

THE WAR IN RWANDA

The picture being presented is that this is essentially a tribal conflict. In other words its their own fault and there is nothing we can do about it.

This is not the case. Tribal structures vary enormously throughout the world. In Rwanda up to the period where Belgium overran it and used it as a colony it was a essentially a feudal structure. Those referred to as Tutsi could more properly be described as the ruling class than as being from a different tribe. The Hutu being the rest of the population. The Belgian administration introduced legislation which defined the two groups as separate tribes and their administration fostered antagonism between them - divide and rule.

Rwanda is one of the poorest countries in the world. The grinding poverty of ordinary life in Rwanda is amongst the worst in the world and is more or less general for the population. Rwanda has little in the way of mineral wealth and the land is not so good. It is also a relatively heavily populated country.

The poverty has arisen because of the way in which the government have been encouraged to accumulate debt through the predatory aid and trading policies of countries such as our own. They have also been encouraged to buy large amounts of

arms by countries such as our own, either directly or through IMF policies.

Thus Rwanda had a repressive regime which maintained itself by military force while the ordinary people had to endure the consequences of a horrendous external debt.

The president, whose assassination, triggered the large scale fighting, had armed and trained groups of local militia. In is these who are now largely responsible for the slaughter of people who are believed to be Tutsi or political opponents of the regime.

"The international community have done little to help Rwanda avoid such a terrible outbreak of violence. The grinding poverty which exists in Rwandan society, which is exacerbated by international aid and trade arrangements, and easy access to armaments, are among the complex factors which have lead to the present horrors." That is the way OXFAM's document on the situation describes the events which lead up to the war.

The former presidents troops are at war with the Rwandan Patriotic Front while the militia are involved in straight genocide of anyone they feel are the opposition. One of their radio stations was monitored encouraging the militia to kill as many of the Tutsi children as possible, to prevent future generations becoming a problem to the

people the government represented. People are apparently given a choice on how they die, depending on how much money they can pay, the less pain they suffer.

The only real short term hope for an end to the killing is the advance of the rebels. OXFAM are calling for a UN peace keeping force. This is unlikely to happen. As the conflict began the UN withdrew the Belgian troops stationed there as soon as it could. Rwanda doesn't threaten to spill over to Europe and non of the western powers have a direct interest in the outcome of the conflict. The UN will therefore leave the situation to its own devices, with organisations like OXFAM providing the only systematic positive support for the people trapped in the conflict.

The only long term solution has to be based on a change in the trade and aid policies operated through the IMF and the foreign policies of governments such as our own. That is a set of issues which the peace movement and the trade union movement will have to begin to address. One result of the recent GATT agreements will be to put increased pressure on third world economies and an increase in both the level of poverty in countries such as Rwanda and in conflicts of the form the civil war is taking.

IS YOUR BRANCH AFFILIATED

TUCND depend for our funding on the affiliation fees from Trade Unions paid to CND.

We regard our work as essential to the possibility full employment, the possibility of a decent welfare provision and of a decent quality of life for ordinary people in Britain. Defence and within that nuclear weapons are an integral part of Britain's foreign, economic and industrial policies. To achieve the desperately needed fundamental change in Britain we need a an active vibrant peace movement and the only way we can achieve that is if there is a firm and substantial link with the trade union movement. It is vital, therefore that you ensure that the maximum number of trade union organisation are affiliated to CND.

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TRIDENT CARRIES ON REGARDLESS - OF TREATIES, PROTESTS, A ROLE AND A FUTURE.

The House of Commons Select Committee on defence has just produced a report on Trident which reveals a number of interesting things.

The first is that Trident breaks article six of the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty, which commits Britain to working towards doing away with our nuclear weapons. According to the report "Trident's accuracy and sophistication ... does - and was always intended to - represent a significant enhancement of the UK's nuclear capability. We have invested a great deal of money to make it possible to attack more targets with greater effectiveness using nominally equivalent explosive power." Government statements have claimed that Trident is a 'minimum deterrence'

The second thing the document reveals is that there is only one design of warhead. The governments stated policy is that Trident now performs a sub-strategic as well as a strategic role. This means in effect that our government are proposing to use a warhead with ten times the destructive power of the Hiroshima bomb on sub-strategic targets.

Finally the third thing of interest that the report says is that "there is clearly no foreseeable need for further UK tests in the immediate future." Our government have,

however, campaigned vigorously to carry on nuclear tests at the US site in Nevada.

TRIDENT HARASSED

Peace campaigners have been active in harassing Trident on a number of occasions recently.

The first test firing of Trident missiles took place in Kings Bay off the coast of Georgia, USA, on the 27th of May this year. The test was obstructed by Greenpeace activists who had a number of inflatable boats at the scene, forcing HMS Vanguard to submerge and surface several times before it could release its missile.

Malcolm Rifkind was apparently present for the test firing of the one missile, which cost 18 million.

HMS Victorious had to face a number of peace campaigners as it arrived at Faslane recently. A sailing dingy was capsized in its path causing it to stop and reverse. Four inflatables and half a dozen canoes were also involved in harassing the submarine as it approached the dock.

