

## Diary Dates

- Sat 6 Aug** **Hiroshima Bombing 60th Anniversary**  
 12.30pm Vigil in Market Square, Nottingham.  
 7.00pm 60th Anniversary Commemoration at the Arboretum
- Sun 7 Aug** Special showing of "Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb" at 1pm at Broadway Cinema, Broad St, Nottingham.
- Sat 9 Oct** **Dark Sun Workshop and Performance Day**, Great Hall, University of Nottingham (more details page 15).
- 22-24 Oct** Weekend of actions about Rolls Royce Marine in Derby (more details on page 4)

## Hiroshima and Nagasaki : 60 Years Commemoration Events

**Saturday 6th August - 12.30pm**  
**Vigil - Market Square**

60th Anniversary vigil in Market Square, Nottingham  
 organised by Nottingham CND and Greenpeace

**Saturday 6th August - 7.00pm**  
**Hiroshima Day Commemoration - Arboretum**

60th Anniversary Hiroshima Day Commemoration with poetry, readings, music, and opportunity for reflection, followed by a candlelit procession (please bring a candle). This takes place by the bandstand in the Arboretum, Waverley Street.

**Sunday 7th August - 1.00pm**  
**Dr. Strangelove - Broadway Cinema**

Special showing of the film "Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb", with introduction by Jenny Maxwell from West Midlands CND. Come to see this classic film in which an insane general attempts to start a nuclear war, directed by Stanley Kubrick and starring Peter Sellers. Tickets are available from Nottingham CND £3.50 / £3 (unwaged) (tel. 981 2034).

**Let's make sure that the 60th Anniversary does not go  
 by unnoticed by the people of Nottingham**



# Nottingham CND Bulletin

**July 2005**



60 years ago ...

