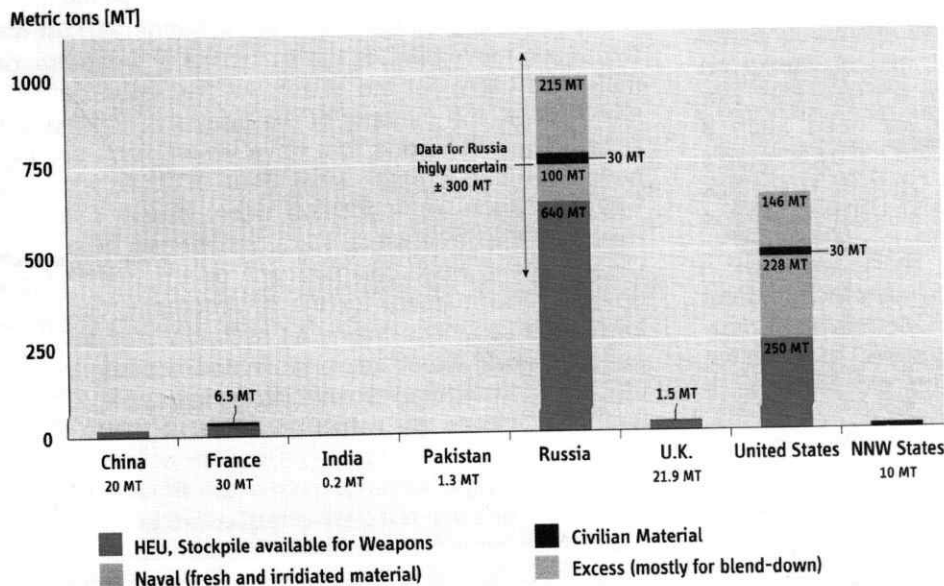


# WORLD DISARM!

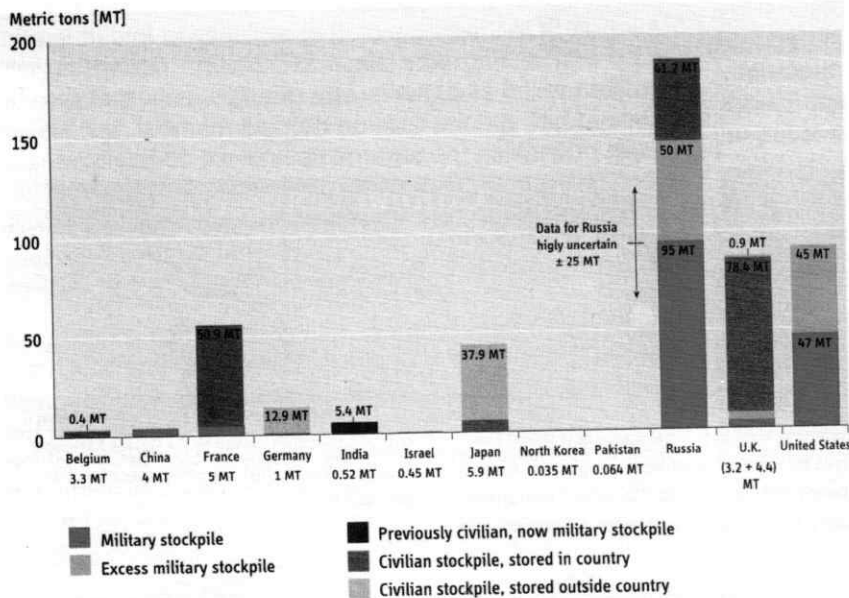
THE JOURNAL OF THE WORLD DISARMAMENT CAMPAIGN UK

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National stocks of Highly Enriched Uranium in 2007. The total adds up to over 1700 MT, of which over half is available for weapons.  
 Note 1: 1 metric ton = 1000kg  
 Note 2: The smallest amount of HEU needed for the simplest bomb is 25kg. i.e., the stocks listed here are enough for about 36,000 bombs.



National stocks of separated plutonium. Civilian stocks are for December 2005.  
 Note: Again, the smallest amount of Pu-239 needed to make a bomb is only 8 MT. Military stocks are enough for over 30,000 bombs.

These graphs and figures are taken from the second report of the International Panel on fissile materials. They illustrate not only the need for a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty, so long in gestation in the Conference on Disarmament at Geneva, but also the folly of building up these stocks in the past.

At the AGM on 19 April, Frank Barnaby will no doubt explain the full significance of these facts.

**In this issue:**

- Human Rights & Wrongs
- WDC speaks to the world
- Pyonyang's Predicament
- Disarmament & Globalisation
- Update: Arms trade, etc
- Dare to Hope
- Iraq: How much can a people take?
- Iraq Commission Report
- Peace Weekend - Celebration & Continuing Challenge
- Obituary: Jimmy Barnes
- Security and Defence Policy in the EU
- Palace of Crystal
- Alternatives to War
- State of the American Empire

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**WDC - Designated a United Nations Peace Messenger**



There are many significant anniversaries in 2008: 30 years since the first special session on disarmament of the UN General Assembly, which led to the setting up of WDC (and which we plan to commemorate later in the year, although details are not yet finalised); 40 years from the signing of the NPT; 50 since the foundation of CND; and 60 years of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. At the Network for Peace AGM on 9 February, Stefanie Grant, a lawyer specialising in human rights who has worked for the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and for Amnesty International, spoke on "Human Rights 1948-2008 - Promotion & Protection" Her talk provoked the thought: Why do we need such a declaration, and why is it so often abused? Why is "man's inhumanity to man" so prevalent? As Douglas Holdstock explained in his article in issue 87, the simplistic common reference to "human nature" is not an adequate answer.

