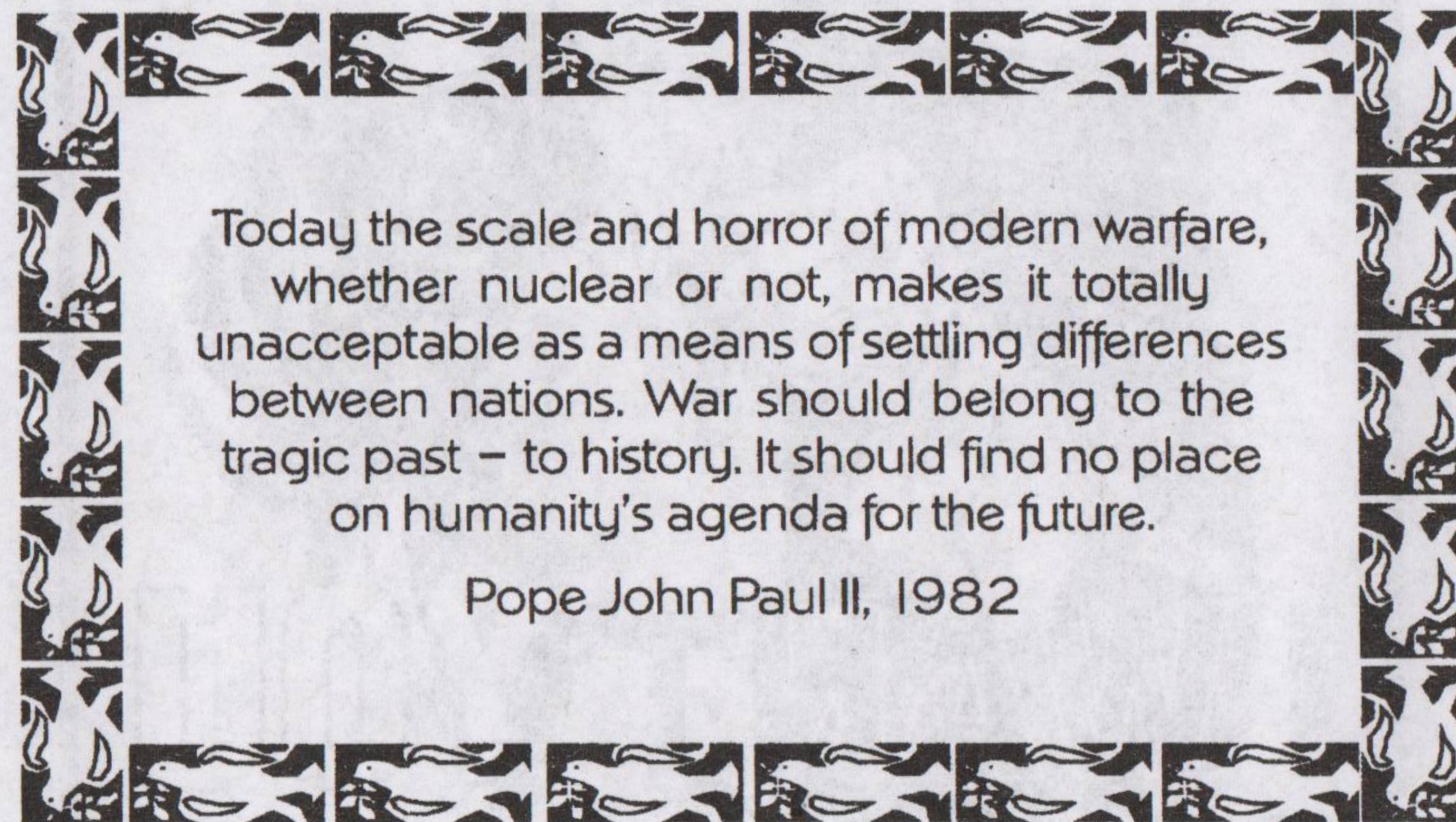
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The drum keeps beating for war against Iraq. To everyone's surprise, the US government went to the United Nations to plead the case for aggressive action against Iraq through the UN. The US presumably feels it cannot ride completely roughshod over world opinion, but, having dismissed Iraq's offer to let weapons inspectors in, it seems determined to force through a UN resolution which Iraq cannot accept, thus 'justifying' its recourse to war.

We must not let that happen. UK and world opinion does not support war against Iraq, and if we can build these voices to a crescendo, there is still the possibility that war can be averted. Please support all the anti-war actions and demonstrations you can, particularly the Don't Attack Iraq Day of Protest on October 31st (see back page for details). There are also some hopeful signs in the US, where opinion polls demonstrate that support from Iraq is falling, and President Bush's own church has said that attacking Iraq is "without any justification according to the teachings of Christ" and that "it is inconceivable that Jesus Christ would support this proposed attack" (see page 6).

Closer to home, don't forget to come to the Nottingham CND AGM on November 24th.

*Mark Ramsey - Editor*



Today the scale and horror of modern warfare, whether nuclear or not, makes it totally unacceptable as a means of settling differences between nations. War should belong to the tragic past - to history. It should find no place on humanity's agenda for the future.