The police apparently became increasingly frustrated with the protesters. According to one report one policeman lost his temper and rammed the boat he was controlling into

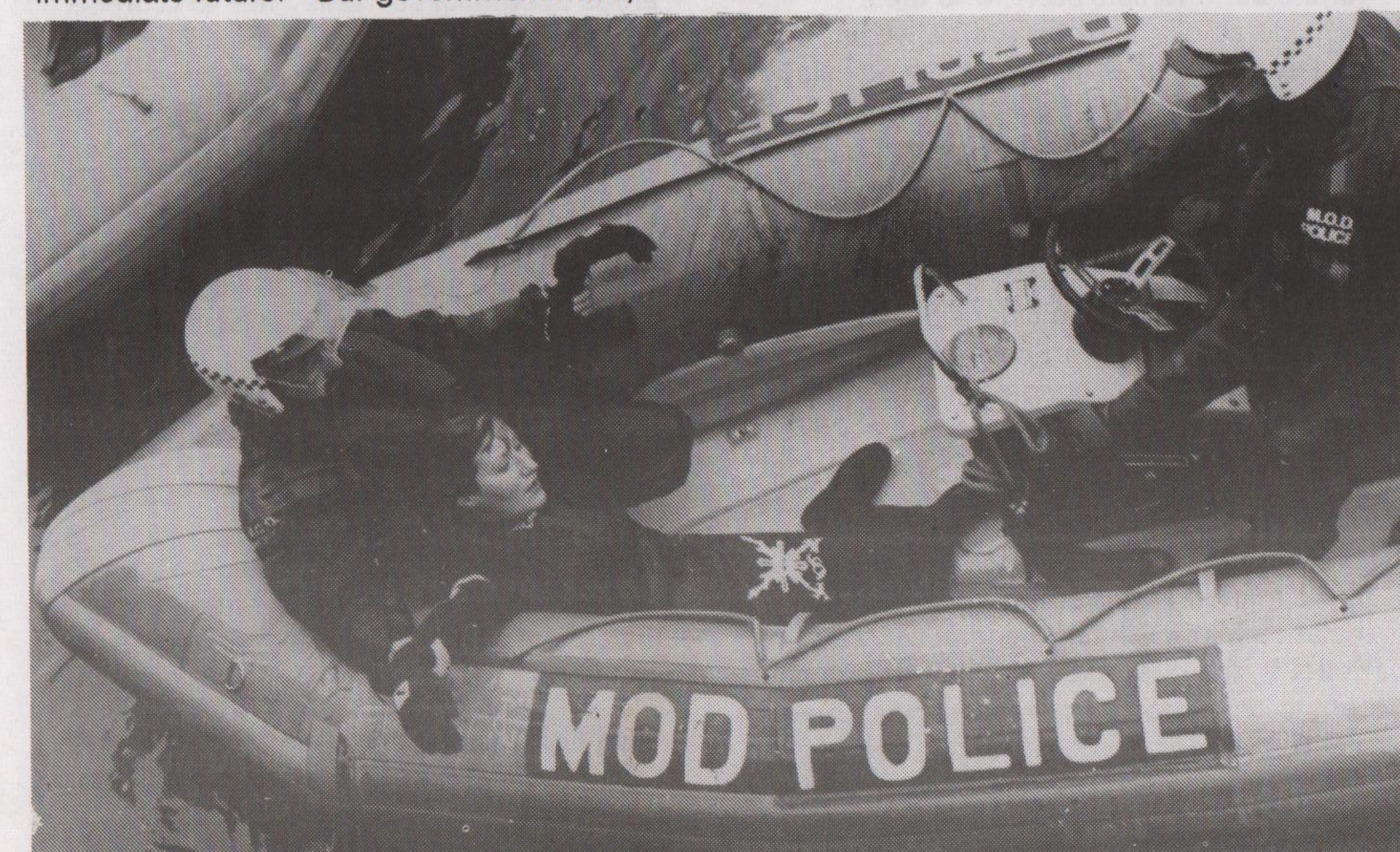
one of the peace campaigners inflatables. The people in it were badly shaken but otherwise unhurt. Their engine was seriously damaged and their inflatable may have to be written off.

Victorious had already had problems from protesters as it left Barrow. Four people jumped into the dock as it was leaving it and swam towards it. With a little difficulty they were arrested and held for 28 hours in Barrow police station. This was apparently to prevent them from joining the protests in Faslane.

It is likely that this type of activity will develop as Trident begins its operational life.

IN THIS ISSUE

- 2 TUCND AGM Report
- 2 The threat of civil war in Europe
- 3 Peace dividend debate
- 4 The spread of nuclear weapons
- 5 CND Conference
- 6 Defence Estimates reveal confusion
- 7 Letter to Captain Sharp
- 8 The war in Rwanda



A member of "Sea Action" arrested after swimming into the path of HMS Victorious

TUCND'S AGM

The phrase Annual General Meeting has a ring of tedium about it which would be unjust to apply to TUCND. It took place in April this year against a background of a great deal of change in the world and within the peace movement.

The single gloomy aspect of this years AGM was the treasurers report. Without an increase in the number of branches affiliated to CND, TUCND will not be financially viable and will have to make its single worker redundant within the coming year.

A new EC was elected. An additional 2 places were added to the number allowed for the EC by the constitution so that all of those standing for the EC this year could be accommodated.

Last years AGM had decided that TUCND would begin producing small pamphlets for general distribution, on a range of different issues. A number of these were produced over the year some of which, such as the short pamphlet we produced on Yugoslavia, raised a fair amount of controversy.