Hiroshima 6/8/45  
 Nagasaki 9/8/45

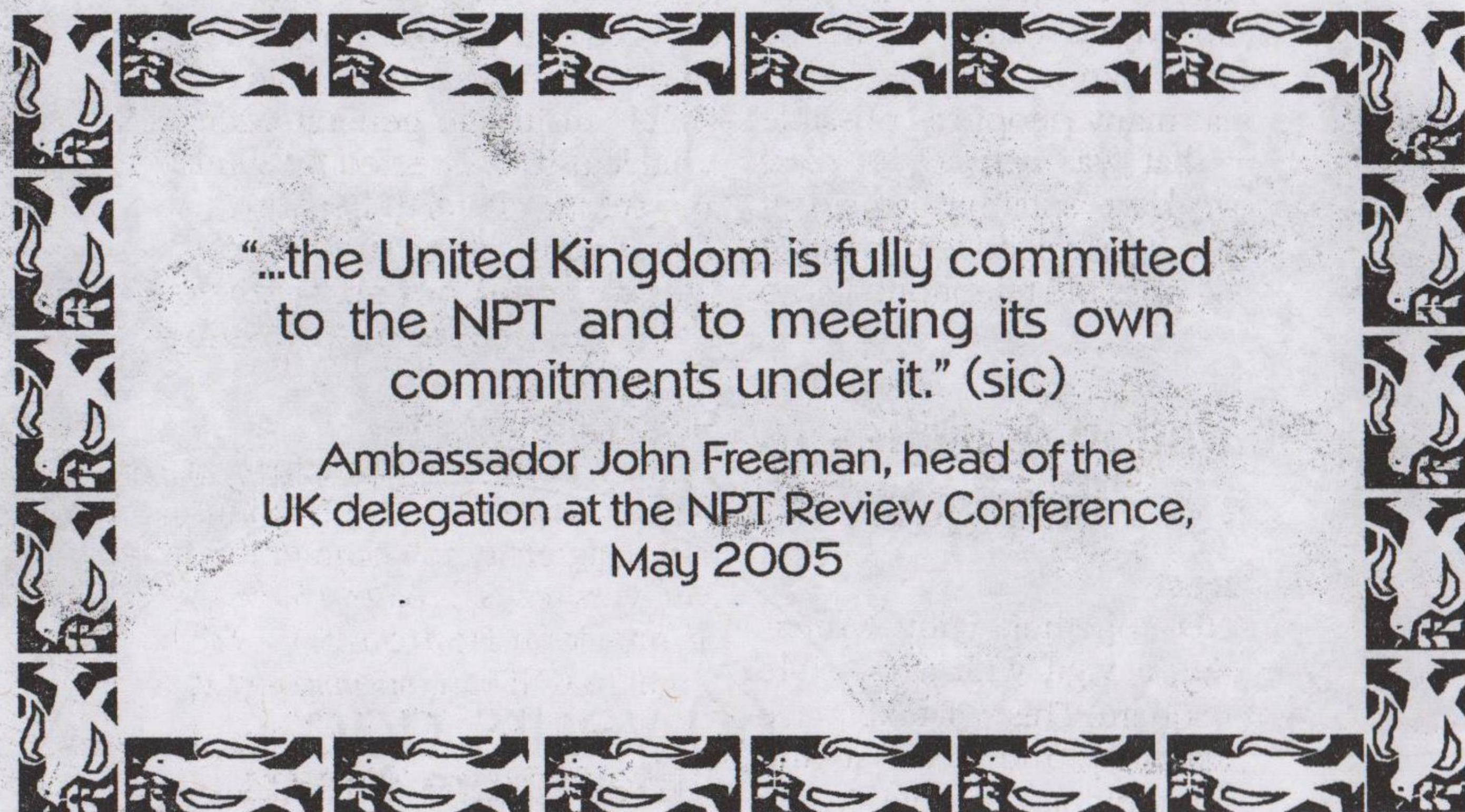
**Never again**



We have just had saturated national media coverage of the the VE Day 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations. In August there will be another 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary – of the dropping of the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima – but I don't suppose it will command so much press attention. Instead, it is up to us to tell our friends and colleagues, and to publicise this 60th Anniversary as widely as possible. Nottingham CND is holding several commemoration events, and we hope these will help to bring the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary, and the issues surrounding the nuclear weapons in existence today, to as wide an audience as possible.

In May the 2005 Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was held in New York. Some states made positive suggestions, but no progress was made as the US (ably supported by the UK) blocked any real decisions. No surprise really when they have no apparent interest in meeting their disarmament obligations under Article VI of the Treaty (despite the contrary claims of the UK Ambassador).

*Mark Ramsey – Editor*



“...the United Kingdom is fully committed to the NPT and to meeting its own commitments under it.” (sic)

Ambassador John Freeman, head of the UK delegation at the NPT Review Conference, May 2005

#### Nottingham CND Bulletin #2005/1

The Bulletin is produced quarterly by Nottingham CND, using Serif PagePlus 9.0. 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 by email to [bulletin@nottinghamcnd.org.uk](mailto:bulletin@nottinghamcnd.org.uk).

[enquiries@nottinghamcnd.org.uk](mailto:enquiries@nottinghamcnd.org.uk) [www.nottinghamcnd.org.uk](http://www.nottinghamcnd.org.uk)

## Nottingham CND remembers the 60th Anniversary of Hiroshima and Nagasaki

Nottingham, together with towns and cities throughout the world, are preparing to hold a weekend of remembrance for Hiroshima and Nagasaki. On August 6th 1945 the US dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima killing 80,000 people outright and over 140,000 in the subsequent days, weeks and months and years. On August 9th 1945 a second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki killing approximately 100,000 people. Today, despite the horror, the world still possesses nuclear weapons and the devastation from just one modern nuclear warhead would cause would be eight times greater than in 1945. We need to get across to as many people as possible the devastation that was caused 60 years ago and that we have still not got rid of nuclear weapons. Please send letters to the local paper and if possible telephone Radio Nottingham.

### Commemoration Activities on the 6th & 7th August 05

#### Saturday 6th August

Nottingham CND together with Greenpeace are holding a vigil with a possible die-in in Market Square. This will take place at 12.30pm. Please try and make it and inform as many people as possible. In the evening we will be holding our 60th Anniversary event at the bandstand in the Arboretum on Waverley St. from 7pm. In order to mark this event in the way it deserves it is really important that we can get as many people as possible to attend. We are also looking for people to say a few words to mark the occasion, read out any poems or readings that one feels appropriate and any one who would like to sing or

play  
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#### Sunday 7th August

The film “Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb” will be shown at Broadway Cinema on Broad Street in Nottingham at 1pm. Tickets are available from either myself or Jeremy at £3.50 waged or £3 unwaged. Jenny Maxwell from West Midlands CND will make a short opening speech followed by an informal chat with drinks etc in the bar after. Please do make an effort to come to see this classic film in which an insane general attempts to start a nuclear war, directed by Stanley Kubrick and starring Peter Sellers.

**Let's make sure that the 60th Anniversary does not go by unnoticed by the people of Nottingham**

#### Sunday October 9th

There will be a performance of Dark Sun in the Great Hall, Trent Building Nottingham University to commemorate the 60th Anniversary. See page 15 for more details or ring Nottingham

### Other future events

#### October 22-24th 2005

Derby Action – see enclosed article on page 4.

#### Future public meeting

We are planning to hold a public meeting sometime in September but have not finalised details yet. We will notify if one is planned before the next Bulletin.

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# Trident's Driving Force

## A report from East Midlands CND

A short car ride (about 6 miles) from the centre of Derby on the A52 towards Alvaston brings you to the site of a nuclear reactor, one of only two in the world to be built in the midst of a large urban community.

The Neptune is a test reactor for the nuclear fuel rods or cells which are built into the pressurised water reactors which drive the steam turbines of the UK's four nuclear powered, nuclear missile firing submarines.

Since 1959 Rolls Royce Associates, now called Rolls Royce Marine, has built reactors exclusively for the Royal Navy and under the terms of the Mutual Defence Agreement exchange highly secret technical information with the United States.

The Special Nuclear Materials convoy carrying uranium compounds from A.W.E Aldermaston regularly treks up the M1 with its police escort to the Rolls Royce reactor factory on Raynesway in Derby. Rolls Royce Marine are at the heart of the refit of Trident nuclear submarines, at the Devonport dockyards in Plymouth, and would earn potentially massive profits if they were contracted to provide nuclear reactors for the replacement of Trident, a decision which many suspect has been secretly approved, to be rubber stamped by parliament some time in the next few years.