Pope John Paul II, 1982

#### **Nottingham CND Bulletin #2002/4**

The Bulletin is produced quarterly by Nottingham CND, using Serif PagePlus 6.0. Any articles or opinions expressed within are not necessarily the policy of Nottingham CND.

Articles or other material to be considered for inclusion next issue of the Bulletin should be sent to Nottingham CND at the address below (preferably on PC computer disk) or e-mailed to [bulletin@nottinghamcnd.org.uk](mailto:bulletin@nottinghamcnd.org.uk).

Nottingham CND, Nottm Voluntary Action Centre, Sandfield House, 7 Mansfield Road, Nottingham NG1 3FB. Tel: 0115 9348459. [enquiries@nottinghamcnd.org.uk](mailto:enquiries@nottinghamcnd.org.uk) [www.nottinghamcnd.org.uk](http://www.nottinghamcnd.org.uk)

## Nottingham CND Update

### **Don't Attack Iraq Demonstration - London September 28th 2002**

The depth of feeling of the British public against the possible attack on Iraq was immense. It was possibly one of the largest demonstrations I have ever been on and this was shown by up to 400 000 people of all ages, nationalities and religious and political backgrounds turning up including people who would never have dreamt of attending a demonstration before. When we got to London we joined a very crowded, emotional and noisy march which at times seemed hardly to move but we did eventually get to Hyde Park and managed to hear one or two of the speakers who could be seen on a large screen behind them. I felt that the day was well worth it and that we definitely got the message across to Tony Blair.

Our bus finally got back to sunny Nottingham at 10.50pm so it was a long but very worthwhile day.

Following this event, October 31st has been called as a National Day of Action. I do hope you will be able to participate in one or other of the events. If you haven't already it would be good if you could write to your MP expressing your objection to war with Iraq. There is also a public meeting on October 30th with Jeremy Corbyn MP speaking at the Nottingham Trent Students Union.

### **Nottingham Green Festival**

The Green Festival took place on the first Sunday in September and the weather was fantastic. This year we had the (blow up) Trident Missile from National CND which we placed behind the stall propped up by a tree. Unfortunately it was not that visible and did not get the attention we wanted except when we carried it out to the front and when we attempted to let it down which caused a lot of laughter especially as we had the CAMRA stall next to us giving away free drinks of real ale.

We had our usual tombola as well as the CND stall and we raised quite a lot of money. Thank you all of the members who helped on the day.

### **Don't Attack Iraq Day of Action Oct 31st**

See back page for details

### **Sale of White Poppies**

We have ordered 250 white poppies and any money raised from their sale will go to the children of Iraq. We will be selling poppies on our Saturday stalls on Oct 26th and Nov 9th and during the day on Oct 31st. Please come and help or if you

### **Nottingham CND AGM November 24th**

This will be held at the Queens Walk Community Centre in the Meadows at 2pm. Please try to attend and bring with you any ideas which might help make the organisation more effective.

### **Nottingham One World Fair November 30th**

This will be held at the YMCA on Shakespeare Street 10am - 4pm.. We need volunteers to help on the stall, it is an interesting and worthwhile event at which to have a stall.

### **Weekly Peace Vigils**

These take place on Sundays from 12.30pm to 1pm outside the Council House. They are silent vigils with simply a placard asking "For Peace".

If you know of anything else happening in Nottingham which our members might like to join in, please inform Mark Ramsey on [enquiries@nottinghamcnd.org.uk](mailto:enquiries@nottinghamcnd.org.uk) or 9149125 so Mark can put the information on our website and circulate the information via our email list and by telephone.

*Diane Lunzer - Secretary*

## East Midlands CND

On October 5th seventeen of us from all over the region met to discuss the forming of this group. We were encouraged in this by the response to the letter sent out to all members of local groups and national CND members. Tom Cuthbert received around eighty replies to the questionnaire he sent out. Almost all of them supported the formation of a regional group with many offering to write letters to MPs and the media.

At the October meeting we set up a steering group to plan the setting up of the regional group and we will be meeting again on November 9th at the Queens Walk Community Centre to sort out arrangements for an inaugural meeting in the new year. [redacted] want any r

## National CND AGM

Three of us attended the National CND AGM as delegates from Nottingham CND - Maureen Maitland, Diane Lunzer and Ian Cohen. Inevitably the agenda was dominated by our concerns at Bush and Blair's determination to drag us into a war with Iraq. Israel's attacks on the Palestinians and the danger of war between India and Pakistan also featured prominently. At the same time the ever present dangers of Star Wars and nuclear proliferation were not forgotten.

There were some excellent workshops on the Saturday afternoon including one led by Jeremy Corbyn MP on working

with Parliament which was both revealing and very entertaining. Another was led by CND Chair Carol Naughton on the USA's nuclear option review where there is talk of preemptive strikes with no need for absolute proof - backed up in the UK by Geoff Hoon talking about using nuclear weapons. Carol also gave an excellent speech in her chair's address pointing out the progress that CND had made in the last twelve months while at the same time recognising the challenges and dangers for world peace which lie ahead.

*Ian Cohen*

## Nottingham CND Email List

An email list is a great way to circulate information to a number of people. The Nottingham CND email list is growing steadily. If you have email, please join the email list and help us keep you up to date with what's happening in Nottingham. Emails are sent out to an undisclosed list and we do not send attachments.