The analysis adopted at both last years and this years AGM is that the threat to peace in the world has changed with the end of the cold war although it has not diminished. This means that the peace movement is still as important as it always was and that there is still a vital role the

peace movement can play in politics in Britain. This is especially true of the trade union wing of the movement.

There were, however, two issues raised at the AGM which proved to be deeply controversial. TUCND's Annual Report includes in it an assessment of the way in which our work can be developed in the coming year. The section dealing with Nuclear Power and THORP caused a great deal of controversy as did the section dealing with the arms trade.

The assessment in the Annual report was that TUCND depend upon national union organisations to access their membership. This would mean that there would be little we could do to campaign against nuclear power in the face of opposition from those unions with members within the industry, except in so far as civil nuclear industries were used to provide material for nuclear weapons. THORP on the other hand had no civilian application and provides weapons grade material for those countries who use the plant. Opinions varied considerably. Some felt that we would be watering down the policy. Some felt that we were governed by CNDs policy on this issue and that there should be no discussion on it. Others felt we shouldn't give a profile to the issue because of the problems it created amongst our affiliates and others felt that we should not follow this policy because a large number of our affiliates were opposed to the policy.

The report said that since we were dependent upon national unions to distribute our material there was little we could do to pursuing an anti nuclear power position. THORP on the other hand has no civil application and was exporting Plutonium which could be used in Nuclear Weapons to areas where there was a considerable amount of conflict. The report said that THORP should be very much part of our campaign work.

The decision of the AGM was that TUCND should write to the affiliated unions asking them what their opinion was of TUCND campaigning against THORP. The incoming EC will take a decision on what to do based on the material we get back.

The section of the annual report dealing with the arms trade was subject to an amendment submitted by the Transport and General Workers Union. The T&GWU amendment, as well as adding something, sought to delete a section dealing with a specific example. Some of the delegates felt that this was acceptable, others didn't want to lose the deleted sections. The AGM voted against the amendment but referred the section of the annual report back to the incoming EC so that the spirit of the amendment could be accommodated without deleting the parts the AGM felt were of value in the original wording.

Fourteen national unions were represented at the AGM as well as a number of Trades Councils and regional bodies.

INSTABILITY AND THE THREAT OF CIVIL WAR IN EUROPE

The conflict in Yugoslavia reveal the type of problem which could afflict at least two other European states in the next five years of so. Turkey already is involved in a low profile civil war and their economy is sliding towards a collapse. Italy has just elected a government made up of a coalition of fascists, extreme right-wingers and nationalists.

All the signs are that the Italian regime will remove anyone from local and national administrations opposed to them and leave the field clear for a systematically corrupt government. It was elected largely because of the influence of the media, the president owned one of the TV stations and a number of newspapers.

The elections took place against a background of revulsion against the corruption within Italian society and the economic situation. Both of these problems are likely to be exacerbated by the new government, in fact the only way the government can survive as a coherent group is if the "spoils" are divided up. Some of the parties making upon the governing coalition have links with the Mafia. It is probable therefore that corruption will escalate rather than diminish. Their reaction to the dissent which this will engender will be to suppress it with force, whether through the police or their own paramilitary groups. That could

well trigger an armed opposition and a steady move towards a civil war.

In Turkey the general economic situation is sliding quickly towards collapse while a low profile civil war is developing between the government and the Kurdistan Workers Party in the South East of the country. Islamic fundamentalist groups will probably take control of at least two of the major cities in the coming local government elections and have developed a deep, often violent, hatred for the communists party, who are a considerable but minority force within Turkey. The fundamentalist have no solution for any of the problems facing the municipalities and thus will inevitably resort to fostering violent conflict with their opponents as a way of making some impression on the politics of the region.

In the South East an ostensibly Islamic group called Hizbullah have been operating as a government sponsored death squads killing people, they believe are supporters of the PKK or are opposed to the behaviour of the government.

The trade union movement are caught up in the middle of this complex mess. For instance Munir Ceylan, general secretary of Petrol Is, the oil workers union, has just been sent to prison for 20 months for writing an article. He has been held for two years waiting to be tried and then to be sentenced. His crime was to write an article in July 1992 advocating that workers express their opposition to the killings and human rights violations.

According to Amnesty International 10,000 people have died so far in the war against the Kurds.

Earlier this year Turkey devalued its currency by 70%, a measure which did little to stop the economic rot. They are able to sustain the war against the Kurds only because of steady military aid from Germany who are supplying them with redundant East German military hardware. Germany's constitution forbids the export of weapons to areas of conflict so Turkey has to promise not to use them against the Kurds before they are sold them at knock down prices for use against the Kurds.

In both cases looking at how their current problems are very likely to evolve over the next five years and looking at what their own governments are likely to do about them makes it look very likely that both will see civil wars developing in their countries in the next five years.

In both cases the Trade Union movement could play a key role in developing an alternative to the repressive regimes of the current governments and could be a vital factor in any attempt at preventing the slide towards civil war. They deserve our support.

TUCND would like you to write to the Turkish Prime Minister calling for the release of Munir Ceylan. **Mrs Tansu Cillar, Office of Prime Minister, Basbakanlik, 06573 Ankara, Turkey. Fax 90 312 417 04 76 Prime Minister.**

THE DEBATE OVER THE PEACE DIVIDEND CONTINUES

A debate has developed in the letters pages of the Morning Star concerning the peace dividend between those who believe that money saved by cutting the defence budget should be channelled towards social services and those who believe it should be channelled towards manufacturing industry.