East Midlands CND has joined with Trident Ploughshares to publicise concerns about the activities of Rolls Royce Marine in Derby in a weekend of street campaigning, a public meeting, and a blockade of the facility. These events are planned for 22-24 October 2005.

The company has been approached by concerned activists for several years both in non-violent direct actions, a Citizens' Inspection in January, street actions in Derby city centre, and a visit to Derby Council chambers only to be evicted by the Labour mayor.

Little was known by Derby residents of the nuclear site, a situation somewhat changed this year when an explosion and fire at the neighbouring British Oxygen Company sent gas cylinders hurtling skywards and forced an evacuation of staff at Rolls Royce. The local fire brigade took several hours to control the blaze.

Yet there are several other concerns around the Raynesway factory, who were severely criticised in 1999 for having no offsite safety plan by the National Nuclear Inspectorate.

The site is among the most antiquated in the UK. It has been stated that their radioactive materials handling facilities are of the same kind as the Japanese facility at Tokaimura, where an accident killed three operatives recently.

Serious questions remain about the extent of radioactive pollution, by air and liquid, of the local environment. As CND we believe any company involved in powering submarines armed with 100 kiloton nuclear warheads should be challenged as to the legality of its actions. We believe with the support of the Derby City authorities, with planning and help from the UK government, the abilities of the 2000 strong workforce could be organised into other engineering projects.

Please consider joining or helping in any way you can this action in Derby in October.

Tom Cuthbert

# Declarations delivered at NPT

The Citizens' Declarations for a Nuclear-Free World were taken to New York in suitcases. This involved the sort of endless lugging which peace activists grow accustomed to. When joined by more from France and Canada they amounted to about 15,000. These documents had not been signed casually. They required commitment by all of you who collected them and often involved thoughtful conversations with the signatories. They therefore deserved proper exposure at the NPT Review Conference, as we had promised.

This was easier said than done. Just getting them inside the UN building involved exchanges with security officials who insisted that it just couldn't be done (a phrase never to be accepted), inspection by a security dog and manhandling them up and down several lifts and along endless corridors accompanied by heavy guards who regularly phoned for permission.

Even moving a table a few yards to the Hiroshima exhibition needed considerable consultation.

In the end we represented the Declarations in their eighteen languages to Ambassador Duarte, the Chair of the Conference, in the General Assembly Hall, together with millions of signatures from other Citizens' Initiatives. This, too, needed a step-by-step rehearsal, but there was official recognition of people's commitment and beliefs and some Conference delegates witnessed it.

We owe special thanks to Gary de Rosa, a member of the UN staff dealing with citizen groups, who was endlessly and patiently helpful. He fielded phone calls, calmed down the security guards and helped us shift the furniture.

*Taken from the World Court Project newsletter June 2005 which can be found at the WCP website [www.gn.apc.org/wcp](http://www.gn.apc.org/wcp)*

## Nottingham CND News

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### Nottingham CND Stall

We now have the stall dates for the rest of the year. Please note that the November and December stalls are on week days. As normal we are looking for people to help on the stalls – thank-you to everybody who has helped out so far. It is really important we get the stall out as much as possible. Any help is greatly appreciated. We normally try to set up at 11.45am.

The stall dates are:

Sat 30th July, Sat 10th September,  
Sat 29th October, Tue 8th November,  
Thu 8th December.

### Past Events

Thanks to everyone who helped beforehand and on the day for the visit of Bruce Kent – the visit went down well. We

managed to see the mayor of Nottingham John Hartshorne and he even came out of the Council House to have his photograph taken with the stall. The interview with Radio Nottingham on the Non Proliferation Treaty went well – we have a tape of it which we will play to members at the Nottingham CND AGM in November.

Nottingham Green Festival was a brilliant success and I think everybody enjoyed the day. The weather was marvellous and our stall and tombola did really well. Thank you to everybody who came and helped out – we couldn't have done it without you.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if

Diane Lunzer – Secretary



## No progress at NPT conference

Delegates from 153 countries at the 2005 NPT Review Conference failed to build on past agreements and adopt any kind of decisions or recommendations for furthering progress in the vital security issues of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament. From start to finish, this conference did little more than go through the motions, and was one of the most shameful exhibitions of cynical time-wasting seen outside the Geneva Conference on Disarmament.

The failure of the conference to adopt consensus agreements was due to politics, especially the entrenched positions and proliferation-promoting policies of a tiny number of influential states, including the United States and Iran, as they pursued their narrowly defined self interests and sought to keep open their different nuclear options. At the expense of the security interests of the vast majority, a few others facilitated or coasted behind. They are no doubt delighted at this outcome because it temporarily protected them from international criticism and action to encourage them to live up to their legal and political obligations.

Even so, it should still have been possible to use the conference to give a strong message about the importance of preventing the use, acquisition and spread of nuclear weapons and the nuclear materials used to make nuclear weapons. In failing to address these issues seriously or send any kind of principled message along those lines, the governments have betrayed the hopes, aspirations and security interests of their citizens from around the world, who have made clear again and again that they desire to live free of the threat of nuclear weapons.

