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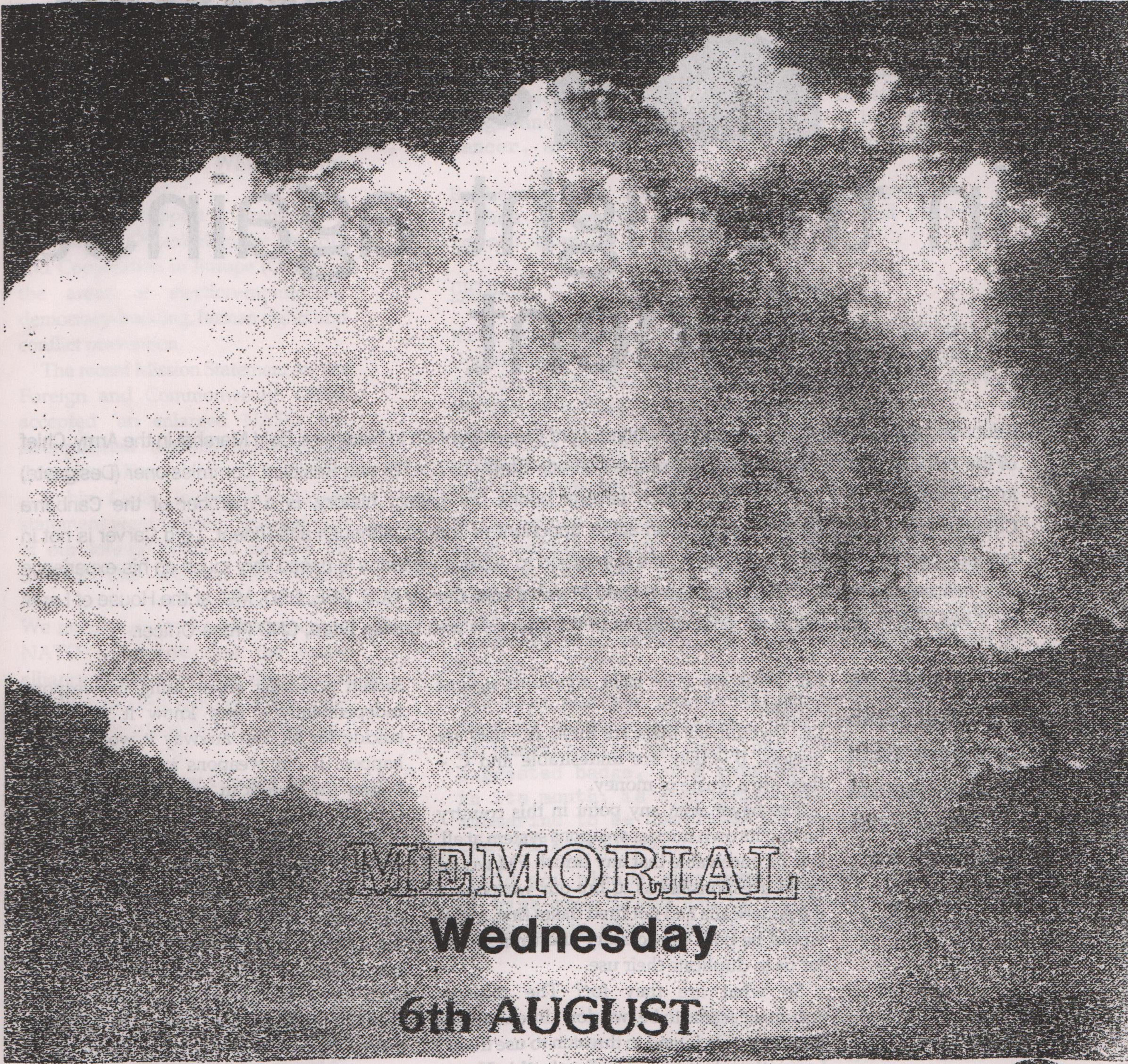
NOTTINGHAM CND