Peter Ford, a stalwart peace activist from the Midlands wrote to TUCND expressing concerns over the argument and we would like to address some of the questions Peter raises.

"Others more qualified than myself have questioned whether in fact the continuation of the Eurofighter project or the promotion of arms exports would be beneficial in securing jobs. I am told you express concern over the adverse effect on the British balance of payments if the arms trade is reduced.

Even if it were, should we condone an economic system that calls for workers to earn a living by killing or threatening to kill their fellow workers? Ultimately, it boils down to this equation:-

Is it worse for an Englishman to lose his job, his holidays abroad, his car, possibly his house - for a hundred people on the other side of the world to lose their village, their food and water, possibly their lives? I think not."

The first point is a fairly simple one, jobs do exist in the arms industry. The aerospace industry in Britain has no future other than projects such as the Eurofighter unless there is radical change in the way our government approaches the industry and we should recognise this. Arguing that money should be cut from aerospace projects and put towards social spending in effect is arguing for the current policy of not supporting civil industry

will continue. Remember that the level of support needed to make a civil aerospace project viable is substantial.

The second point is that unless the commercial environment is created by government which would allow civilian manufacturing industry to compete in the international market place it will not be possible for us to achieve a peace dividend. For each job lost in mainstream manufacturing most estimates have it that we would lose an additional 3 jobs in service and subcontracting. In other words you lose through additional social security payments and lost tax revenue roughly what you gain by cutting the defence budget.

You also lose the earnings from exports and given that arms are the only successful export industry other than pharmaceutical, this could devastate our economy.

The third point I would wish to make is that the scale of the problem facing Britain has yet, I feel, to be grasped by many within the progressive movement. For instance Britain has 4.2 million pensioners living on or below the poverty line, 50,000 of which die each year from Hypothermia or related illness. When VAT goes on fuel that figure could double, pushing it up above the number of people dying in the Yugoslav war. That is a problem we must address, but it would be fraudulent to claim that we can do so by redirecting funds from the defence budget. To bring pensioners to the same level of income as those in the rest of the EC would take an additional annual spending of £24 billion, which is more than the whole of the defence budget. What is at issue is not the holiday plans for few arms workers it is the state of the whole of our economy. Real poverty exists now in Britain on a substantial scale.

Finally what we can do is use the existing defence industries as a springboard to expand our civilian manufacturing base but that will require substantial amounts of

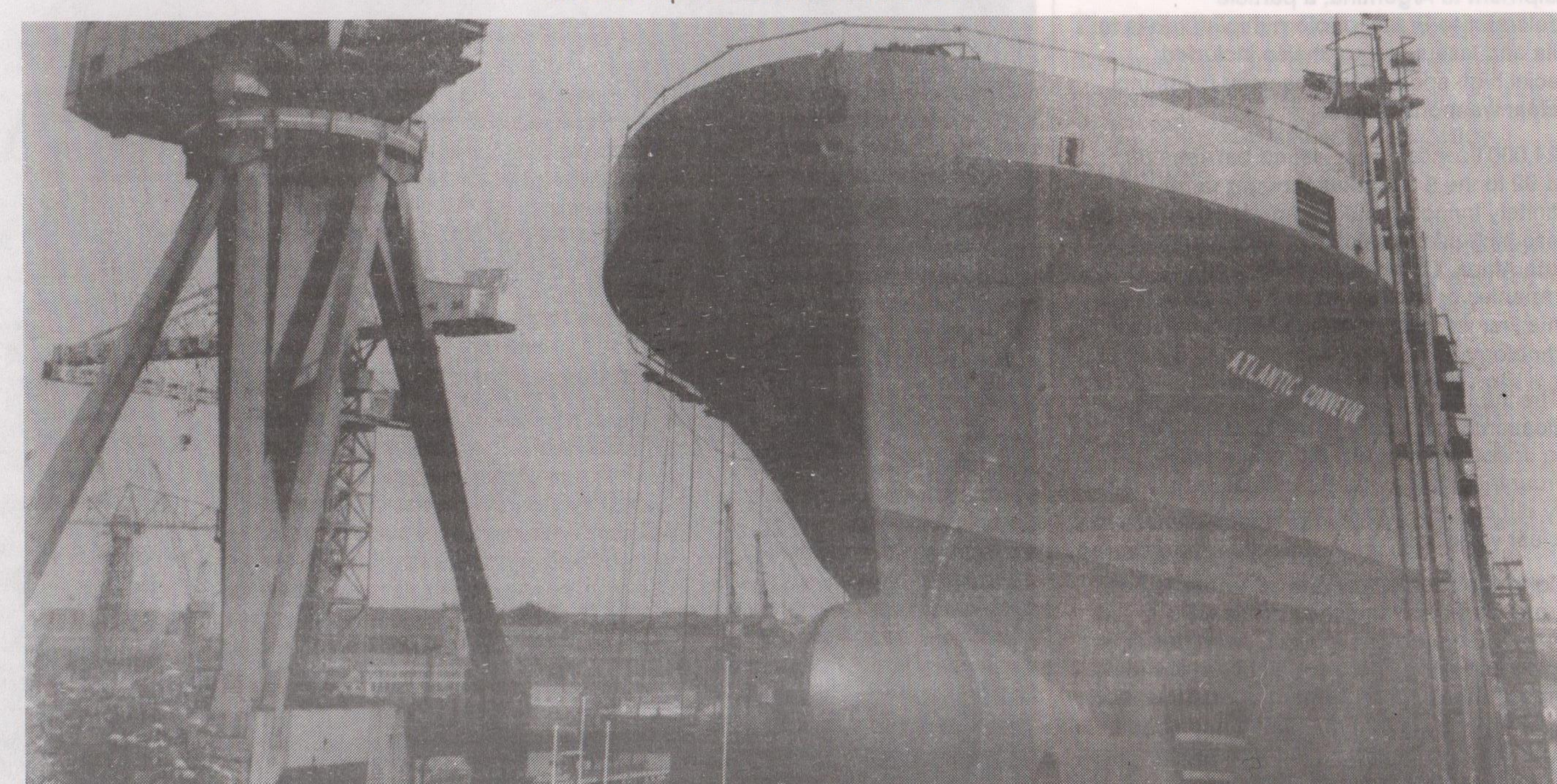
money and a fundamental change in attitude by our government. But at the moment civil industry has to compete against industries far better resourced than our own. For instance in a Japanese shipyard 85% of the steel is cut and 65% of the welding is done by computer controlled machines. They receive subsidies on both the building and design of the ship. Japanese company legislation encourages companies to cooperate rather than compete and this is why they are successful as exporters of manufactured goods.