Daryl Kimball of the Washington-based Arms Control Association writes: "The arrogant and clumsy US strategy (which was the brainchild of former Under Secretary of State John Bolton) has most

certainly reinforced the view of the majority of countries that the United States and the other nuclear-weapon states do not intend to live up to their NPT-related nuclear disarmament commitments. This not only scuttled the chance that this conference might have supported useful US proposals on strengthening the nonproliferation elements of the treaty, but it will in the long-run erode the willingness of other states to fulfill their own treaty obligations, much less take strong action to condemn the transgressions of North Korea and Iran."

While for most of the conference it was clear that no-one had a positive strategy, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this impotent impasse was the desired outcome of at least some game plans. The question why and the implications and consequences will have to wait for my longer analysis, once I've had the chance to talk to a lot more people. Briefly, however, here are some obvious points:

- Nonproliferation is unsustainable without real and significant progress in nuclear disarmament.
- The nuclear fuel cycle is a much bigger security problem than recognized when the treaty entered into force in 1970, and will have to be addressed.
- Good ideas and proposals remain on paper without the strategies and game plans for how to achieve them – in 1995 and 2000 there were not only good ideas, but innovative, pragmatic strategies and active presidents willing to use the rules and procedural tools to their maximum possibilities in order to achieve a useful and regime-building outcome.
- Issue-based coalitions, groups or alliances should form and stay together only when they can form a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts, and if they have coherent strategies as well as good positions. It's not unusual that political priori-

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## Hiroshima – an introduction

### The 1945 Bombings

The Manhattan Project, code name for the US top-secret development of the atomic bomb, began in 1942. The first atomic explosion took place over the New Mexico desert on 16 July, 1945. The test was considered a success, and the Truman administration gave the order to drop the atomic bomb in Japan only nine days later, on 25 July.

On 6 August, 1945, the US dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan. The bomb, called 'Little Boy' contained Uranium-235 and had the destructive power of over 15,000 tons of TNT. The bomb exploded at 580 metres above the city. 'Fat Man', the bomb dropped on Nagasaki on 9 August, contained Plutonium-239 and had the destructive power equivalent to 21,000 tons of TNT. It exploded about 500 metres above ground.

The intense heat rays from the nuclear explosions incinerated tens of thousands of people and caused disfiguring burns on many survivors. It is thought that the temperature at the site of the blasts reached millions of degrees centigrade at the peak of the explosion. Intense shock waves levelled all structures within a wide radius, and massive amounts of radiation were released.

The official Hiroshima government estimate is 140,000 dead – they stopped counting after December 1945 when acute illnesses subsided. Many thousands more died in the months and years following the attacks.

The damage to Nagasaki was somewhat less, probably due to the topography of the city. Even with this natural protection, at least 70% of the city was destroyed by 'Fat Man' and approximately 100,000 civilians were killed.

Radiation sickness is now a well-known condition that has affected thousands of Japanese over many years and incidents of leukaemia and cancer are

high in these two areas.

### Dispelling the lies

Conventional wisdom has it that the US dropped the nuclear bombs in order to minimise casualties, claiming that a ground war would have killed many more people. However, historical records have shown that Japan was in fact trying to surrender at the time. Dwight Eisenhower, commanding general of US forces in Europe in World War II and President of the US from 1953-1961, said, "*Japan was at that very moment seeking some way to surrender with minimum loss of face. It was not necessary to hit them with that awful thing.*" The annihilation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was a defining moment in global warfare and marked the emergence of the US as the world's dominant super power, a position secured by its unchallengeable nuclear might – and its preparedness to wield it. This is the only time that nuclear weapons have been used in war.

### The new nuclear threat

60 years on, however, the threat of nuclear weapons being used in war is growing once again. At least eight countries possess nuclear weapons, all far more powerful than the bombs dropped in 1945. Despite the responsibilities of Nuclear Weapons States under the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), there has been no significant move towards disarmament.

In fact, we are seeing a drive for greater nuclear capability, led by the United States. The US 2002 Nuclear Posture Review outlines the role of nuclear weapons in winning wars and names North Korea, China, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Libya as countries where 'contingencies' could lead to a first-strike use of nuclear weapons.

The development of the US National Missile Defence (NMD) shield would enable the US to launch a nuclear attack on another state without fear of retaliation. Many governments and experts throughout

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## Censored Nagasaki Reports Appear

An American journalist who sneaked into Nagasaki soon after the Japanese city was leveled by a U.S. atomic bomb found a "wasteland of war" and victims moaning from the pain of radiation burns in downtown hospitals. Censored 60 years ago by the U.S. military, George Weller's stories from the atom-bombed city, surfaced this month in a series of reports in the national Mainichi newspaper.

A woman at a hospital "lies moaning with a blackish mouth stiff as though with lockjaw and unable to utter clear words," her legs and arms covered with red spots, Weller wrote. Others suffered from a dangerously high-temperature fever, a drop in white and red blood cells, swelling in the throat, sores, vomiting, diarrhea, internal bleeding or loss of hair, his censored dispatch said, describing the then-unknown effects of atomic radiation.

By hiring a Japanese rowboat, catching trains and later posing as a U.S. Army colonel, Weller, an award-winning reporter for the now-defunct Chicago Daily News, slipped into Nagasaki in early September 1945, Mainichi said – about a month after the Aug. 9 bombing that killed 70,000 people.