In most cases there appear to be two primary factors. First there is the "Us and Them" syndrome. Our individual identity is defined to a large extent by the group(s) to which we belong, nationality, religion, ethnic group, etc. However, it is also defined by the group(s) to which we do **not** belong. When conflict situations occur, for whatever reason, "they" become seen as the enemy, as different, as inferior, even as not fully human. Then any atrocities can be justified.

The second factor is leadership and organisation in promoting the violence. Traditional war is organised armed conflict between sovereign or would-be sovereign groups such as nation states. And armed forces by definition are trained and licensed killers under the command of their officers. But even the apparently random killing that we have seen so often in recent years does not come out of the blue. When neighbour turns on

neighbour, often after many years living in harmony as in Bosnia, for example, they have been incited into it by power-hungry demagogues like Milosevic. As Harry Davis points out in his book *The Crystal Palace* (see review on page 11) how leaders arise, the characteristics which they commonly possess, and the power with which we endow them or which they arrogate to themselves are crucial questions that we need continually ask.

A further factor, of particular relevance to WDC's role in the peace movement, is the existence of weapons, of the means to carry out the killing. As has been pointed out many times, the majority of the deaths in the many conflicts around the world that have taken place since 1945 have been due to small arms. Even in cases where crude weapons such as machetes were largely used, as in Rwanda, the organisers were well-armed Hutu militias. Disarmament, world disarmament, disarmament for development, disarmament for the environment, disarmament for human security remains an essential step towards the peaceful world we all seek. While it may seem impossibly utopian, in the light of recent history, to envisage it actually happening, there are a few glimmers of hope. The word itself has started to appear in the most unlikely places, mostly in relation to nukes, as in the articles by Schultz, Kissinger and co in the Wall Street Journal, but even "general and complete disarmament" has been mentioned, for example at CND's 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Global Summit, which we will report on in our next issue. And, as reported on page 4, the Conference on Disarmament and Globalisation at SOAS was devoted specifically to this. It is a long time and a long way since WDC's 2.3 million signature petition failed to achieve any practical action at the 1982 second UN special session on disarmament, but we must keep on making the arguments until we do finally win.

## WDC speaks to the world

Both of WDC's Co-Chairs have recently appeared on BBC World. Vijay was interviewed about his forthcoming book, *Climate Change 365*, on the opening of the climate change conference in Bali, Indonesia. Some extracts:

BBC: I believe 365 stands for one idea for each day of the year. So what are your ideas?

VM: The ideas are divided among individuals, NGOs, civil society, UN, businesses and philanthropy. All of them have to do their bit to avert the climate change crisis.

BBC: So what specific ideas does your book present for us?

VM: One idea is for individuals to form climate change 365 clubs in every neighbourhood, village, town and city to implement the initiatives.

BBC: So what is your final message for saving the planet?

VM: We have to make a concerted effort to act together and save the planet for future generations.

BBC: Thank you and good luck with the book.

Frank's slot was more modest: a short contribution from the floor to a debate on the Future of Iraq, which was edited to be even briefer in the broadcast version. Nevertheless, an audience of over 2000 in Central Hall Westminster and many more worldwide became aware that an organisation called the World Disarmament Campaign existed.

## Cutting Comments

Letter in the *Guardian* in response to the revelations about Prince Harry's deployment in Afghanistan: 'Will someone tell Harry that there's nothing remotely "normal" about going to another country and killing people.' Sadly, the writer is wrong; it is only too normal, as the coverage of the news illustrated. Were it not so, we would not be in Afghanistan and Iraq at all. The Taliban may be "bad people", but they are people, and that should never be forgotten.

The minimum literacy and numeracy requirement for army recruits has been dropped to level 1, a reading age of five-to seven-year-olds, and about 10% of those joining the infantry are at this level. In order to pass out of their training, they must achieve level 3, but that is still only a reading age of 9 to 11. A sad reflection on both our educational standards and the military mindset.

Quote: "I will follow Osama bin Laden to the gates of Hell and I will shoot him with your products." **John McCain**, Republican presidential candidate, visiting a small-arms manufacturer. It could have come from the mouth of George W Bush himself! And what does that say about future prospects if he is elected?

As a counter to the modest optimism expressed in the editorial above, it should be noted that it is not only the US that is massively increasing military spending, but China, Russia and India, among others. Strange priorities.



# PYONGYANG'S PREDICAMENT



Glyn Ford

Pyongyang and Washington signed up last October to a second series of measures in an attempt to end the nuclear standoff on the Peninsula following the much delayed closure and sealing of the Yongbyon nuclear plant agreed in February and the return of the International Atomic Energy Agency's (IAEA) inspectors. These have the North agreeing to 'disable, declare and desist': disabling its nuclear reactors and weapons by the end of 2007; declaring simultaneously all its nuclear facilities, programmes and materials; while immediately desisting from any activities that could be seen to encourage nuclear proliferation. In exchange the North would receive a compensatory package of 500,000 tonnes of Heavy Fuel Oil (HFO), much of which it will parlay into equipment to rehabilitate and modernise its coalmines. In exchange the US would normalise relations.