To join the list, simply send an email titled "Email List NCND" to [enquiries@nottinghamcnd.org.uk](mailto:enquiries@nottinghamcnd.org.uk)

## CIA in blow to Bush attack plans

President George Bush's attempt to maintain public support for military action against Iraq has taken a fresh blow from an unexpected quarter, with the publication of a letter from the CIA stating that while Saddam Hussein poses little threat to America now, a US invasion could push him into retaliating with chemical or biological weapons.

The unusually detailed public statement, in the form of a letter from the CIA director, George Tenet, to Congress, comes at a highly sensitive moment, potentially damaging Mr Bush's attempt to rally an overwhelming congressional mandate for the use of force against Iraq. In a chilling excerpt, Mr Tenet warned that if Saddam was personally threatened he might seize "his last chance to exact vengeance by taking a large number of victims with him". The risk of such an attack, possibly involving weapons of mass destruction, would rise from "low" to "pretty high" were Saddam to feel cor-

nered by US military might.

Such a stark judgment seems likely to increase public anxiety about the prospect of a new war. There is still majority backing for military action, but that support appears to be fading despite a concerted public relations campaign by the administration to put its case. Approval for military action has fallen from 57% last month to 53% this week, according to a US Gallup poll.

Mr Tenet's letter came in response to a congressional request to declassify segments of CIA briefings on Iraq over the past few days. He said: "Baghdad for now appears to be drawing a line short of conducting terrorist attacks with conventional or CBW [chemical and biological weapons] against the United States."

The White House last night denied that the CIA analysis undermined Mr Bush's message on the urgency of confronting Baghdad.

*Taken from The Guardian 10 Oct 2002*

## Ousting Saddam illegal, PM told

An armed strike on Iraq aimed specifically at changing the regime would be unlawful, the attorney general, Lord Goldsmith, has told the prime minister.

His opinion was backed by international law experts last night. The opinion explains why Tony Blair has avoided suggesting, as the US has, that Britain's aim is to force Saddam Hussein out. Downing Street has insisted that any British action will comply with international law.

Christopher Greenwood QC, professor of international law at the LSE, said an attack on Iraq would be lawful only if it was an act of self-defence or under a UN mandate - regime change wouldn't in itself and by itself be a lawful reason for attack.

The attorney general is understood to have taken advice from the legal adviser

to the foreign office, Michael Wood, who is thought to have consulted outside experts in international law. Prof Greenwood said he had not seen "any advice the attorney general has given".

Malcolm Shaw QC, professor of international law at Leicester University, said: "Simply to go in, use force, march to Baghdad and change the regime would not be legal in international law. Beyond that, we're into self-defence and the UN."

He added: "Self-defence would cover collective self-defence, so if any neighbouring state in the region felt threatened by these weapons of mass destruction, it would be open to them to call on the US for assistance and that might lead to a regime change."

*Taken from The Guardian 8 Oct 2002*

## Iraq war 'unjustifiable', says Bush's church head

President George Bush's own Methodist church has launched a scathing attack on his preparations for war against Iraq. Jim Winkler, responsible for the application of the church's teachings to social policy, said war against Iraq was "without any justification according to the teachings of Christ".

After careful study of Christian doctrinal writings on Just War, Winkler said he was "told flatly" by the church's scholars, "that they simply did not apply to this situation". Winkler said "we keep the lines of communication open" to the White House, but added: "I regret that the lines have been one way. I hope and pray that the President has considered the church's teachings."

Winkler is general secretary of the Board of Church and Society for the United Methodist church, which counts the President and the Vice-President, Dick Cheney, among its members. The church represents eight to nine million regular churchgoers

and is the third biggest in America.

The Methodist Church, he says, is not pacifist, but "rejects war as a usual means of national policy". Methodist scriptural doctrine, he added, specifies "war as a last resort, primarily a defensive thing. And so far as I know, Saddam Hussein has not mobilised military forces along the borders of the United States, nor along his own border to invade a neighbouring country, nor have any of these countries pleaded for our assistance, nor does he have weapons of mass destruction targeted at the United States".

His voice is not alone. From the Bush heartland, the Kansas City Star ran a long account of "voices of opposition from people of faith", quoting Winkler at length, saying: "United Methodists have a particular duty to speak out against an unprovoked attack. It is inconceivable that Jesus Christ would support this proposed attack."

*Taken from the Observer 20 Oct 2002*

### Aldermaston – write to Geoff Hoon

The Observer (16 June 2002) reported that a massive new nuclear bomb making factory is being planned for Aldermaston - to "test, design and build a whole new generation of nuclear bombs." They say its existence was confirmed by the Atomic Weapons Establishment. Please write to Rt Hon Geoff Hoon, Secretary of State for Defence, Ministry of Defence, Main Building, Whitehall, London SW1A 2HB, asking for straight, clear answers to the following questions:

- Is it true that a new nuclear bomb making factory is being planned for Aldermaston, able to "test, design and build a whole new generation of nuclear bombs" (Observer 16 June 2002)?
- If so, surely it is a flagrant breach of Britain's obligations under the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty, and of the declaration at the NPT review conference in May 2000, when all nuclear weapons states made an "unequivocal undertaking ... to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals." If you do not accept that view, can you please explain why.
- H.M. Government has condemned India and Pakistan for developing nuclear weapons, you appear to believe that it is right and sensible for Britain to possess nuclear weapons as an important part of national defence. If it is wrong for India and Pakistan – both of which are under obvious threat of a military attack from their neighbours – to have nuclear weapons as part of their defence, how can it be right for Britain, which is under no conceivable threat of military attack?