At the moment in Britain we have 20,000 people building less than 1% of the world's ships. If we followed the Japanese model for supporting manufacturing industry we could achieve 15% in ten years, which could mean jobs for 250,000 people as well as substantial export earnings. The same is true for other manufacturing industrial areas. But that will require substantial government support, both in terms of the finances and the philosophy they operate.

Defence is part of the argument but it is not the whole story. The key to industrial regeneration and a proper basis for funding our welfare state is how we deploy the resources freed by cutting our defence budgets so that the productive capacity, which comprises the real wealth in the defence budget, can be used to generate wealth for the rest of our economy.

As yet we do not have a general recognition within the peace movement of the scale of the problems we face or of what can be done to redress them. If we do not address the scale of poverty and deprivation in Britain could equal that caused by the small wars on the other side of the globe.

Look about you, it is this not happening already?



Were the same support given to Britain's shipbuilding industry as our competitors enjoy the industry could employ 250,000 people.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS SPREAD BECAUSE OF GOVERNMENT CARELESSNESS

**CND
CONFERENCE
1994**

A number of countries appear to be well on their way to developing their own nuclear weapons despite the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) which most of them have signed. There are two reasons why this is. The first is that a number are seeking security in an unstable world. The second is that the material for making weapons would appear to be readily available, off the shelf from a number of places, Britain being one of them.

The US government estimate there are 36 countries known or suspected to be developing nuclear weapons. They are doing so for a variety of reasons, some of which relate directly to British government policies on expanding our own nuclear arsenal. Because of government carelessness in a number of countries they also have acquired commercially available technology which can be used to develop nuclear bombs.

The US General Accounting Office has just produced a damning report on the way the US government has permitted US companies to sell sensitive technology and equipment to a large number of these states.

The law in the US prevents the sale of equipment which could be used for military purposes (dual use) to certain countries without a licence. But apparently between 1985 and 1992 55,000 licences were approved for sale of equipment to the 36 countries who may be developing their own bomb. This included nuclear reactor equipment to Argentina, a particle accelerator to Brazil, photomultiplier tubes to India and lasers to Iraq. It also included special high speed cameras used in testing nuclear weapons to Israel.

24,000 licences were issued between 88 and 92 to the 8 countries thought to be definitely trying to make a nuclear bomb. These included Israel, Iraq, Pakistan and South Africa. Of these 1508 were to companies or sites suspected to be involved in nuclear weapons development or related technology.

The information from the GOA gives an indication of the scale of the problem but it also underlines the fact that the secrecy surrounding these contracts itself makes it very difficult to counter proliferation of nuclear weapons.

John Glenn who was one of Americas first astronauts, is now the chair of the US Senate's Government Affairs Committee is quoted as saying "We have all heard stories of about sneaky procurement operations. But the news today is that many of these goods did not have to be smuggled into secret nuclear weapons facilities. They were available over the counter-quality items, made in the USA".

The situation in Britain would appear, if anything, to be far worse than in the US. No information is available on the amount and type of equipment sold which relates to nuclear weapons yet the Scott enquiry into the way equipment was supplied by Britain for the Iraqi war effort, has revealed the way our Government have used such orders as a way of furthering covert foreign policy aims. In the mid 80's the ANC revealed that the British Government had been supplying the South African regime with nuclear technology. South African nuclear technicians were trained in Britain, ostensibly for the civil nuclear power programme in South Africa and technology was passed to the South African generating board on a regular basis. It is probable that they would have had a great deal of difficulty developing their own bomb without this support.