We've been here before. The devil is in the detail. This current crisis was triggered in October 2002 when the US claimed it had evidence that the North had an illicit active nuclear weapons programme using Highly Enriched Uranium (HEU) on top of its then frozen plutonium programme. The result was Washington tearing up its 1994 Agreement that had closed the Yongbyon plant - capable of producing weapons-grade plutonium - in exchange for a consortium of South Korea, Japan, the EU and US constructing two proliferation resistant Light Water Reactors (LWR) in the North and the normalisation of relations. Despite the North denying the US claims Washington's allies were browbeaten into following their lead and abandoning the 1994 Agreement.

The reality is that Pyongyang had obtained from Pakistan, via its nuclear supersalesman A Q Khan, the blueprints for a bomb and a few aging first generation gas centrifuges. Still lightyears away from an actual uranium programme that would require a cascade of 6000 gas centrifuges built of maraging steel or specialised aluminium that the North had failed to buy, using a quality and quantity of electricity that the North didn't possess. Yet as a result Pyongyang was driven into a corner with the US reneging on the the last remnants of the 1994 Agreement. As a consequence the North re-opened Yongbyon, reprocessed the fuel rods and become the world's 9th nuclear power.

A new crisis now looms. The North is not confident that Washington will accept a declaration that makes American intelligence re-live its Weapons of Mass Destruction fiasco in Iraq. If it maintains its denial of a serious HEU programme, the CIA created a crisis, caused proliferation and cost Seoul €1 Billion of wasted expenditure on two LWR's all for nothing. A loss of face and credibility that may prove too much to take for the Bush Administration to bear especially from a founder member of the Axis of Evil.

Pyongyang's prevarication will not be helped by the US's disingenuous approach. The implicit promise to the North was that the US that it will lift its 'terrorist state' designation of the North while it has promised Japan the exact

opposite. Officially Pyongyang retains the designation despite not having engaged in terrorism since 1987 (cf with Libya) because it still gives asylum to some comic book inspired hijackers who took a plane from Japan to Pyongyang thirty years ago that resulted in no deaths and no injuries.



Kaesong Industrial Park July 05

Pyongyang can live with the label, but US legislation mandates that the US must block membership of the International Financial Institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the Asian Development Bank to 'terror states'. Certainly not what Pyongyang would see as either good faith or normalisation of relations, particularly when the North believes these institutions, maybe rather naively, will produce much of the capital for renovating and remodelling its shattered economy.



Mangyongdae Funfair  
"one of the world's top ten rollercoaster rides"

The US is also set on a crash course where it will clash with Seoul. Despite the US commitment to helping the North's economic recovery as part of the package deal it is trying to undermine the most successful - some would argue the only successful - economic initiative Pyongyang has taken up. After the 2001 North-South Summit it was proposed to set up a Special Economic Zone in the North, the Kaesong Industrial Complex,

abutting the South Korea border where over three phases more than a thousand South Korean and other companies would set up production using up to 400,000 North Korean workers under South Korean management.

Despite initial attempts by Washington to use the Wassenaar Agreement, controlling exports of weapons technologies to the Communist block to prevent even the most modest computer equipment being transferred into the Complex, it has proved a success. Already 18,000 smartly dressed North Koreans are streaming in and out of the Complex twice daily, in purchasing terms, earning five to eight times more per month than their compatriots outside of the zone. The US refused point blank to include Kaesong in its Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with Seoul last year. Currently the EU is negotiating its own FTA with Seoul, which it was hoped to conclude in the first half of this year. Now the EU is being pressured into following suit by imposing a narrow definition of rules of origin that mean losing room to manoeuvre in the negotiations and an inevitable loss of interest by foreign, in particular, and South Korean companies in general in Kaesong as production could then only feed the South's domestic market. Watch this space!

GLYN FORD, MEP

Glyn Ford is Labour MEP for South West England and a long-standing member of WDC. He has just returned from participating in an EU Workshop in Pyongyang on Economic Modernisation. His book 'North Korea on the Brink; Struggle for Survival' is published by Pluto Press and will be reviewed in our next issue.



Dan Plesch

This research project, at the Centre for International Studies and Diplomacy (CISD) of the School of Oriental and African Studies, is the latest development arising from Dan Plesch's concept of SCRRAP: a **S**trategic **C**oncept for **R**eduction and **R**emoval of **A**rms and **P**roliferation, outlined in Dan's book *The Beauty Queen's Guide to World Peace* (reviewed in *World Disarm!* issue 80)

and in his presentation to WDC AGM 2006, reported in issue 83.

WDC has a direct interest in this project, since our President, Lord Peter Archer, is one of the project advisers and also gave one of the keynote addresses at its Launch Conference. An edited version of this is reproduced below. It also ties in very well with WDC's *raison d'être*. The first Special Session on Disarmament of the UN General Assembly (SSD1) in 1978, which led to the foundation of WDC, called for

- the abolition of nuclear weapons and all weapons of mass destruction.
- the abolition, by agreed stages, of conventional arms, leading to:
- general and complete disarmament and
- transfer of military expenditure to end world poverty.