## Sept 28th's Don't Attack Iraq Demo

London, 28th September 2002, saw the biggest anti-war demonstrations Europe, and possibly the world, has ever seen. In a powerful turnout of the opposition to the U.S. and U.K. driven proposals for war on Iraq, the anti-war demo organised by the Stop The War Coalition and the Muslim Association of Britain, and supported by CND and a large anti-capitalist bloc attracted around 400,000 demonstrators according to the organizers. Police were expecting 30-40,000 people on the march, but by the afternoon had counted "more than 150,000 people".

The march was loud and angry, intensely righteous, and, as it should be, peaceful. It was a good one to watch coming up the road due to the creativity of those involved, many different plaques, the usual "Stop the War" and "Not In My Name", but some other good ones, the Green Party's "It's about the OIL, stupid!" and many calling for regime change in the Whitehouse, and sanctions to be brought against Israel. Students, punks, anarchists, muslims socialists, trade unions, grandmothers, whole families in fact appeared to be out for a day in the park.

Speakers included former Labour MP Tony Benn, current Mayor of London, Ken Livingstone, the Assistant General Secretary of the TGWU, as well as leading members of the Muslim community. Most spoke very well and were well received.

The main attitude of the march seemed to be that, yes, Saddam Hussein, is a danger, but far more pressing is the situation in Palestine, with Sharon's war arsenal being far more advanced. People don't think for a minute that Sept 11 and Iraq have any connections, and all believe that this war in Iraq is about securing cheaper oil.

We might also wonder why the press gave the countryside alliance march more attention the week before.

### Extracts from Speeches:

"We represent the overwhelming majority round the world. We are not a 'protest movement'. It may be that Bush will go to war in a matter of weeks. It may be that prime minister Blair will send troops into battle. But nothing can take the British people into a war they don't accept and don't want. If the war begins it is our plain duty to take time out at once to see everybody understands what has happened, and mobilise against the war. There is a good chance of stopping Britain going to war if we carry on organising in this brilliant way." – *Tony Benn*

"Five years ago we heard about an ethical foreign policy. Well, that didn't last long. They are not concerned about human rights. They are concerned about oil. People voted for their government to represent their interests, not to simply be a reflection of the White House. I will do all I can to oppose this war." – *Ken Livingstone*

"Today is the beginning of true democracy. Today we represent the majority of the British people. If they attack Iraq, Bush and Blair will be war criminals. We are the moderates. They are the extremists. Our resistance to their murderous plans must be unrelenting." – *John Pilger*

"Nothing can justify the assassination of the Palestinian people. Bush and Blair's silence is encouraging Sharon to do whatever he wants. The only threat to this world is George Bush. The US has a long list of invading other people's countries. There is no hiding place, Tony. We have had a gutful of collateral damage in Afghanistan. Bush bleats about regime change. I would like to see one in Number Ten." – *Yvonne Ridley (journalist captured in Afghanistan)*

*Adapted from comment by Andy Walker on uk.indymedia.org, and the Stop the War Coalition site www.stopwar.org.uk*

# Iraq Update October 2002

## The dossier

A few weeks ago the UK government finally published its promised dossier on Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction. However, it makes no compelling case for war against Iraq. Iraq has not threatened to attack the US or Europe. It is not connected to al-Qa'ida. There is no evidence that it has new weapons of mass destruction, or that it possesses the means or intent to use them. The attorney general has advised the government that an armed strike on Iraq aimed specifically at changing the regime would be illegal under international law.

Iraq has never shown any intent to attack the US or Europe. It knows that it would face massive reprisals and the end of Saddam Hussein's regime – if nothing else, the war on Afghanistan demonstrated that. It is difficult to imagine circumstances in which the Iraqi regime would use weapons of mass destruction directly against any Western country. Weapons of mass destruction were not used by Iraq in the 1991 Gulf War, despite the fact that it had a much more developed capacity than it holds at present and that its army had been routed. The only conceivable exception might be if the Iraqi leaders felt they had nothing left to lose – as the CIA director revealed recently, the greatest danger from Iraq is if we do attack it rather than if we don't.

It is true, as the dossier emphasises, that Iraq has used chemical weapons both externally in the war against Iran in 1980-88, and internally – but this was always with the compliance of western countries which saw Saddam as an ally against the Islamic countries in the area. Indeed, while chemical weapons were being used against Iran, the US continued to supply it with equipment which could be used for chemical attacks and with information to help its chemical attacks. Most crucially, the US and UK blocked condemnation of Iraq's known chemical weapons attacks at the

UN Security Council. Iraq has never used chemical weapons against an external enemy without the acquiescence of the most powerful states. As for the use of chemical weapons against the Kurds, again the US escalated its support for Iraq.