The opening of the THORP plant in Britain has been sited by the US Government as a source of weapons grade Plutonium, either overt or covert, for states trying to develop nuclear weapons. THORP was supposed to be designed to extract plutonium from nuclear reactor waste so that it could be used as fuel for fast breeder reactors. However fast

breeders have proven to be a failure and none are now operating commercially and no others are planned. (Japan has one small breeder reactor for research) This means that there is no civil use for the plutonium produced by the THORP plant, which is being exported to a number of countries who have the capacity to produce large numbers of nuclear weapons. Just how blatant the offer of weapons grade plutonium is can be seen by the fact that BNFL have just opened an office in Seoul, the capital of South Korea. It is inconceivable that South Korea will be provided with material for which they would have no other use than to develop nuclear weapons. South Korea who have a dangerously tense relationship with North Korea who are reputed to be developing nuclear weapons themselves. They argue they are doing so because of the presence of US nuclear weapons in South Korea.

In addition the break up of the former Soviet Union and the subsequent collapse of their economies has left large numbers of highly trained nuclear scientists and technicians looking for work. A number of the States which have emerged from this breakup are desperate for convertible

currency and are faced with systematic corruption within their own administrations. Under these circumstances there is nothing to stop the transfer of technology to countries trying to develop their own bomb.

The drive to develop nuclear weapons is given an added impetus by the instability in the world today created by the trade in other weapons. Unpopular repressive regimes can maintain themselves in power by buying any military equipment they could need from countries such as Britain. The resultant drain on the economy of paying for this sophisticated military hardware undermines their balance of trade, undermines the value of their currency, forces an overemphasis of cash crops for export etc. Should either internal conflicts or conflicts with other countries develop the net result could be to destroy their economy altogether.

In other words Britain's foreign policies increases instability and provides a considerable incentive to countries to develop nuclear weapons themselves. The most positive contribution our government could make in the struggle to reduce the proliferation of nuclear weapons throughout

the world will be to help remove the reason why these countries feel it is important to develop them.

CND'S POSITION

Article 6 of the existing NPT includes a commitment by the signatories to working towards getting rid of their existing nuclear weapons. Britain has not only singularly failed to make any move to implement this section, in practice we have obstructed other nuclear states from doing so. We have also begun to deploy the Trident system which will mean an eight-fold increase in the number of warheads we have.

The NPT is due for renewal in 1995 but a number of countries are saying they may not put their names to the renewal because there has been no move by Britain and others to begin disarming.

CND are calling for the renewal of the NPT for a limited period of time with the provision that moves are made by Britain and others to begin implementing article 6 of the treaty.

This will take place between the 2nd and 4th of December this year in the University of London Union. Trade Union organisations from branches to national unions, affiliated to CND are entitled to two delegates each, and a number of observers. The registration fee is 24 per delegate.

Each affiliated body can submit two resolutions and there are four categories for the resolutions. These are:-

- 1) constitutional amendments
- 2) Policy resolutions - which will define CNDs position on issues such as the Non Proliferation Treaty.
- 3) Organisational - which relate to the way in which CND should organise in the coming year.
- 4) Campaign priorities - Since CND have a constitutional limit on the number of campaigns it runs in a year effectively the issues which come first and second will be the categories we campaign over.

There is no word limit for a constitutional amendment. The Policy and Organisational motions are limited to 350 words and the priorities motion to 50 words.

The deadlines are 3rd of August for nominations, 5th of September for amendments to the resolutions and the 28th of November for Emergency resolutions.

The nominations will be for the Chair, four vice chairs, the treasurer and for 20 ordinary members of council.

Motions, nominations, amendments etc should be sent to Nicola Butler, CND, 162 Holloway Rd, London N7 8DQ. She will also be the contact for any further information you may wish about the conference.



We should never forget what happens when nuclear weapons are used. This phot of Hiroshima was taken quarter of a mile away from the epicentre

DEFENCE ESTIMATES REVEAL GOVERNMENT CONFUSION

The Government have to reveal annually estimates of what they will spend on military in the coming year. This years estimate has a cut of about a billion which has caused considerable concern amongst the military and the defence industry. They also reveal a deeply rooted confusion over defence policies overall on the part of our government.

Part of the policies put forward have been published under the title "Front line first". They are attempting to suggest that the military will be able to maintain the same level of military capacity on reduced funds.

They way they say they will be able to do this is by reducing the cost of the non combatant parts of the military. A close look at some of the practical implications of what they propose shows how much the military in Britain is in disarray because of our governments policies.

The reason this is of interest to TUCND is that, although we are campaigning as hard as we can for a reduction in the defence budget, we also believe that the reduction has to be planned, that resources have to be channelled into those industries affected by the cuts to help them function in the international civilian market. The government are lying to us over the effect of the cuts they are making and this has dangerous implications overall.

FROM CHEAP BOOTS TO FLYING DEATHTRAPS

It is simply rubbish to claim, as the government does, that they can cut from some aspects of the defence budget without that affecting military capacity. Below are a series of examples to illustrate why their policies look silly even within their own terms of reference.

1) It is now common knowledge that the boots issued to troops are not quite of the quality one needs to dig the garden with so army personnel buy their own boots. Cutting costs in procurement has lead to a position where even basic equipment is compromised.

2) The rifle developed for the army has a number of significant design faults. So much so that, although Britain is one of the most significant arms exporters in the world the only country we have been able to export the rifle to is Mozambique, who were loaned the money to buy the thing from us. Apparently one of the problems with it is that it can't be used by lefthanded people (presumably Mozambique doesn't have any). The design has faults because it was developed on the cheap.