While the NPT is concerned directly and primarily with nuclear weapons, Article VI nevertheless also calls for the elimination of nuclear weapons to be followed by "general and complete disarmament". The core of the SCRRAP concept is the idea that the basis of a comprehensive disarmament treaty already exists in the many partial treaties which have been agreed over the years, such as the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty, the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, the CTBT, Chemical Weapons Convention and many others. Although these all have limitations and flaws, they all have good points which could be incorporated in a wider treaty. The CISD project aims to develop a research and an international public policy agenda that will reinvigorate disarmament. WDC can certainly support that aim.

In addition to Lord Archer, other keynote addresses were given by HE Knut Langeland, Ambassador for Disarmament Affairs in the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, Baroness Shirley Williams and Professor Gert Weisskirchen, Foreign Affairs spokesman for the Social Democratic Party in the German Bundestag.

Four sessions covered '*Is Disarmament Realistic?*'; '*Best and Worst Practices in Disarmament*'; '*Disarmament and Development*'; and '*Elements for a Renaissance in Disarmament*', with a total of 16 speakers including the respective Chairs, who in introducing their panels made their own brief contributions. This was a very wide range to cover, and this short report cannot do justice to all the points raised, but two in particular deserve special mention.

Tim Lynch of the Institute for the Study of the Americas gave a PowerPoint presentation with the provocative title: *Why the United States cannot disarm but the rest of the world can*. He gave five reasons why America should not disarm, under the headings of History, Strategy, Security,

Morality and International Law. Ranging from the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 to the Cold War and Kosovo, he argued that disarmament does not work (without specifying what "working" would mean, or indeed giving any examples of where it had ever really been implemented) and implying that the only purpose of US arms is to safeguard peace and human rights throughout the world. Strange then that the period of US military dominance has seen so many deaths in so many conflicts. Sadly the programme was so full that there was no real opportunity to challenge this concept. I had hoped to speak to him during the lunch break, but I did not manage to catch up with him.

A more constructive historical analysis was delivered by Dr Thomas Davies of City University - *Transnational Campaigning for Disarmament: Lessons from between the two World Wars*. Davies assessed the experience of one of the largest transnational non-governmental campaigns ever to have been undertaken: the campaign for general and comprehensive disarmament that took place between the two World Wars. This claimed to mobilize in support of its objectives up to half of the world's population at the time. With its conclusion that activist tactics were at least as important as external circumstances for the failure of the campaign, this paper is worth detailed study by today's activists.

Several speakers concentrated on the nuclear issue rather than the wider picture. (Lord Archer was one of the exceptions). However, very little cognisance was taken of other initiatives currently ongoing in this field, such as the Mayors for Peace 2020 Vision, the World Court Coalition plan to return to the International Court of Justice for a ruling on the "good faith" element of NPT Article VI, and the new International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) based around the new version of the draft Nuclear Weapons Convention.

There was much good material in this conference, and there will be more as the project continues. But what is needed to transform academic study into practice is the political will, and much grassroots campaigning will be necessary to achieve that. On the morning of the conference, *The Guardian* devoted its leading article to the conference, albeit only mentioning nuclear, and not general disarmament. Yet there was no reference to it in its news pages the following day.

FRANK JACKSON, WDC Co-Chair

## KEYNOTE SPEECH: General disarmament



Peter Archer

This conference was triggered when Dan Plesch spoke at a meeting arranged by WDC. We never know where an event like this may lead, but it is living in an unpredictable world which makes life interesting. Most of our discussions today have been about nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. That is of great importance, but it is only half of our task.

Article 6 was included in the NPT because, without it, many of the non-nuclear powers would not have supported the Treaty. Yet it is now largely forgotten, and if it is mentioned, it is dismissed as impracticable. p5 >>



# UPDATE: Arms trade; Biosecurity; Space weapons



Following the Chinese government's destruction of a defunct satellite last year, adding many thousands more fragments to the already existing space debris, as reported in issue 88, the US Navy destroyed an out-of-control spy satellite with a missile in February. It was claimed

to be necessary to prevent the satellite from plunging to earth and possibly causing significant death and destruction. However, independent scientists have said that the danger is very small and it is widely believed that the real motive was to test their space wars systems. The International Association for the Advancement of Space Safety has urged that existing guidelines for such events need to be strengthened and made part of international law on the lines of the International Civil Aviation Organisation, which is responsible for air safety. The need for the completion and implementation of the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space Treaty is also ever more urgent.

*New Scientist*, 1 March 2008

Further to the articles on biosecurity in our last two issues, it is reported that the Sunshine Project, which was the source of much of the information about safety lapses, is closing due to lack of funding. "It was always a struggle to raise funds", says Ed Hammond, who ran the project. "You can only work under these circumstances for so long." Let us hope that at least he has alerted some people to the dangers during the eight years of the project. *New Scientist*, 16 February 2008

A report by Stockholm International Peace Research Institute has said that three-quarters of UN arms embargoes fail. A major reason for this is the likes of arms dealer Tomislav Damjanovic, noted in our last issue to be supplying arms to the Iraq and Afghanistan governments, with US approval, despite previously smuggling weapons to Liberia and Somalia, among others. However, another of that despicable breed has taken the first step towards receiving justice. Viktor Bout, nicknamed Lord of War, has

## KEYNOTE SPEECH continued

<< p4 But the need for general and complete disarmament is as urgent as ever. First, because for smaller and middle-ranking powers, confronted by neighbours with greatly superior conventional forces, nuclear weapons are the great equalizer, as the Colt revolver was in the Wild West.