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July

1997

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MEMORIAL

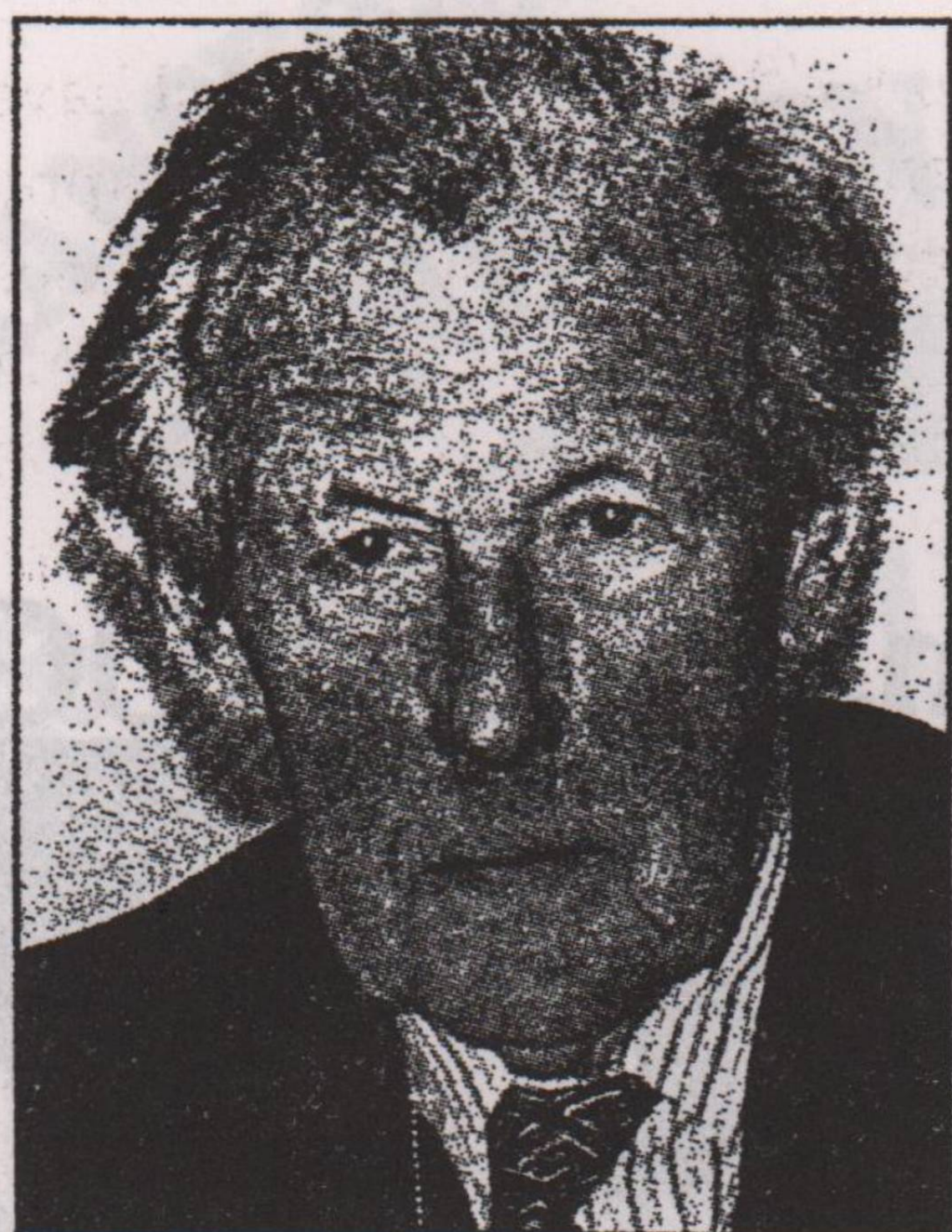
Wednesday

6th AUGUST

7:30p.m.

THE ARBORETUM





An unlikely ally

in the fight against Trident

Educated at Winchester College and Sandhurst, Lord Carver went on to become a Field Marshal in the Army, Chief of the General Staff (1971-73), Chief of the Defence Staff (1973-76) and Resident Commissioner (Designate) in Rhodesia (1977-78). He has written several books on military history, is a member of the Canberra Commission on nuclear weapons and an active opponent of Trident. Although anti-Trident, Lord Carver is not in any way part of the peace movement. His opposition to nuclear weapons is based very much on his experience as a military strategist. *CND Today* visited **Field Marshal Lord Carver** GCB, CBE, DSO, MC. at the House of Lords on 7 May 1997 and below we print excerpts of his interview with **Louise Edge**, CND Press Officer.

"Are we getting value for money from our nuclear force? The answer is NO".

LE: What are your main arguments against Trident?

LC: I would say there are three. A - they are useless, B - they are undesirable and C - they are a waste of money.