In 1998 Iraq's nuclear capability had been completely dismantled, and the vast majority of its chemical and biological weapons had been accounted for and destroyed. Most of the claims of the dossier are supposition or derive from information from Iraqi defectors, whose claims may not be reliable. Former UN weapons inspector Scott Ritter maintains that Iraq does not have a weapons of mass destruction capability today. Nor does it have the means to deliver such weapons.

Many of the assessments of Iraq's development of biological, chemical and nuclear weapons are based largely on a hypothetical analysis of what could be done by the Iraqi regime if it was determined to produce these weapons. Using worst-case scenarios, they present Iraq's potential activities as an immediate threat. Such assessments do not provide any evidence of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction or the Iraqi regime's intention to use them.

## Weapons Inspections

In 1991 UNSCOM weapons inspection teams began investigations in Iraq. As Scott Ritter tells us (see the previous bulletin) Iraq initially hid everything from the inspectors but, after finding that the inspectors were thorough and meticulous in tracking everything down, the Iraqis instituted a policy of full disclosure. As regards the presidential palaces and 'sensitive sites' that have been in the media recently, Tony Blair's claim that inspectors were barred from these sites is not true – a series of agreements between UNSCOM and Baghdad between 1996 and 1998, enabled UN weapons inspectors to visit all the disputed

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sites.

UNSCOM was pulled out of Iraq in 1998 after the Iraqi regime ceased cooperation with the inspectors amid claims that they had been spying for the US. These claims were ridiculed at the time but Scott Ritter subsequently revealed them to be true (which perhaps explains Iraqi reluctance over the 'sensitive sites').

Since then the US has consistently tried to undermine the weapons inspectors and prevent them going back into Iraq – because having weapons inspectors in place lowers the possibility of war and 'regime change'. Scott Ritter revealed that, in 1996, the weapons inspectors were joined that year by CIA covert operations specialists, who used the UN's special access to collect information and encourage the republican guard to launch a coup. When it was leaked in June 2002 that the CIA had been directed to capture or kill Saddam Hussein, Ritter remarked: "Now that Bush has specifically authorized American covert-operations forces to remove Hussein, however, the Iraqis will never trust an inspection regime that has already shown itself susceptible to infiltration and manipulation by intelligence services hostile to Iraq, regardless of any assurances the UN secretary-general might give."

In July 2002, while UN Secretary general Kofi Annan was attempting to negotiate the return of weapons inspectors to Iraq, the US leaked a detailed Pentagon war planning document to the press, spelling out some of the military options under consideration. The US, a Pentagon official revealed, was preparing "a major air campaign and land invasion" to "topple President Saddam Hussein". The talks immediately collapsed.

Most recently, under pressure from other Arab states Iraq has offered to let weapons inspectors back in. The offer was immediately dismissed by the US. While Hans Blix, the head of the UN inspections

body, was meeting Iraqi officials to discuss the practicalities of re-entering the country, the US airforce launched bombing raids on Basra, in southern Iraq, destroying a radar system. The attack could scarcely have been better designed to scupper the talks, but this time the Iraqis, mindful of the consequences of excluding the inspectors, kept talking. An agreement has been reached, with Iraq making several concessions including allowing "UNMOVIC and the IAEA to choose the mode and location for interviews [of Iraqi personnel]" and allowing inspectors immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to sites deemed sensitive in the past, including eight presidential palaces; but the US and Britain have blocked the inspectors' return pending a new UN resolution.

Furthermore, if the continued US threats make the Iraqi regime believe that the US has made an invasion inevitable, it will have no reason to co-operate with weapons inspectors. As Hans Blix said on 18 August, "If the Iraqis conclude that an invasion by someone is inevitable then they might conclude that it's not very meaningful to have inspections."

## New UN resolution

As I write, the UN security council members are negotiating the text of a new UN resolution. The initial US proposal, leaked in early October is virtually a plan for unopposed invasion. The decisions about which sites should be "inspected" would no longer be made by the UN alone, but also by "any permanent member of the security council", such as the United States. US personnel could accompany the inspection teams and they would enjoy "unrestricted rights of entry into and out of Iraq" and "the right to free, unrestricted and immediate movement" within Iraq, "including unrestricted access to presidential sites". They would be able to establish "regional bases and operating bases throughout Iraq" with "sufficient US secu-

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rity forces to protect them". They would have the right to declare exclusion zones, no-fly zones and "ground and air transit corridors". They would be allowed to fly and land as many planes, helicopters and surveillance drones in Iraq as they want, to set up "encrypted communication" networks and to seize "any equipment" they choose to. Finally, any problem or omission, however minor would "authorise member states to use all necessary means to restore international peace and security in the area." This proposal, from a country which has previously used the weapons inspection teams to spy on Iraq, which passed into its domestic law in 1998 the Iraqi Liberation Act, and which has continually threatened to attack Iraq and bring about a regime change whether it complied with UN resolutions or not, is surely meant to be rejected so that the US can claim some justification for an attack.

The latest news reports that the US is willing to "compromise" over a UN resolution about Iraq – these reports mention over how explicit the threat of military attack will be without mention of compromise about other unacceptable proposals. A new, ridiculous, report is that under the new US proposal, President Saddam would still have to make a declaration giving an inventory of his arsenal and if that declaration fell far short of the US estimate of Iraq's stockpile of weapons of mass destruction, the US could declare the Baghdad regime in "material breach" of its obligations and demand UN backing for an attack even before inspectors went to Iraq (Guardian 18 October).