Secondly, concentrating exclusively on nuclear weapons can lure us into thinking that if we rid ourselves of nukes, the world will be quiet and safe. Even disposing of big guns and bombers will not make the streets of South London safe. The greatest immediate danger to human life is from knives, hand guns and machetes. Many are issued to child soldiers and not even secured at the end of the hostilities. Many, too, are sold openly in the markets of the Middle East.

The Westphalia doctrine protected nation states, and thus their populations. It served to spare the world much bloodshed. But it no longer reflects the reality. First, international affairs are no longer a mystery practised by foreign ministers. NGOs and civil society have access to information, and for promoting disarmament, they may be our

most effective campaigning weapon. Even at the United Nations, NGOs provide an expertise not always matched by national delegates. Secondly, many negotiations are conducted by diplomats with an expertise developed by confining themselves to a specific field of study, and a commitment to a specific outcome. Heads of state and ministers may posture for the cameras, but diplomats distinguish slogans from policies. And thirdly, states no longer have a monopoly even of major weaponry. A state having agreed to a convention or protocol cannot always deliver the agreement within its own boundaries.

been arrested in Thailand and will probably be extradited to the US to face trial, although a number of other countries, including Russia, would be interested in interrogating him. Once again, the need for a strong Arms Trade Treaty is pointed up. But, of course, even this is not enough while the weapons continue to be made in vast quantities, providing the incentive for the dealers to find ways of profiting from them.

*The Guardian* 28 November 2007 & 7 March 2008

Former Cold Warriors George Schultz, William Perry, Henry Kissinger and Sam Nunn, now turned nuclear disarmers, have published another article in the *Wall Street Journal* (For a brief extract from the first, see issue 86, p5). It is not likely that their words will be heeded by the present US administration, but it signifies the possibility of progress after the Presidential election, whoever wins. The basic statement is one we can certainly endorse without reservation: "The accelerating spread of nuclear weapons, nuclear know-how and nuclear material has brought us to a nuclear tipping point. We face a very real possibility that the deadliest weapons ever invented could fall into dangerous hands. The steps we are taking now to address these threats are not adequate to the danger. With nuclear weapons more widely available, deterrence is decreasingly effective and increasingly hazardous." We do not agree with all the detailed proposals, but the acceptance of the basic concept of a nuclear weapon free world overrides any caveats.

*Wall Street Journal* 15 January 2008

However, before we get too carried away with euphoria, one recent statement should bring us back to earth: "Air Force General Kevin Chilton, commander of US strategic forces said on Tuesday the United States will need nuclear weapons as a deterrent for the rest of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and should move now to field more modern weapons."

*The Times of India*, 5 March 2008

We once believed that the nation state was the major obstacle to a secure world. Now, the problem arises frequently from the decline of the nation state. Part of our task is to support failing states. If we achieve disarmament, there will remain a need for a carefully selected store of weapons to police rogue states and non-state killers. But we must ensure that it is firmly under the control of a global authority, in which all can have confidence.

LORD ARCHER of SANDWELL, WDC President



Victor Bout

# IRAQ: HOW MUCH CAN A PEOPLE TAKE? Ingredients for Peace

Iraqis have endured decades of dictatorship, 12 years of sanctions, two wars, one illegal invasion and 5 years of occupation. As an anti-war and pro-peace world alliance, we also have to ask ourselves how much patience we have left and how many new words we can find to express our frustration, our deepening anger, our fundamental opposition to the criminally faulty policies pursued by governments on both sides of the Atlantic. How much more carnage must occur in Iraq before sanity prevails in the capitals of power?

Only the imbalanced, only the demented, only the ruthless can see success in Iraq, can see success in Afghanistan. The picture on the ground is vastly different. The reality reveals a dismal failure. What is needed, of course, is opposition to war, but what is equally needed is a dialogue for peace, not a monologue for confrontation. But this dialogue for peace can not be without demands for accountability from our political leaders for what happened and for what they have done in Iraq and elsewhere. We must never give up on these demands. Laws and justice are not just for the weak and the losers. No one who has had anything to do with the state of to-day's Iraq must be allowed to escape from the moral, intellectual, political and legal responsibilities this involvement entails. The US Iraq policy has been and remains self serving, illegal and deeply repugnant. The assertions of US Government concern for human rights in Iraq, for peace, for justice, for democracy are preposterous. At the same time we also have to accept with great shame that our political leaders in Europe have shown no courage, no vision and ultimately no humanity.

According to a study by two US nonprofit journalism groups, the Center for Public Integrity and the Fund for Independence in Journalism, Bush and seven of his top aides publicly made 935 false statements about the security risk posed by Iraq in the two years following September 11 2001. The study, reported on CNN, was based on official government transcripts and speeches, and quotes from major media organizations. For full details of this (and much more) see <http://solidarityiraq.blogspot.com>

What seems a hopeless quagmire must not allow us to become despondent. The international peace movement would not deserve its name if we had nothing to say about peace for Iraq. Some 26 million Iraqis have not given up hope for peace; neither should we. As a member of the Trans-national Foundation for Peace, an organisation based in Sweden, I have worked with the board of this foundation on ingredients for peace in and with Iraq which we believe must be included in any peace plan for Iraq. I say this with awe since prospects for peace in Iraq at this moment seem so remote.