In a Sept. 8, 1945 dispatch, Weller wrote of walking through the city – a "wasteland of war" – and finding evidence to back the talk of radiation fallout in American radio news reports. "In sway-backed or flattened skeletons of the Mitsubishi arms plants is revealed what the atomic bomb can do to steel and stone, but what the riven atom can do against human flesh and bone lies hidden in two hospitals of downtown Nagasaki," he wrote.

Weller, who died in 2002, was the first foreign journalist to set foot in the devastated city, which Gen. Douglas MacArthur, head of the U.S. occupation in Japan, had designated off-limits to reporters, the newspaper said. Carbon copies of his

stories, running to about 25,000 words on 75 typed pages, along with more than two dozen photos, were discovered by his son, Anthony, last summer at Weller's apartment in Rome, Italy, Mainichi said.

Though he skirted American authorities to get into Nagasaki, Weller submitted his reports – the first was dated Sept. 6 – to the censors. The stories infuriated MacArthur and he personally ordered them quashed. The originals were never returned to him.

Anthony Weller told Mainichi he thought wartime officials wanted to hush up stories about radiation sickness and feared that his father's reports would sway American public opinion against building an arsenal of nuclear bombs. The first batch of stories were finished just as a delegation of American scientists was to visit the city to test for radiation.

Though thousands of burn victims had died within a week after the attack, doctors were stumped by "this mysterious 'disease X' " which sickened and was killing many Japanese as well as allied soldiers freed from prison camps a month later. Weller met a Japanese doctor who thought that the bomb had showered the population with harmfully high levels of beta and gamma radiation. But nobody could say for sure.

"The atomic bomb's peculiar 'disease,' uncured because it is untreated and untreated because it is not diagnosed, is still snatching away lives here," Weller wrote.

Weller was 95 when he died in December 2002. He won the Pulitzer Prize for an eyewitness account of an emergency appendectomy carried out by a pharmacist's mate on a Navy submarine underwater in the South China Sea. He also covered the French Indochina war in Southeast Asia and World War II in Europe.

*Taken from the Tucson Citizen, June 20, 2005*

## Testimony from Hiroshima Masataka Asaeda

At that time I was in the third grade of grammar school. I was still a child so I didn't understand any of it.

Yet I often heard the words, 'Air raids' and 'The war' and I remember them clearly. 'Today evacuation, tomorrow evacuation'.

And then every day we wandered around places we had never seen before searching for a safe place to live. Those who didn't have any acquaintances in the country finally returned to the city. We were living in Hakushima. Since my Father had gone to the battlefield, Mother and my three older sisters and I sweated day after day at digging a shelter to which we would entrust the lives of the five of us. In July the air raids became more frequent and by the middle of the month they came as though by schedule. At halfpast eight in the evening the air raids began, accompanied by the rasping sound from the radio. Each one with his particular belongings in hand jumped down into the shelter, no one saying a word. The faces of the four children would turn toward Mother. Every time, praying in our hearts that we would all continue to be safe, we would wait for the dawn. When morning comes and the all-clear sounds, we crowd out of the shelter. This morning too, as always, all the faces gather around the breakfast table. Today, too, we eat our meal, eye meeting eye with the hope that we will pass the day safely. Suddenly the radio announces a cautionary alert. However, this is immediately followed by an all-clear. I go off to school unconcerned. My sisters, too, go to school or to the factories where they are working. Only my mother and my oldest sister are left at home.

While my friends and I are playing in the schoolyard, we all notice an aeroplane flying over our heads, and saying, "How come the all-clear sounded!" we keep on

playing. And then, as there was a flash of greenish light or I'm not sure what kind of light, I covered my face with my hands. Wondering what this can be, I open my eyes and find it so pitch dark that I can't see a thing. While I am walking uncertainly around, it gets light. Thinking to go back home, I look around and find that there isn't a building left that looks like a house, and here and there flames are rising.

Crying and calling my mother's name, I hurried home. I can't tell where my house is supposed to be, and as I'm wandering around I hear the voice of my sister calling my name. The instant I saw my sister I was frightened. She is standing there dyed bright red with blood. When I look at myself I find that the skin is peeled off both arms and both legs and is dangling from one side. I couldn't understand what it was all about, and with that and the terror, I burst out crying. In the meantime Mother had come crawling out from among the tiles, and dragging out an overcoat and Father's Inverness cape, she put them on the two of us who were red and naked. And saying in a terrible voice, "We must get away to Choju Park!" she started walking. I and my sister flee in fear. Looking around I see that flames are rising close to us. Mother's voice can be heard behind us, "Hurry, can't you?" or, "Be careful not to step on any nails!"

The two of us hurried toward the river embankment. Just before we reach the embankment, the houses on both sides of the street are burning full blast. One, two, three! we plunged headlong into that fire and through it and with our last breath we were able to reach the embankment. Was it perhaps from relief? – I fell in a heap there. But hearing Mother's stern voice I got up again, and following Mother without any special aim except to search for a

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## Hiroshima - an introduction

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the world are concerned that the successful implementation of this system will lead to a new arms race. Indeed, Russia has already tested the SS-27 Topol-M missile, designed to defy interception by the NMD system, and in 2003 North Korea withdrew from the NPT.