I've never seen any point in this country having its own nuclear weapons system at all. It is inconceivable that any British PM would be so irresponsible as to fire our weapons if the Americans had not fired theirs first, and it would be both unnecessary and undesirable for us to duplicate their use.

So what are they for? The military argument seems to be 'we don't intend to use them, we only intend to threaten to use them'. I recently asked Lady Chalker in this House who is the British deterrent supposed to be deterring, and from what? She would only say 'any potential aggressor' - which is patently untrue. Countries which pose serious threats to us are not deterred by

Britain posturing about using its weapons independently - they know it would be suicide for us, and anyway it would never happen. If our weapons are only there to bolster the American arsenal then they are superfluous.

When people talk about a weapon of last resort, ultimate defence, it's actually meaningless because there are no circumstances in which it would be in either the military or political interest of this country to use them. We would not have used them in Korea. We couldn't have possibly threatened to use them in Suez, indeed there was enough fuss about using conventional bombs. We couldn't have used them in the Falklands, and Argentina was not deterred by the fact that we had them.

The Foreign Office argument for nuclear weapons has always been principally to do with status. Trident adds authority to the

influence our diplomats can exert. The Foreign Office worries that without them we will be seen and treated as a second-class country. I don't believe it for a minute, I see absolutely no proof of it.

A particularly poor argument that is often used is that we have membership of the Security Council because we have nuclear weapons. This is untrue. We are members because we were part of the victorious outfit at the end of the Second World War, when the UN was set up. Furthermore it is an argument that encourages other countries to develop their own nuclear weapons.

LE: What do you think about the idea that CND is pushing at the moment, also part of the Canberra recommendations, that Trident should be taken off 24-hour patrol?

LC: I think it is a very good idea. It would help to remove the feeling in the Russian mind that they are under constant nuclear threat and need to maintain their force at constant readiness. The situation that demands constant readiness no longer exists. If you saw a situation developing it would be easy to reset the weapons. Take something like the Falklands – it didn't arise out of the blue overnight.

There is no doubt that there is far more danger of an accident if weapons are on instant alert. There have been some horrific near misses. For instance in the US flocks of geese being picked up by the radar and mistaken for an incoming nuclear missile.

LE: Do you think attitudes will change with a new government in power?

LC: I would hope so. This government has such a strong majority that it doesn't need to worry about being seen to be as patriotic as the Conservatives, which has always been a problem before. I sent Robin Cook a copy of the Canberra Report when it came out and he said "I'll do my best to persuade my party to move in that direction". I'm rather disappointed to see that Tessa Blackstone is now going to be Minister for Higher Education, so she won't be answering for Foreign Affairs, which is a pity because she is sympathetic. But John Gilbert (proposed Labour Defence Spokesman in the Lords) is unsympathetic. He told me that his constituents' attitude is 'if the other buggers

have got 'em, we'd better bloody well have 'em too'. Frankly I will be perfectly happy when this government does its Defence Review and looks at where it is getting value for money and where it is not. Are we getting value for money from our nuclear force? The answer is NO.

LE: What do you think are the best strategies to approach the government with?

LC: The Canberra Commission for a start. The principal reason behind the Canberra Report was to alert people to the danger of nuclear proliferation. The present situation is probably more dangerous than most of