A *first* and major ingredient for peace has to be the *withdrawal of US troops* and mercenaries as well as the closure of foreign military bases. However, withdrawal and closure without parallel measures would create a vacuum with serious implications. Withdrawal and leaving Iraqis to their own fate is not the option the peace movement can support. This would spell disaster. The case is not made here for extending the occupation. It is argued that withdrawal if accompanied with other measures will not

increase but decrease violence in Iraq. One of these measures would have to be the repeal of laws and administrative changes that were introduced in 2003 in violation of international law by the CPA, the coalition provisional authority headed by Administrator Bremer. Eliminating these would be an important first step towards the return of Iraqi sovereignty and Iraq's right to determine the direction of national change. This has to include oil-sovereignty. Externally induced changes in the oil laws to encourage de-facto privatization of oil exploration and lifting of oil should have no place in post-invasion Iraq.



Hans v Sponeck

A *second* ingredient for peace has to do with the *integrity of Iraq*. US proposals for the tripartite partitioning of the country (Amb. Galbraith) or 'soft partitioning' (Senator Biden) into Sunni, Shia and Kurdish areas is a proposal which reflects dangerous ignorance about Iraq's history and social reality. Sovereignty, re-building and healing involves one not three Iraqs!

A *third* point relates to the *United Nations*. The UN should play an important role in the peace process. Discredited as it is at present, it has first to be realigned and retooled to become a true multilateral institution before it can be entrusted with responsibilities for peace building in Iraq.

A *fourth* aspect involves Iraq's large *debt* burden. It cannot be, that Iraq has to pay back billions of dollars of dubious debts incurred by earlier governments. Such debts must be written off. An important step in this direction is the initiative of former Secretary of State James Baker to review Iraq's debts to identify legitimate and objectionable demands from foreign creditors for repayment.

In 1991 the international community was very quick to impose on Iraq compensation payments for her invasion into Kuwait. This was not unjustified. The timing was wrong. The timing is right in 2007/08 to demand *compensation* – a *fifth* point for a peace process - from the international community, particularly the governments that have done so much harm and destruction in Iraq during the 2003 invasion and the subsequent occupation. What does this mean for the average Iraqi? There is no family in Iraq that in one way or the other has not been affected by 13 years of economic sanctions, by the illegal invasion of 2003 and the years of occupation. Iraq has become a nation of traumatized people.

Who can compensate Iraqis for the many lives lost, for the destitution suffered, for the social disintegration that has occurred as a result of the foreign invasion, for the humiliation Iraqis had to face from foreign forces, for the physical and mental maiming Iraqis have had to endure? Compensation at best would have a symbolic meaning.

*continued on page 7* ➤

Figures released by the US Central Command detailing 'close air support' (CAS) missions (i.e., bombing raids) in Iraq reveal that they numbered 229 in 2006, dropping 111,000 pounds of bombs. In 2007 the number of missions increased to 1147, resulting in an estimated 500,000 pounds of bombs being dropped, a massive escalation. Again, more details from <http://solidarityiraq.blogspot.com>

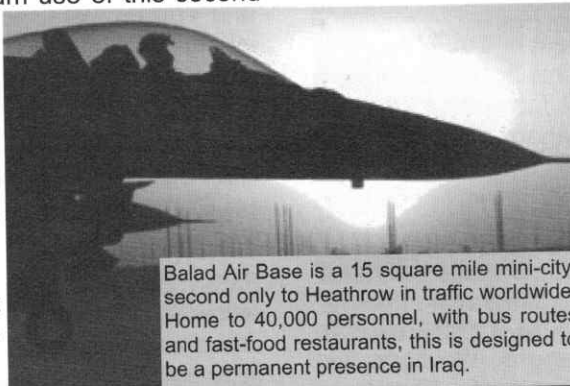


## HOW MUCH CAN A PEOPLE TAKE? continued

p6 < A sixth element for a possible peace plan for Iraq must include a reminder that as early as 1974, and periodically thereafter, UN Security Council and General Assembly resolutions have been passed that argue for the Middle East to become a *zone free of weapons of mass destruction*. These resolutions are as relevant today as they were at the time they were adopted. At last, they should be taken seriously and be implemented.

The peace movement rightly often refers to reconciliation. Many Iraqis do not like to hear about reconciliation. This is unfortunate but understandable. Their hurt is deep. A peace process nevertheless should include as a *seventh* element a *truth and reconciliation* initiative. Such an initiative would be different from the one South-Africa deployed in the 1990s. The Iraqi initiative would have to have two layers. There needs to be reconciliation and healing among Iraqis and between Iraqis and those responsible for the carnage of 2003 and beyond. It is most important to realize this.

A peace movement understands the importance of *people-to people cooperation*, an *eighth* element for peace. The more of such personal cooperation at all levels the better. Governments alone can not make good the immense wrong that has been done against the Iraqi people. People-to-people cooperation must be a key part of the peace process. As long as security is as poor as it still is in Iraq, such cooperation has to be mainly indirect. Modern technology offers the means for virtual contact for peace. We all should make maximum use of this second best alternative for human cooperation to reassure Iraqis of the compassion and concern people outside of Iraq have for the welfare and the well-being of the people in Iraq. This will also be a contribution for bringing Iraqis out of the long years of isolation in which they were forced to live and to reassure them that Iraqis count as human beings not just as nationals of an oil rich country.