The British Government has now adopted a 'first strike' use policy, agreed publicly to the use of Fylingdales for US NMD, and signed an US agreement for greater ballistic collaboration. Experts believe that plans for a laser testing facility at Aldermaston Atomic Weapons Establishment (AWE), could be used to develop new nuclear weapons. The British government is also seeking to replace the Trident system. The Prime Minister has made clear his support for pre-emptive war, stating that Britain must "*act even when the threat (seems) so far off, if not illusory.*"

These moves toward greater nuclear capability and to first-strike use – in the context of the on-going pre-emptive war drive – increase the threat of a nuclear arms

race and of nuclear weapons being used once again.

### No More Hiroshimas, No More Nagasakis

In an attempt to communicate the scale of the devastation of the tsunami, many international commentators likened it to Hiroshima. This shows what a resonance the 1945 bombings have on the world consciousness. Furthermore, research shows that Hiroshima is people's primary spontaneous association with nuclear weapons.

The 60th anniversary of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is an important opportunity for us to raise awareness amongst the general public of the horrifying reality of nuclear war, and the need to join CND's campaign for global nuclear abolition and against new nuclear weapons. In particular, members should put pressure on the British government to meet its disarmament obligations and end its support for the US pre-emptive war drive.

*Taken from the CND "Countdown to Hiroshima" campaign pack available from [www.cnduk.org](http://www.cnduk.org)*

## Masataka Asaeda's Testimony from Hiroshima

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safe place, we walked farther and farther into the country.

On the night of the 6th we stopped at the Yasu Shrine in Gion. That night because of their burns everyone was calling to each other, "Water, water!" We waited for the dawn. On the morning of the 7th we were all loaded on a truck and taken to Kabe. On the night when we arrived at this place my sister died. I think that unless a person was there he wouldn't know how to express the sorrow my mother felt at that time, and he couldn't make his pen describe our life in the temple. How can I find the words to tell how the burned and festering people spent day after day moaning, how people without anyone to care for them, with maggots crawling all over

their bodies, died muttering in delirium? Would it be right to call this a Living Hell? These people must have died without knowing about the defeat, hating the war and loving peace. I would like to write about meeting again with my sister and about meeting again with my father, but it would become too long so I will stop.

The last things I think I would like to write and to say are: What is war? What is peace?

- Why do we need that terrible atom bomb to defend peace?
- Why do not humanity and science make the same rate of progress?

In my heart these unanswered problems continue to smoulder.

*From the book 'Children of the A-bomb' by Arata Osada.*

## The Downing Street Memos

It is now nine months since I obtained the first of the "Downing Street memos," thrust into my hand by someone who asked me to meet him in a quiet watering hole in London.

At the time, I was defense correspondent of the London Daily Telegraph, and a staunch supporter of the decision to oust Saddam Hussein. The source was a friend. He'd given me a few stories before but nothing nearly as interesting as this.

The six leaked documents I took away with me that night were to change completely my opinion of the decision to go to war and the honesty of Prime Minister Tony Blair and President Bush.

They focused on the period leading up to the Crawford, Texas, summit between Blair and Bush in early April 2002, and were most striking for the way in which British officials warned the prime minister, with remarkable prescience, what a mess post-war Iraq would become. Even by the cynical standards of realpolitik, the decision to overrule this expert advice seemed to be criminal.

The second batch of leaks arrived in the middle of this year's British general election, by which time I was writing for a different newspaper, the Sunday Times. These documents, which came from a different source, related to a crucial meeting of Blair's war Cabinet on July 23, 2002. The timing of the leak was significant, with Blair clearly in electoral difficulties because of an unpopular war.

I did not then regard the now-infamous memo – the one that includes the minutes of the July 23 meeting – as the most important. My main article focused on the separate briefing paper for those taking part, prepared beforehand by Cabinet Office experts. It said that Blair agreed at Crawford that "the UK would support military action to bring about regime change." Because this was illegal, the officials noted, it was "necessary to create

the conditions in which we could legally support military action."

But Downing Street had a "clever" plan that it hoped would trap Hussein into giving the allies the excuse they needed to go to war. It would persuade the U.N. Security Council to give the Iraqi leader an ultimatum to let in the weapons inspectors.

Although Blair and Bush still insist the decision to go to the U.N. was about averting war, one memo states that it was, in fact, about "wrong-footing" Hussein into giving them a legal justification for war.

British officials hoped the ultimatum could be framed in words that would be so unacceptable to Hussein that he would reject it outright. But they were far from certain this would work, so there was also a Plan B.

American media coverage of the Downing Street memo has largely focused on the assertion by Sir Richard Dearlove, head of British foreign intelligence, that war was seen as inevitable in Washington, where "the intelligence and facts were being fixed around the policy." But another part of the memo is arguably more important. It quotes British Defense Secretary Geoff Hoon as saying that "the U.S. had already begun 'spikes of activity' to put pressure on the regime." This we now realize was Plan B.

Put simply, U.S. aircraft patrolling the southern no-fly zone were dropping a lot more bombs in the hope of provoking a reaction that would give the allies an excuse to carry out a full-scale bombing campaign, an air war, the first stage of the conflict.