### After war

Recently the US has published plans of how it intends run to Iraq with military occupation for several years after a regime change. Notwithstanding the questionable moral right of the US to change a regime it doesn't like and run the country itself, would it be likely or feasible? Up to now

the US has shied away from much involvement in the aftermath of the chaos it has created, most notably in Afghanistan. A recent report from the Carnegie Endowment says that "the increasingly popular idea that the United States, by toppling Saddam Hussein, can rapidly democratise Iraq and unleash a democratic tsunami is a dangerous fantasy" and argues that the US would have to stay in Iraq "for decades" to bring about "the depth of change required to make Iraq into a democracy".

### Oppose war

Iraq has violated UN Resolutions, but so have Israel, Turkey, and many other countries. There have also been many UN resolutions critical of Israel's actions which have been vetoed by the US. Interestingly, resolution 687 which set up the weapons inspections regime, also promoted the establishment of a nuclear weapons free zone in the Middle East – neither Israel nor its chief allies seem interested in complying with this part of the resolution.

An attack on Iraq for "regime change" would be likely to cause the deaths of thousands of Iraqi civilians. It would be illegal. The hypocrisy and double-standards which such an attack would illustrate, 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.

There is no proper justification for a war which could have such terrible consequences – Saddam has shown never shown himself inclined to act against western targets in ways which would lead to massive retaliation and his certain destruction. Oppose war. Write to your MP about it and take part in as many anti-war actions and demonstrations as you can. The fact that the US has gone to the UN to seek approval for its actions shows that it isn't totally oblivious to world opinion, and the fact that the UK government is toeing the line of "international law" shows that

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## This crime proves none of us are safe

### Robert Fisk

Why? Yesterday's crime against humanity in Bali provoked an almost identical reaction to the atrocities of 11 September 2001. Everyone wanted to know who had planted the bombs and how the killers planned their massacre.

But no one – neither the Australian Prime Minister, John Howard, nor Tony Blair nor Jack Straw – wanted to talk about motives. "Terrorism" was the word which was used to smother any discussion about what lay behind the crime.

Australians were the principal victims and their murderers must have known they would be. So why were they targeted? John Howard has been among President Bush's toughest supporters. Australia lined up to join the "war on terror" within 24 hours of the attacks on New York and Washington last year. Australian special forces have been operating with American troops in the Afghan mountains against al-Qa'ida. It's a fair bet that yesterday's savagery was al-Qa'ida hitting back.

The French have already paid a price for their initial support for Mr Bush. The killing of 11 French submarine technicians in Karachi has been followed by the suicide attack on the French oil tanker Limburg off the coast of Yemen. Now, it seems, it is the turn of Australia.

If the group which set off the three bombs in Bali is one of the "Islamist" movements on the edge of al-Qa'ida, the choice of target was familiar: a nightclub, a place associated in the mind of Islamists

with sex, alcohol and immorality – the same type of target Palestinian suicide bombers have struck in Israel.

If millions of Muslims are revolted at the Bali massacre, few will approve of nightclubs. The usual moral slippage can be employed; the bombing was terrible, but ... Or so the murderers will hope.

The victims were largely young civilians, just as innocent as the thousands who died in the World Trade Centre. Civilians get no quarter in this war, whether they are investment brokers in New York, Afghan families or Australian honeymooners.

So who is next? When is Britain's turn? Where are Britons most at risk? Alas, they are scattered across the globe in embassies, on holidays, on every airline of the world. Our support for the United States – an infinitely closer alliance than any support from France – makes Britain the most likely candidate for attack after the US. Then there are the small, more vulnerable nations that give quiet assistance to the American military; Belgium, which hosts Nato HQ; Canada, whose special forces have also been operating in Afghanistan; Ireland, which allows US military aircraft to refuel at Shannon.

Bali only emphasises what the last year should have taught us: that individual innocence no longer protects us, that we are living – whether we know it or not – in a terrifying new age.

*Taken from The Independent 14 Oct 2002*

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it is also mindful of public opinion. Most polls in the UK have shown that the numbers opposing war are greater than the number supporting it. If our actions can increase the number of war opponents so

that we become irresistible, we can stop this rush to war.

*Mark Ramsey*

For more details on the dossier and inspections, see [www.labouragainsthewar.org.uk](http://www.labouragainsthewar.org.uk) and [www.justicenotvengeance.org](http://www.justicenotvengeance.org)

# Afghanistan One Year Later

Rahul Mahajan

To this day, few are willing to criticize the war in Afghanistan. In fact, some self-proclaimed spokespeople for the anti-war movement have recently suggested that the "left" – which is to say the peace movement, the global justice movement and most of the progressive grassroots activists in the country – still handicaps itself by its opposition to that war. The official story remains that, whatever has come after, the war on Afghanistan remains the one shining success in the "war on terrorism."

One year later (the bombing started on Oct. 7, 2001), many of the results are in, and it's time for a critical look at some of those "successes."