Balad Air Base is a 15 square mile mini-city, second only to Heathrow in traffic worldwide. Home to 40,000 personnel, with bus routes and fast-food restaurants, this is designed to be a permanent presence in Iraq.

A *ninth* ingredient for peace makes the case for a comprehensive settlement for the Middle East as a whole. The first step towards pre-venting such a settlement was the 2007 Annapolis conference. When key-players are left out, whether it is Iran or Hezbollah, Hamas or the resistance in Iraq, the stage is set for failure and the continuation of confrontation. The bribe offered by the United States Government to selected governments in the Middle East of a new and accelerated weapons supply programme worth \$ 60 billion in return for solidifying an anti-Iran alliance is the latest attempt to deepen divisions in the Middle East. The peace movement should oppose as strongly as possible such a counter-productive initiative. A constructive alternative would be a *standing regional conference*. Part of the peace plan for Iraq, such a standing conference would be led by civil society and governments of the region and, of course, be convened in the region. If peace in and with Iraq and in the region as a whole is to have a chance, it must include resistance movements and opposition groups, a demand at present totally rejected by external powers.

Proposals have been made in Europe for the creation of an organisation for security and cooperation for the Middle East, possibly patterned after the Vienna-based Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). To have an OSCNME, an Organisation for Security and Cooperation in the Near and Middle East should be seriously considered as part of a peace process for the region.

Conclusion: There is urgency for a peace process to begin in and with Iraq. The tragic and misguided policy of confrontation and divisiveness between Sunnis, Shias, Kurds and Arabs to serve primarily external interests must be strongly rejected and resisted.

HANS-C. von SPONECK, UN Humanitarian Coordinator for Iraq (1998-2000)

### IRAQ COMMISSION REPORT

The Iraq Commission was set up by the Foreign Policy Centre (a foreign affairs think tank founded by Robin Cook) in partnership with Channel 4 to examine the future of the UK's commitment to Iraq. It was co-chaired by Lord (Paddy) Ashdown (Lib-Dem), Baroness (Margaret) Jay (Labour) and Lord (Tom) King (Conservative). It received oral evidence and written submissions from a wide range of individuals and organisations, including Action for UN Renewal, to which WDC Co-Chair Vijay Mehta provided an input, though not from WDC itself.

Although some of the members of the Commission, including Baroness Jay, had been opposed to the attack on Iraq, the remit of the Commission expressly excluded consideration of "the merits and legality of the UK decision to intervene militarily in Iraq". Many people might think this negated the value of the whole exercise. As Hans von Sponeck points out above, there can be no real peace in Iraq until the political leaders responsible for what has been done in Iraq are brought to account. Yet it is a

common position of some who argue that we "have to start from where we are now" and we have to "move on".

Were it not for this basic defect, some of the recommendations might be worth considering. It recognises that the UK has a legal and moral responsibility to Iraq, though its interpretation of that is still based on achieving "security" primarily through military means. Emphasis on the UN and the need for Iraq's neighbours to be engaged are uncontroversial. More funding for the UNHCR's humanitarian work is certainly needed. It recommends that the UK should make it clear that they do not seek permanent bases in Iraqi territory and should urge the US to do likewise. A laudable suggestion, but completely unrealistic. (See the inset above about the US Balad Air Base.) But beyond any individual points, what strikes this reader is the contrast between the bland, detached language and the passion, anger and integrity that shines through von Sponeck's article.

FRANK JACKSON

# DARE TO HOPE: A second chance?

*Note: This article first appeared in The News Daily, Pakistan. Nuclear weapons did not figure in the Pakistan elections, but they remain a matter of concern. Is it possible that when the new civilian government is installed it will recognise that it, like every other country, would be more secure in a non-nuclear world? Ed*

At a time when the world's most successful international security regime (that associated with the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty) is threatened with collapse it is fascinating to look back at the historic nuclear crossroads of 1986. Superpower behaviour in that year showed that if institutions generating reassurance are not put in place when the circumstances are relatively benign, the opportunity might not arise again for a very long time - and in the meantime very dangerous risks might have to be run.

What might have happened had the White House embraced Gorbachev's nuclear abolition plan aiming at nuclear elimination by 2000? If the superpowers (and other nuclear weapons states) had begun to take steps towards abolition over the following decade, even if by the mid-1990s they had still to eliminate the last few hundred weapons, would India and Pakistan have challenged the norms of a denuclearising international community in 1998? China would presumably have taken positive steps in line with the superpowers, so reducing India's regional rationale for developing an overt nuclear weapons capability. What is more, if such momentum had spread would Saddam have explored nuclear programmes in the 1990s? Would there have been all the talk in the United States about attacking Iran?

The missed opportunity to strengthen global nuclear disarmament norms after 1986, by radical words and deeds, may well have been the gravest error in post-1945 US foreign and security policy. If this is so, it casts a different light on who were the most far-sighted strategic thinkers of the time. It was not Reagan's advisers, who insisted on maintaining US nuclear superiority: it was actually Reagan himself (who by 1986 had become an advocate of nuclear abolition) together with Gorbachev (who had earlier become committed to eliminating the scourge of nuclear weapons).