Photo: Paul Aston

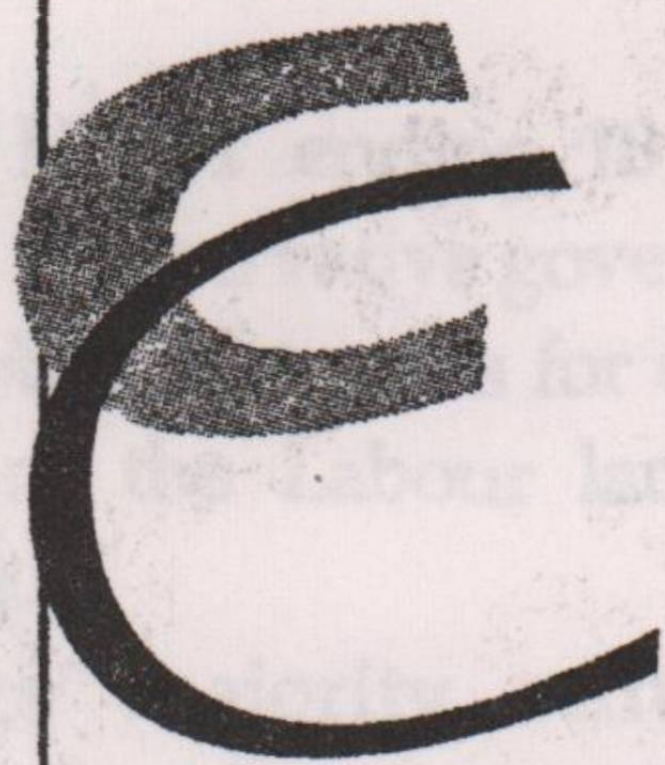


the Cold War, when there were many more nuclear weapons but they were almost exclusively in the hands of the US and USSR. Today countries like Libya and Iraq are close to nuclear potential, and with the break-up of the Soviet Union there are real dangers of fissile material, weapons and even delivery systems getting into irresponsible hands.

Proliferation is likely to develop unless serious attempts are made to make it clear to all concerned that we aim to get rid of them altogether. This would remove both the danger of the weapons themselves and the incentive for those who don't have them to acquire them. At the moment some non-nuclear countries are saying 'You have them. If they are good for you – why are they not good for us?'

If you imagine a British person who believes strongly in an independent British

**Photo: CND
protesters
outside
Downing St on
the day the
Government
announced
details of its
Defence Review**



Canberra Commission Summary

THE CANBERRA COMMISSION on the elimination of nuclear weapons was commissioned by the Australian government in 1995 and included 17 politicians, ex-military personnel and academics including Lord Carver, Robert McNamara (the US Defence Secretary under Kennedy and Johnson) and Nobel Peace Prize winner Professor Joseph Rotblat. The Commission issued its conclusions in 1996. It found that 'The proliferation of nuclear weapons is amongst the most immediate security challenges facing the international community' and that 'immediate and determined efforts need to be made to rid the world of nuclear weapons'.

Steps towards disarmament proposed by the Canberra Commission:

- Nuclear states should commit themselves to the elimination of nuclear weapons and agree to start the negotiations required for its achievement;
- Taking nuclear forces off alert;
- Removal of warheads from delivery systems;
- Ending deployment of non-strategic nuclear weapons;
- Ending nuclear testing;
- Initiating negotiations to further reduce US and Russian nuclear arsenals;
- Agreement amongst the nuclear weapons states of reciprocal no first use undertakings and no-use in relation to non-nuclear weapons states;
- Action to prevent further horizontal proliferation;
- Development of verification arrangements;
- Ceasing the production of fissile materials that can be used in nuclear weapons.

"If we are genuine about the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty... then what purpose does Aldermaston serve?"

deterrent face-to-face with an Indian person – the Indian would have a better argument for having nuclear weapons. They have got at least one, maybe two neighbours who have nuclear weapons. Take Iran and Iraq. They have a better argument than Britain – they both have neighbours whom they don't like and who don't like them.

The policy advocated by the Canberra Commission is that the declared nuclear states make it clear that they really do intend to implement their undertaking under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to move towards abolition of these weapons. This will demand a great deal of financial, technological and human effort being put into devising a verification system in which the world can have confidence. There will inevitably be a period of considerable delicacy establishing the verification machinery and implementing the final agreements. However, the risks will be lower than the risks of doing nothing about the present situation.

Secondly, I think you should also be talking about 'value for money'. If you added up the cost of the whole structure needed to maintain the nuclear force it would be much larger. What about Aldermaston? If we are genuine about the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and are never going to design and

produce a new warhead, then what purpose does Aldermaston serve? I think you could get an ally in the Treasury who would ask some of these awkward questions.

LE: What future role can you see CND playing?

LC: Well, to be frank about CND, it wants to build a different image. You've got to remember who the real target is. You have a role to play in maintaining and developing public opinion, which will then get at the politicians. I would have thought the target area is those members of the Labour Party who are really sympathisers, and who have been kept quiet in order that New Labour should win the election. They have no need to be quiet now.

LE: What further work will you be doing to promote the Canberra Commission Report?

LC: I shall be speaking in the Foreign Affairs and Defence debate in the near future, and shall concentrate on nuclear weapons and the expansion of NATO. I don't know which Labour MPs will be there, but if any of your sympathisers fail to support my position I'll do my best to make them feel embarrassed!

■ This article was edited by Joss Cope and Louise Edge.