The war increased the threat of terrorism. According to the June 16 New York Times, "Classified investigations of the al-Qaeda threat now under way at the FBI and CIA have concluded that the war in Afghanistan failed to diminish the threat to the United States ... Instead, the war might have complicated counterterrorism efforts by dispersing potential attackers across a wider geographic area."

Further, middle-level al-Qaeda operatives used the opportunity to strengthen contacts with other Islamist groups in the region, thus increasing the pool from which future terrorists will be drawn. The war allowed them to draw other Islamist groups, hitherto focused on domestic political questions, into the world of terrorist networks committed to attacks on the United States. According to one official, "Al Qaeda at its core was really a small group, even though thousands of people went through their camps. What we're seeing now is a radical international jihad that will be a potent force for many years to come."

The war did not result in the apprehension of Osama bin Laden or others high in the al-Qaeda network, who could pos-

sibly have been extradited, had the United States agreed to offer evidence to the Taliban. According to reports in the British press (Daily Telegraph, Oct. 4, 2001), an extradition deal had been worked out, only to be quashed at the last minute by Pakistan's dictator Pervez Musharraf, presumably at the behest of the White House.

Many innocents were killed. Initial concerns about civilian casualties were generally dismissed amid claims that the bombing of Afghanistan was the most restrained and precise in history. In fact, as in other recent U.S. bombing campaigns, the initial narrow targeting was broadened as air defense was destroyed.

As the small store of pre-determined targets was exhausted, the country was divided into "kill boxes" where pilots were to attack "targets of opportunity." A policy of cavalierly attacking military or supposed military targets in the heart of heavily populated areas was part of the reason that, at a conservative estimate by the Project for Defense Alternatives, the Afghanistan war killed at least four times as many civilians per bomb as were killed in the war on Yugoslavia. Although it is difficult to estimate civilian casualties from the bombing (largely because the U.S. government refuses to do a study), all serious estimates conclude that more than 1,000 died.

These concerns quickly gave way to the much graver threat of disruption of humanitarian aid. More than 7 million Afghans were directly dependent for survival on aid, which was disrupted for September, October and part of November, first by the threat of bombing and then by the bombing. The precipitous collapse of the Taliban in mid-November meant that the United States stopped bombing most of the country, so that aid deliveries by

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## Afghanistan One Year Later

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international organizations were rapidly restored, narrowly averting a catastrophe.

The United States installed a puppet regime, throwing democracy out the window. The "loya jirga," or grand council, that selected the current interim government of Afghanistan, was peopled from the start with delegates selected by the U.S., mostly representatives of the regional warlords, with a small sprinkling of Afghan expatriates and "technocrats" to give it some aura of respectability. Representatives from the 1.5-million-strong Watan Party, successor to the PDPA (which ruled Afghanistan until 1992), were not allowed into the jirga. According to Omar Zakhilwal and Adeena Niazi, delegates to the loya jirga, "We delegates were denied anything more than a symbolic role in the selection process. A small group of Northern Alliance chieftains decided everything behind closed doors."

Perhaps the high point was the sudden declaration by U.S. special envoy Zalmay Khalilzad (former consultant with Unocal) that Zahir Shah was stepping down – something that the octogenarian former king was apparently unable to say for himself. After that, the confirmation of the United States's handpicked candidate Hamid Karzai (former consultant with Unocal) was swift and sure.

The U.S. has shown little concern for the rights of women in Afghanistan. Notwithstanding the expressed commitment to building infrastructure for women's education and health care, both shamefully neglected under the Taliban, the Bush administration has been so stingy as to block \$134 million in Afghan humanitarian aid, citing domestic economic problems (the money is less than 50 cents per American). Of that, \$2.5 million was for the Ministry of Women's Affairs. Ritu Sharma, president of the advocacy group Women's Edge, described that \$2.5 million, earmarked to build women's centers

across Afghanistan, as a "question of life or death for the ministry and Afghan women." So far, the United States has contributed a mere \$120,000 to it – about one-tenth the cost of a cruise missile.

The US has done little to alleviate the extreme humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan, let alone to rebuild the country. To take one index, US contributions through UNICEF for Afghanistan have been less than a third of those from Japan. At the Tokyo conference on reconstruction of Afghanistan in January 2002, a mere \$4.5 billion was pledged, \$300 million of it from the United States – not nearly enough to address Afghanistan's needs.

Driven largely by the perceived lack of concern from the U.S. government, donor countries have in fact not even followed through on these minuscule pledges. So shamefully negligent has the United States been in fixing its mess that today, as winter approaches, 6 million Afghans – a larger number than before Sept. 11, 2001 – are once again on the brink, dependent on humanitarian aid to get through the next months.

On every test of justice and of pragmatism, the war on Afghanistan fails. Worse, every one of these aspects, from an increased threat of terrorism to large numbers of civilian deaths to installation of a U.S.-controlled puppet regime is due to play out again in the war on Iraq. In fact, though it has been little noted, the sanctions regime has made Iraqis dependent on centralized, government-distributed food to survive and relief agencies have already expressed their concerns about the potential for a humanitarian crisis once war starts.

We, and the Iraqi people, can do without any more "successes" in the war on terrorism.