3) A very large arms depot caught fire at Donnington a little while ago. Although no one has been charged and no group has claimed responsibility there have been suggestions that the fire was started deliberately. So much equipment and ammunition was destroyed that it was

rumoured that Britain was effectively defenceless for about six months following it. Its a relief that no one told Saddam Hussein or the Russians, or Colonel Gadafi otherwise presumably they would have invaded. One of the proposals in Front Line First is to concentrate the military stores in one place. What the Donnington fire clearly proved is that should we ever be in a military conflict where it was possible that we would be attacked the military capacity of this country would be devastated by a single hostile act. It may look sensible in accounting terms, it is mad in military terms.

4) Front Line First refers to contracting out some functions to civilian personnel. Some time ago the IRA managed to place a bomb in the middle of an army barracks. The security at the barracks had been contracted out to a private security firm who failed to monitor the arrival of the IRA's vehicles. There is some evidence to suggest that the barracks had been chosen because of the lax security. Security at barracks is not the type of thing defined by the government as being front line activity.

5) Other things the military are talking about contracting out is maintenance on some military equipment. A little while ago a modification to Tornado fighter bombers was contracted to a private firm who had quoted a cheaper price than the civilian engineers employed by the MOD who would have done the work prior to the policy of contracting out. The RAF were very lucky. The civilian MOD engineers realised that the work was not being carried out correctly and pointed this out. Serious damage had been done to a number of aircraft, causing some of them to be grounded. had the mistakes not been noticed it is quite possible a number of aircraft could have ben lost.

There comes a point where the application of a dogma such as the free market philosophies become not only expensive, they are dangerous.

6) The Government are also talking about saving money by reducing the number of regular troops and having their functions carried out by Territorial units. The ability of part time personnel to carry out these functions depends entirely on the quality of their training. In other words in order to have a specific task performed by part time personnel they would each have to receive the same amount of training that regular troops would receive. That means you may well end up having to train twice the number of people to have the task performed.

Some countries, Switzerland and Israel for instance, do this. In Switzerland they do it because they have a policy of maintaining the maximum number of trained military personnel possible. In Israel they do it because they have a shortage of manpower. Neither example is appropriate for this country.

INDECISION DAMAGING INDUSTRY

The piecemeal ad-hoc nature of the cuts being carried out by our government have a

number of effects on the defence industries. A number of smaller defence contractors have gone bankrupt because of the indecision amongst those involved in the procurement process. A number of major defence contractors have made it clear that the indecision on the part of the MOD is a serious problem for them. In other words the way in which the cuts are being made is having a serious and damaging effect upon the arms industries. Thus for major industrial orders such as a naval vessel a number of companies have to go through the process of costing a job and of preparing the facilities to do the work. Competitive tendering in shipbuilding implies you have more shipyards than are needed to complete the work you have available. That is both inefficient and unsustainable in the long term. The losers in the competition go to the wall. As we move closer to a single market within the European community in weapons procurement, it will mean that shipyards offered support by their governments, such as France, will automatically survive. In other words the competitive tendering policies already in place inherently imply the closure of yards in Britain and the manufacture of naval vessels abroad. This is inevitable if the policies continue as they are.

THE NEED FOR A DEFENCE REVIEW

The Government have established a number of research groups to look at various aspects of the military. Last year they cut about a billion and this year they have done the same. In other words they have instigated a series of major cuts before deciding the shape and function of the armed services. The end of the cold war ought to have had a profound effect upon the shape of our military. Even by the wildest stretch of the imagination it is difficult to see how one could justify Trident but we still have Rifkind appearing on the telly claiming it is somehow unpatriotic even to think in terms of scrapping it.

What is desperately needed now is a full scale review of what role our military should be performing and of the resources we may wish to allocate them and of how those resources are deployed.

The cuts are inevitable and desperately needed. Making them in a unplanned way will mean any real advantage from the cuts will be simply lost.

THE NEED FOR A RADICAL CHANGE

The government are not only failing to present a coherent defence policy they have also failed to develop a coherent industrial policy. The net result is chaos and a steady deterioration of our manufacturing base, services and economy overall. Our government have created a terrible waste as well as a terrible level of deprivation and poverty within our society. What we need now are radical policies for radical change.

DEAR TO CAPTAIN SHARP

Captain Richard Sharp is the editor of *Janes Fighting Ships*, the prestigious publication which covers the worlds navies. Part of the same publishing house is the weekly journal *Janes Defence Weekly* which covers all aspects of military affairs and is an absolute must for people with a serious interest in defence matters.

The May 28th issue carried an open letter from Captain Sharp to western political leaders in which he makes a number of statements. The basic premise of his letter is that piecemeal cost cutting is damaging the capacity of a number of navies to be able to deal with situations which arise within an increasingly unstable world. Although he says he is not arguing for increased defence spending, and much of what he argues for relates to issues such as morale which are not directly quantifiable, the logical implication of his letter is that spending cuts should be reined back.