Time is running out

Aldermaston

AWE Aldermaston has been able to hide its health and safety problems by claiming crown immunity. But as a result of privatisation it was told to apply for a site licence: a public certificate that it is operating safely. This is threatening to turn into a public relations disaster.

There are numerous old, highly contaminated buildings on site which should be demolished. But this would add some 4,000 tons of nuclear waste to the more than 2,000 tons (and growing) of waste already stored all over the site. Now, following the rejection of the NIREX Sellafield storage plans, this ever-growing radioactive mountain cannot be shifted.

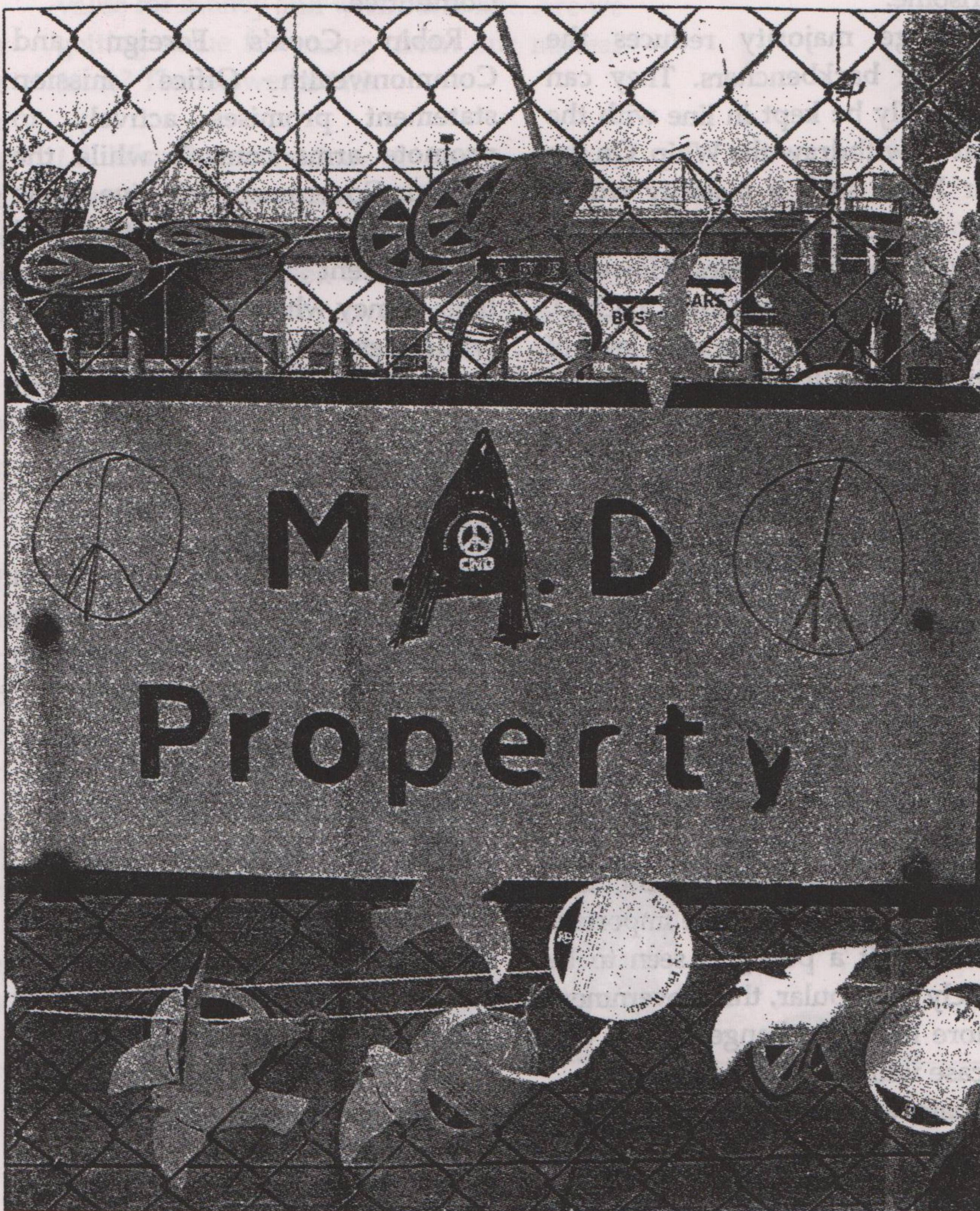
Newbury Council is opposing a licence. If it were not granted, Aldermaston would be publicly exposed as a health hazard and would either have to close down or slink back behind the secrecy of crown immunity.