*Rahul Mahajan is the Green Party candidate for governor of Texas and a member of the Nowar Collective. Taken from www.alternet.org 7 Oct 2002.*

# The death of deterrence

Richard Norton-Taylor

Whatever the outcome of the intense diplomatic manoeuvres at the UN, whatever cover the UN might give to an American attack on Iraq, they cannot hide a fundamental truth. It has profound implications for future relations between states. Henry Kissinger, archpriest of real-politik, has called it "revolutionary". Tony Blair appears to have embraced it, though we cannot be sure.

A new doctrine of war has been laid down by the Bush administration that casts aside all the traditional tenets of international law as well as the UN and Nato charters. It abandons the concept of deterrence, considered the bedrock of stability throughout the cold war and cited by successive British governments as justification for their nuclear arsenal.

Ever since September 11 last year, it has been reflected in speeches, notably by Donald Rumsfeld, the US defence secretary, his deputy, Paul Wolfowitz, and Bush's national security adviser, Condoleezza Rice. It was spelt out most clearly by Bush himself in June. The US, he said, would no longer rely on "deterrence" and "containment"; it had to be "ready for pre-emptive action".

He added: "America has, and intends to keep, military strengths beyond challenge, thereby making the destabilising arms races of other eras pointless." This new doctrine was enshrined in the Bush administration's National Security Strategy document published last month.

As Jonathan Schell put it in a recent issue of the American magazine the Nation: "In short, the United States will establish, preserve and make free use of an absolute military supremacy over every other nation on earth."

The new doctrine includes the right of the US to use its unsurpassed, indeed unsurpassable, military power to over-

throw governments by force if, in Washington's view, they attempt to acquire weapons of mass destruction - Vice-President Dick Cheney has suggested this includes no fewer than 60 states - or harbour terrorists.

At least Kissinger, a historian by profession, appreciated the significance of the new doctrine. Regime change as an aim of military intervention is a direct challenge to the international system established by the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, he recently wrote in the Los Angeles Times. That treaty established the principle of "state sovereignty": that war is justified only by aggression across a national border. Though he argued that Saddam Hussein presented such a danger as to make pre-emptive action "an imperative", he warned: "It is not in the American national interest to establish pre-emption as a universal principle available to every nation."

Bush and his advisers have made no such qualification in their quest for a new, aggressive Pax Americana, something they had wanted from the start but for which they were confident of attracting sufficient US domestic support only after the September 11 attacks.

Bush, who, judging by American opinion polls, desperately needs Britain to join any military action against Iraq, was persuaded by Blair, among others, to follow the UN route, if only for presentational purposes. This approach had the added advantage of pulling the rug from under the Democrats in Congress and Labour backbenchers in the Commons.

"Any action that we in the United Kingdom take will be strictly in accordance with our obligations in international law and under the United Nations charter," Jack Straw insisted last week. "Under

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## Stand for Peace

We are a new group arising out of a Peace Supper at the Friends Meeting House on 6 September, wanting to add our voice to those dissuading the Prime Minister from war against Iraq. We represent no particular interest or belief, just peace. We include so far, Quakers, Muslims, Methodists, Buddhists and Catholics and others. Our action is the simplest. We stand in silent vigil outside the Council House in the centre of Nottingham each Sunday from 12.30 til 1pm. We aim, by our presence and stillness, to draw attention to the need for peace and believe that, with sufficient numbers, we could become a significant element in the argument for peace. We simply stand round the words 'FOR PEACE' with a few candles for this half hour. Do join us.

standpeace@aol.com

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## This marks the death of deterrence

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the charter," he explained, "individual countries can act against others without a security council resolution, for example in the case of self-defence."

His choice of language was deeply misleading. In international law, as in the UN and Nato charters, nations can attack others only in "self-defence". As Kissinger suggests, this has always meant defence against an actual attack by another state, though more recently international lawyers have said it could also cover an imminent attack. As the government's law officers have advised, it certainly does not allow for war for regime change.

Bush, who says his aim is to topple Saddam, has been persuaded by Blair

among others to use the UN as a figleaf. It is now incumbent on Blair to say whether, as he colludes with Bush, he accepts the new American doctrine of military intervention. Blair must also explain why he believes Saddam cannot be deterred from using weapons of mass destruction (as he was during the 1991 Gulf war).

The prime minister, as well as his foreign and defence secretaries, must say what they really mean. Do they really believe the concept of deterrence, and the established principles of international law, can be abandoned - with the huge risks that implies - and are they prepared to argue their case with the British public?  
*Taken from The Guardian Oct 9 2002*

## Work and Welfare - not Weapons

A one day conference on diversification from military production, and the creation of a non-military economy. Saturday Nov 2nd, Manchester Town Hall, 10.30am to 5.30pm. Organised by Greater Manchester & District CND and Campaign Against the Arms Trade, and supported by National CND, Manchester City Council, and various Trades Union Branches. See [www.gmdcnd.org.uk/worknotweapons](http://www.gmdcnd.org.uk/worknotweapons) for more details.

Speakers include Jeremy Corbyn MP; Ian Goudie (Arms Conversion Project); Tim Webb (author: The Armour Plated Ostrich); Chris Cole (CAAT); Paul Dunne (School of Economics, University of West England)

Registration: £7.50 unwaged or £15 waged, cheques to G M & D CND.

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