There are a number of assumptions in Captain Sharp's letter which I would like to take issue with. These are:-

i) That the way to respond to a dangerous and unstable world is protect ourselves through the use of, or the threatened use of, armed forces.

ii) That defence can be considered separately from other aspects of government spending.

iii) That only through military spending can defence be achieved.

iv) That the fact that a peace dividend has not been forthcoming implies that the concept is illusory.

i) Britain spends heavily on defence yet we do not have a home market capable of sustaining the R&D and set up costs for a modern weapons platform. We therefore have to export in order to keep production runs high and make our own weapons procurement possible. The export of weapons to unpopular undemocratic regimes creates the instability which Captain Sharp feels we need to protect ourselves against.

It is unlikely that Britain would be invaded by Indonesia but the fate of Indonesia will have an impact upon our lives and our economy. The civil war in Yugoslavia, the rapid polarisation of Italy and Turkey have, however, the potential for turning Europe into a bloodbath on the same scale that Africa, parts of the Far East and parts of the Middle East have been turned into over the past fifty years.

The conflict in Yugoslavia was a result of the debt crisis it faced and of German political manoeuvring. The war was almost inevitable given the circumstances but Britain could have had an impact upon those circumstances and possibly even prevented the war happening. We could have prevented it but can do very little through he use of military force.

Of the 25 countries in the world today with the highest per-capita debt 19 are in or just coming out of civil wars and a further four look as though they are stumbling towards one. Debt and the availability of weapons are crucial factors in this set of circumstances and Britain is active both in the international banking system and in the arms trade.

The dangerous and unstable world referred to by Captain Sharp is in part at least a creation of Britain's foreign policy. A change in that policy together with a change in industrial policies which will make civilian production profitable, could go much further to resolving that instability that the threat of the use of weapons. ii) Perhaps one of the most problematic aspects of the way in which defence has been dealt with over the past 20 years is that it has been seen as an entirely separate issue from other aspects of government policy.

There are two reasons why this should be avoided. The first is that, because defence depends upon the capacity to produce, on the transport infrastructure and on aspects of the civil economy which can be utilised in the event of hostilities. If, as is the case with this government, defence is dealt with as a seperate issue then there is a tendency to ignore these other aspects upon which defence depends. For instance the navy requires the capacity to produce and repair ships. The scale of the facilities needed on an intermittent basis are far in excess of the that which can be maintained by a peace time navy budget alone. For Britain military action requires large numbers of merchant vessels for supply. However, we now simply does not have the merchant ships we would need and is fast losing the building capacity we may need in the event of hostilities. We would neither be able to sustain or open hostilities effectively given the state of the shipbuilding and shipping industries. The Royal Navy is, therefore currently, unable to fulfil anything but a minor independent military role. A major conflict, such as the Falklands war, would be out of the question now.

The other reason why it should be avoided is because it allows defence to become out of proportion to the rest of the economy. Depending on what criteria you use to asses scale Britain is between the 8th and the 13th largest economy in the world yet we have the third largest arms industry. When taken as a proportion of the GDP we have the largest dependency on weapons exports of any industrial nation. We have become dependent in some important ways upon the export of weapons often to unstable regimes.

We have allowed defence to take too much from the central government coffers while denying resources to the civil sector and the result has been a badly distorted economy.

iii) Military victories are won by people who consider a range of factors, not simply the number of men they have under arms or how much they spend on equipment. They consider the resources they have available in the light of the type of task in front of them, the qualities, such as training and morale, inherent in the personnel available, lines of supply, the political effect of a tactic upon people at home etc. Henry V won a resounding victory over the French not because his equipment was finer, that which

he faced at Agincourt would have cost ten times what had been spent on his own army. Yet he won because the French gave no thought to their strategy and had failed to look at a range of different criteria such as the terrain they were to fight over or the military potential of that which faced them. Money was no problem to them but it did them no good whatsoever. The same could be said of a number of navies Nelson fought against.

The Gulf conflict was resolved by overwhelming the Iraqi military machine. This is not always possible nor would it be as possible were the area mountainous or at sea. In every military conflict strength can become illusory. Hitler faced substantially superior forces which he overcame by careful use of the resources he had available.

He was not deterred by apparent strength. Potential foes are not deterred by Britain spending double the proportion of our available wealth on weapons than Germany, Italy or France spends.

iv) Britain requires a strong manufacturing base but current government policies have failed to support industry to anything like the level our industrial competitors enjoy. The only industry which has enjoyed systematic support has been the defence industry and this is now virtually alone as a successful exporter. However the market for arms is becoming more and more problematic and we will not be able to maintain our current level of dependence on the export of weapons in the not too distant future.

For a number of reasons over and above those associated with the reaccession Britain's economy is in crisis. A way out of this crisis would be to use the industrial facilities and the skill base which comprise the arms industry as a springboard for an expansion of our civil manufacturing base. I would argue that the money for this should be taken from the defence budget. In so doing we would create the basis for funding for welfare services, which are also in crisis as well as crete sufficient wealth to sustain other aspects of our society.

The capacity to support a sustained military conflict means a healthy manufacturing base. This does not exist at the moment in Britain. Because it doesn't exist we are in effect, wasting our defence budget.

The peace dividend is an illusion for Britain at the moment but it would be possible to gain a considerable benefit from cuts in military spending if the resources saved were redirected to support for the civilian manufacturing base.

Britain has to cut its military budget substantially; our economy can no longer sustain military spending at the level experienced over the past fifteen years. We believe the resources freed should be channelled into expanding our manufacturing base. But we also have to make sure there is some coherence to the shape of our armed services and the starting point for that has to be a comprehensive review of our defence.