Devonport Dockyard

APART from its own nuclear waste disposal problems – there are now four retired nuclear-powered submarines crowded into the dockyard with more to come – the Trident refit facility has run 50% over budget before work has even properly started.

Now the Nuclear Installations Inspectorate and the Health & Safety Executive is insisting on earthquake proofing. This will further add to costs and delay completion.

HMS *Vanguard* is due for refit and refuelling in 2001. Any delay will add substantially to the expense of the eventual refit. Alternatives would be to transfer the entire contract to Rosyth, where a further



Aldermaston: site of an ever-growing mountain of radioactive waste Photo: Christine Hillier

seven submarines lie awaiting disposal, or even get the work done in the US: cheaper, quicker but politically disastrous.

Dounreay

THE Scottish Environmental Protection Agency (SEPA) has ordered a cut in the maximum permitted storage time from twenty-five to ten years for imported waste. But recent protests in Germany have shown that this return-to-sender business is getting harder and harder.

While plans to sell its specialist

engineering team to a subsidiary of the German NUKEM Corporation ran into a storm of protest, SEPA struck again, ordering an immediate halt, on urgent safety grounds, to the reprocessing of radioactive sodium from Germany. Molten sodium is the coolant used in fast-breeder reactors.

SEPA also suggested that the actual import of the sodium might not have complied with the relevant safety laws and a prosecution is possible.

Altogether, life is not happy in the nuclear industry...

WHILST ending 18 years of Conservative government is brilliant news for everyone, the scale of the Labour landslide is worrisome.

A large majority reduces the power of backbenchers. They can more easily be kept in line with the threat to withdraw the Whip. On the other hand such a majority would allow the Government the freedom to adopt radical policies. However, some MPs will remain loyal to CND.

It is too early to judge what level of support we will get from the new intake. But there are some new MPs who are clearly supporters of CND's aims and objectives and who will help in whatever way they can.

It is clear, however, that a lot more work will have to be done with the Scottish National Party and Plaid Cymru to ensure their continued support and the Liberal Democrats will have to be lobbied more vigorously if they are to change their attitude towards Trident.

Lobbying the government and your MP is probably more important than ever. If a policy is seen to be publicly unpopular, this Government is more likely to change it, than was the case with the late regime.

Whatever happens with the new Government, no one can say it will be boring.

What you can do

Join our ever-growing group of Constituency Lobbyists, help keep the pressure on all those new MPs and receive our parliamentary newsletter, *Lobby*, six times per year. If you would like to join, please contact William Peden at the CND office.

The Conference on Disarmament (CD)

PLEASE keep writing to the Foreign Office about the establishment of an Ad-Hoc Committee on Nuclear

Disarmament. The deadlock at the CD has to be broken and a positive step for our government would be to drop their opposition to this Committee.

Robin Cook's Foreign and Commonwealth Office mission statement promises actively to promote arms control, while the 'Labour Government will give a new momentum to arms control and disarmament'. Let's see them put their money where their mouth is. A willingness to further the international nuclear disarmament process, rather than impeding it, would be a good start.

What you can do

Write to the Foreign Secretary and the UK Representative at the CD, Sir Michael Weston, urging them to start talking and stop blocking.

Labour's strategic defence review

LABOUR are conducting a 'strategic defence review in order to reassess Britain's essential security interests and defence needs in the light of the profound changes in the international security environment since 1990.'

Yet nuclear weapons policy and Trident are to be excluded. A fundamental review that leaves out Trident is a contradiction in terms.

Further, such a review must not be held in secret, and must include evidence from as wide a variety of opinions as possible including Select Committees, academics and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO).

What you can do

Write to the Rt Hon George Robertson, MP, Secretary of State for Defence, demanding that the strategic defence review must include a review of British nuclear weapons policy.

The true cost of British nuclear weapons

THE 1993-94 Defence Budget was £23,450 million. It was stated that 7.2 per cent of this was spent on maintaining and operating British nuclear forces. This amounts to £1,688 million. Current costs of the British nuclear weapons programme are now over £1,700 million.

The official estimate of the total cost of Trident is £12,570 million. But CND believes the figure to be between £33,000 and £45,000 million.