British government figures for the number of bombs dropped on southern Iraq in 2002 show that although virtually none were used in March and April, an average of 10 tons a month were dropped between May and August. But these initial "spikes of activity" didn't have the desired

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# Lest We Forget: These were Blair's Bombs

John Pilger

In all the coverage of last week's bombing of London, a basic truth struggled to be heard. It has been said quietly, politely, guardedly, as if it might somehow dishonour the dead, instead of speaking truth to the cause. While not doubting the atrocious inhumanity of those who planted the bombs (as if anyone could), no one should doubt that these were "Blair's bombs"; and he ought not be allowed to evade culpability with yet another unctuous Bush-inspired speech about "our way of life". The bombers struck because he and Bush attacked Iraq, having been warned by the Joint Intelligence Committee that the "by far the greatest terrorist threat" to this country would be "heightened by military action against Iraq".

Indeed, this was the one reliable warning from British intelligence in the run-up to the invasion of Iraq. A House of Commons committee has since verified this warning. Had Blair heeded it instead of conspiring to deceive the nation that Iraq offered a threat the Londoners who died on Thursday might be alive today, along with tens of thousands of innocent Iraqis.

Three weeks ago, a classified CIA report revealed that the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq had turned that country into a focal point of terrorism. None of the intelligence agencies regarded Iraq as such a flashpoint before the invasion, however tyrannical the regime. On the contrary, in 2003, the CIA reported that Iraq "exported no terrorist threat to his neighbours" and that Saddam Hussein was "implacably hostile to Al-Qaeda".

Blair's and Bush's invasion changed all that. In invading a stricken and defenceless country at the heart of the Islamic and

Arab world, their adventure became self-fulfilling. Denial of that by those who supported the invasion insults the memory of all those who have died as a result. Blair's epic irresponsibility has brought the daily horrors of Iraq home to Britain and he is not (to paraphrase one of the few challenging questions put to him before the invasion by John Humphries) fit to be prime minister.

For more than a year, he has urged the British to "move on" from Iraq, and last week it seemed that his spinmeisters and good fortune had joined hands. The awarding of the 2012 Olympics to London created the fleeting illusion that all was well, regardless of messy events in a faraway country. Moreover, the G8 meeting in Scotland and its accompanying "Make Poverty History" campaign and circus of celebrities served as a temporary cover for what the greatest political scandal of modern times: an illegal invasion conceived in lies which, under the rule of international law established at Nuremberg, represented a "paramount war crime".

Over the past two weeks, the contrast between the coverage of the G8, its marches and pop concerts, and another "global" event has been striking. The World Tribunal on Iraq in Istanbul has had virtually no coverage, yet the evidence it has produced, the most damning to date, has been the silent spectre at the Geldof extravaganzas.

The tribunal is a serious international public inquiry into the invasion and occupation, the kind governments dare not hold. Its expert, eyewitness testimonies, said the author Arundhati Roy, a tribunal

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# Lest We Forget: These were Blair's Bombs

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jury member, "demonstrate that even those of us who have tried to follow the war closely are not aware of a fraction of the horrors that have been unleashed in Iraq." The most shocking was given by Dahr Jamail, one of the best un-embedded reporters working in Iraq. He described how the hospitals of besieged Fallujah had been subjected to an American tactic of collective punishment, with US marines assaulting staff and stopping the wounded entering, and American snipers firing at the doors and windows, and medicines and emergency blood prevented from reaching them. Children, the elderly, were shot dead in front of their families, in cold blood.

Imagine for a moment the same appalling state of affairs imposed on the London hospitals that received the victims of Thursday's bombing. Unimaginable? Well, it happens, in our name, regardless of BBC's suppression of the Fallujah and other atrocities. When will someone draw this parallel at one of the staged "press conferences" at which Blair is allowed to emote for the cameras stuff about "our values outlast(ing) theirs"? Silence is not journalism. In Fallujah, they know "our values" only too well.

While the two men responsible for the carnage in Iraq, Bush and Blair, were side by side at Gleneagles, why wasn't the connection made between their fraudulent "war on terror" and the bombing in London? When will someone in the political class say that Blair's smoke-and-mirrors "debt cancellation" at best amounts to less than the money the government spent in a week brutalising Iraq, where British and American violence is the cause of the doubling of child poverty and malnutrition since Saddam Hussein was overthrown (Unicef).

The truth is that the debt relief the G8 is offering is lethal. Its ruthless "conditionalities" of captive economies far outweigh any tenuous benefit. This was a

taboo during the G8 week, whose theme was not so much making poverty history as the silencing and pacifying and co-opting dissent and truth. The mawkish images on giant screens behind the pop stars in Hyde Park included no pictures of murdered Iraqi doctors with the blood streaming from their heads, cut down by Bush's snipers.

Real life became more satirical than satire could ever be. There was Bob Geldof on the front pages resting his smiling face on smiling Blair's shoulder, the war criminal and his smitten, knighted jester. There was an heroically silhouetted Bono, who celebrates men like Jeffrey Sachs as saviours of the world's poor while lauding "compassionate" George Bush's "war on terror" as one of his generation's greatest achievements; and there was Paul Wolfowitz, beaming and promising to make poverty history: this is the man who, before he was handed control of the World Bank, was an apologist for Suharto's genocidal regime in Indonesia, who was one of the architects of Bush's "neo-con" putsch and of the bloodfest in Iraq and the notion of "endless war". For the politicians and pop stars and church leaders and polite people who believed Blair and Gordon Brown when they declared their "great moral crusade" against poverty, Iraq was an embarrassment. The killing of more than 100,000 Iraqis mostly by American gunfire and bombs – a figure reported in a comprehensive peer-reviewed study in the *The Lancet* – was airbrushed from mainstream debate.