Claims that most of the money has been spent or committed are untrue. For example, the budget includes a rather large contingency sum, which, if Trident was cancelled, could be saved. Last year this amounted to £258 million.

The official estimates of Trident's annual running costs are between £200 and £240 million. But CND believes that the true costs will be at least £1,500 million since the official costs do not cover for example, the guarding of nuclear weapons, the communications such as the command and control facility at Northwood, the mine-sweepers used to sweep the seas to ensure free passage for Trident and the decommissioning of the submarines.

What you can do

Write to the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, challenging the official costs, stating your opposition to Trident, and posing the question 'Shouldn't this money be better spent on things like health, housing and education, for example?'

NATO expansion and the Labour Government

LABOUR is 'committed to NATO as the essential safeguard for Britain's security interests', but believes the 'process of [NATO] enlargement will need to be approached sensitively to ensure that we do not create new

barriers and sources of division across the European continent', and 'must proceed in parallel with measures that include Russia in a wider security framework'.

Committed to a stronger European component in NATO, Labour supports the development of the Western European Union's crisis intervention functions, including humanitarian relief, rescue operations, peace-keeping and peace-making, using NATO assets. However Labour does not support the incorporation of the WEU into the European Union.

They also support a strengthened role for the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in the areas of election-monitoring, democracy-building, human rights and conflict prevention.

The recent Mission Statement for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office accepted 'an enlarged NATO and strengthened security partnerships throughout Europe'.

Robin Cook, in his explanatory statement went further: 'The first goal of our foreign policy is security for nations. Our security will remain based on the North Atlantic Alliance. We must manage the enlargement of NATO to ensure that the wider alliance is also a stronger alliance and that the process reduces rather than increases tensions between East and West.'

So we have a new Government but an unchanged policy. A commitment made without any real discussion or debate in Parliament. The 8 July Madrid NATO summit is to decide which States should be invited to join NATO. This has profound implications for the future defence and security of Europe.

Fundamental questions have to be asked: not just 'when will NATO expand' or 'should NATO expand', but "should NATO still exist'.

NATO decisions are made by consensus. Until there is proper debate Britain should exercise its veto on any expansion of NATO.

C.N.D. Conference:

This will be held in London on November 22-23rd. For any member wishing to attend expenses will be paid on the understanding that a written report will be presented for the newsletter.

A.G.M.

Provisional dates - Sunday, November 2nd or 9th. Resolutions or items for the agenda to be presented by October 23rd please.

Almonds and Raisins:

Jeremy Jago will be out of circulation for a few weeks due to illness. Get better soon,

Immediately after the issue of our last newsletter we heard that the husband of one of our longstanding members - Jean Todd - had died from cancer, at home. Our sincerest sympathy, Jean.

Barbara Lacey, Anne Mitchell and Marguerite Oldham are on the road to recovery and we hope to see them on Hiroshima Day.

CRISIS!

With four of the seven members of the Executive Committee ill/recovering from illness/ caring for invalids we are rather 'stretched' in fact, Muffin the Mule is in danger of snapping.

The stall has not been taken out this year. Without help in the form of articles, cartoons, etc the future of the Bulletin is in danger.

This crisis comes at the time when we should be most active. When snippets of information are proving that our prophecies are being substantiated - accidents to nuclear weapons, power-stations; indiscriminate dumping of radio-active waste in sea, rivers, on land and now transported by air.

The next nuclear hunter-killer submarine is causing quite a brou-haha. Not for moral, financial or humanitarian reasons, but whether or not the suggested badge, of a retriever with inert grouse in its mouth, is appropriate at present. The submarine to be completed in around 2005 at the cost of £2billion.

Could you please give some Saturday morning time, or give news items and/or snippets of information, personal or otherwise to maintain the newsletter.

**KIDS AREA-TRANSFORMERS-BOUNCY CASTLE-CIRCUS SKILLS
LIVE BANDS + WANDERING MINSTRELS-VEGGIE FOOD
NOTTINGHAM
19 GREEN 97
FESTIVAL
PEOPLE-PLANET-PEACE
FAMILY FUN DAY-100s OF STALLS-EXHIBITIONS-FUN 'N' FACTS**

**VICTORIA EMBANKMENT
SUNDAY AUGUST 31ST
11AM-6PM ADMISSION FREE**



We are having the stall at this event..

HELP NEEDED.