Untold numbers of loved ones are missing in Iraq because of the horror Bush and Blair have inflicted on that society. But where do the families post their pictures, as the grieving do in London? If they ask at the American bases, they run the risk of themselves disappearing. In our free-speaking societies, the unmentionable is that "the state has lost its mind and is

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## No progress at NPT conference

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ties and personalities change over time; if the whole becomes less positive, active and effective than the individual members would be on their own or by forming other ad hoc alliances to achieve further objectives, then it is time to recognize this and move on. A dysfunctional coalition constrains its members rather than empowering them.

- It is unwise to trust those who seek preferment, status or a seat on the security council.

- Though there may be superficial similarities, there is a telling difference in the style, objectives and effectiveness of regime-builders and managers. In diplomacy, managers are very likely to split differences and sacrifice principle to expediency.

Finally, in view of the failure of the 2005 Review Conference, the agreements obtained in the review conferences of 1995

and 2000 still stand as the legal and political benchmarks for measuring progress and promoting compliance until the NPT can be fully implemented in all its nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation aspects. Lack of agreement to build substantively on these commitments and undertakings may be disappointing, but the problems of the 2005 conference neither invalidate nor undermine the relevant obligations and undertakings previously agreed to. If anything, the lack of consensus in 2005 for further disarmament steps underscores the fact that the principles, measures and steps adopted by consensus in past review conferences have not yet been implemented, and more work must be done to ensure that they are.

*Rebecca Johnson, Acronym Institute. The complete version of this and other reports from the NPT Review Conference can be found at: [www.acronym.org.uk](http://www.acronym.org.uk)*

## The Downing Street Memos

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effect. The Iraqis didn't retaliate. They didn't provide the excuse Bush and Blair needed. So at the end of August, the allies dramatically intensified the bombing into what was effectively the initial air war.

The number of bombs dropped on southern Iraq by allied aircraft shot up to 54.6 tons in September alone, with the increased rates continuing into 2003.

In other words, Bush and Blair began their war not in March 2003, as everyone believed, but at the end of August 2002, six weeks before Congress approved military action against Iraq.

The way in which the intelligence was "fixed" to justify war is old news. The real news is the shady April 2002 deal to go to war, the cynical use of the U.N. to provide an excuse, and the secret, illegal air war without the backing of Congress.

*Michael Smith. Taken from the Los Angeles Times, June 23, 2005.*

## These were Blair's bombs

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punishing so many innocent people", as Arthur Miller once wrote, "and so the evidence has to be internally denied." Not only denied, but distracted by an entire court: Geldof, Bono, Madonna, McCartney et al, whose "Live 8" was the very antithesis of 15 February 2003 when two million people brought their hearts and brains and anger to the streets of London. Blair will almost certainly use last week's atrocity and tragedy to further deplete basic human rights in Britain, as Bush has done in America. The goal is not security, but greater control. Above all this, the memory of their victims, "our" victims, in Iraq demands the return of our anger. And nothing less is owed to those who died and suffered in London last week, unnecessarily.

*John Pilger, 11 July 2005. Available from [www.johnpilger.com](http://www.johnpilger.com)*

# DARK SUN

**Come and play!**

**Come and sing!**

## Workshop and Performance Day

**Sunday 9th October**  
**Great Hall, University of Nottingham**

**Come and play or sing in Stephen Montague's classic work**

**"Dark Sun" directed by the composer**

Written to commemorate the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Stephen Montague's "Dark Sun" is a powerful tour-de-force, combining singers, instrumentalists and tape recordings into a moving threnody for our nuclear age.

**This event is open to all instrumentalists and singers** of any level of technical ability, although a basic ability to read music will be necessary. All instruments can be catered for.

Don't miss this opportunity to work with an inspiring and motivational workshop leader, on a piece which in these increasingly troubled times maintains its power and relevance to all.

The workshop day is **free** to participants, with no auditions or selection.

The workshop day will begin at 12 noon, and will conclude with an **Evening Concert** at 7.30 p.m. featuring a complete performance of "Dark Sun" by all workshop participants. The concert will also feature the East Midlands COMA Ensemble. Tickets for the concert will be £7/£3 concessions (ticket includes free glass of wine or juice), and are available from the Lakeside box office (telephone 0115 846 7777 or visit [www.lakesidearts.org.uk](http://www.lakesidearts.org.uk))

**To register for a place**, please e-mail East Midlands COMA Co-ordinator Antony Clare at [antony@blackmonk.freeserve.co.uk](mailto:antony@blackmonk.freeserve.co.uk) (if possible).

You will be asked to fill in a short

4 or Kieran O'Riordan on

This event is being run in collaboration with COMA (Contemporary Music for Amateurs) and is financially supported by Making Music, (NFMS) from funds provided by Arts Council England and Nottingham CND