Today, as in 1986, human society is at a crossroads in relation to the future of nuclear weapons. We have two clear choices. One road is business-as-usual, with nations seeking to survive in an unregulated international nuclear system. The other road involves trying to construct a cooperative society of denuclearising states - this requires the existing NWS to take serious steps to reduce their stocks to zero - the commitment in Article VI of NPT. There are many good proposals about how to stop the spread of nuclear weapons (those of the Blix Commission and the UN High Level Panel Report for a start) but the NWS are wedded to the logic of nuclear strategy. As the 2005 NPT Review Conference showed, the NWS have for some years been hedging against the future failure of the global non-proliferation regime instead of building upon the agreements that have been forged over the previous ten years and earlier.

Often in the foreground of this story of missed opportunities has been the nuclear weaponization of South Asia. Will this remain the case, given the positive recent developments in Sino-Indian and Indo-Pakistan relations? Can we dare to hope that policymakers in Asia will take far-sighted strategic decisions about nuclear weapons,

and construct a stable peace before a catastrophic nuclear mishap?

The 'Hand in Hand 2007', was held in Kunming in China's Yunnan province. It involved 200 soldiers in a "counter terrorism" exercise that was hailed by Chinese media as a "landmark development" in Sino-Indian relations. India and China, also "hand in hand", objected to the draft 200 climate deal at the UN talks in Bali. As well as this improvement in overall relations with its major eastern neighbour, India's relations with the United States have improved in the Bush era. In the context of threat reduction, India is in a position to make substantive nuclear arms control initiatives, but its present leaders seem more concerned to augment its strategic capabilities.

Meanwhile, the India Pakistan peace process continues and has made substantive progress through talks on bilateral issues including nuclear risk reduction. The nuclear talks have proved the slowest to move ahead. These talks remain limited in scope to 'risk reduction' considerations. The talks shy away from a long-term vision of regional accommodation. The Sino-Indian factor continues to complicate the prospects for future Indo-Pakistan nuclear arms control.

Unless today the NWS lead by example, their behaviour will predictably provoke the steady increase of the number of states with nuclear weapons. If this is the case, the outcome will be more insecurity all around, in a world with many more nuclear weapons and increasing difficulty in keeping them secure. Henry Kissinger, George P. Shultz and William Perry now accept in the Wall Street Journal letters (of 2007 and expanded 2008) that the case for global nuclear abolition is not woolly-headed idealism. In South Asia the opportunity to build on positive diplomatic developments must also be taken earnestly.

KEN BOOTH & FARAH ZAHRA

Professor Ken Booth heads the Department of International Politics, University of Aberystwyth, UK.

Farah Zahra is a defence analyst and former research fellow at the John F Kennedy School of Government Harvard University. Email: defence.analyst@gmail.com

## OBITUARY: Jimmy Barnes

Jimmy Barnes, who has died aged 57, was a member of WDC for a while. His main focus, however, was Trade Union CND, of which he was a mainstay for many years. In that capacity he once shared a stall with WDC at the Labour Party Conference. When several peace groups got together to put on a joint social at the conference, he was one of the participants. In other respects he had a chequered career ranging from an engineering apprenticeship to studying philosophy and politics at Sunderland Polytechnic, and from setting up a publishing house to reprint some Left Book Club titles and other classics to running a "socialist" pub in Church, Lancashire.

His most direct contribution to WDC was when our computer was stolen. Jimmy loaned his, to help us out. Unfortunately, that in turn was stolen not long after, but the gesture was greatly appreciated at the time.

FRANK JACKSON

We are unable to publish the obituary of Joe Wiles in this issue after all. We hope to do so in a future issue.



# PEACE WEEKEND: CELEBRATION AND CHALLENGE



Brian Cooper

The 2008 WDC Weekend of Services and Vigils for World Peace and Disarmament was marked by some forty observances nationwide and across the ecumenical Christian and inter-faith spectrum. Most were over the designated February 8-10 weekend, but some local groups kept to their customary end-of-January schedule, with a few events on other dates for local circumstances. At services, vigils and public meetings the 'Peace: Celebration and Continuing Challenge' theme was creatively interpreted, with key peace issues considered in the context of Christian prayer and worship, and inter-faith reflection and celebration.

Malvern Justice and Peace Group's ecumenical event at the Quaker Meeting House drew fifty people for Prayers for Peace, and address on Palestine – and a 'circle dancing' finale! At Dovastan United Reformed Church I Shropshire, Rev. Jeff Hancocks held a Sunday service exploring the many dimensions of peace, from family and community to world disarmament. At St. Wilfrid's parish church at Kibworth Beauchamp near Leicester, peace campaigner Coral Hallums and Rev. M Cook led a Saturday six-hour Prayer Vigil for Peace with the Iona Community Peace Liturgy, and peace posters and literature on display. A Saturday Peace Prayer vigil at Redditch, led by Rev. Norwyn Denny and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, focused on 'War-torn Areas' and local churches echoed the theme in Sunday worship. At Havering, Essex, WDC member Bob Russell's Saturday ecumenical occasion at Trinity Methodist Church, Romford – now an established annual event – had sessions on 'Definitions of Peace', 'Brief History of Peace Measures' and 'Peace: Looking to the Future'.

The most northerly event was at St. James' Episcopal Church in Aberdeen, where Rev. Max Paterson led discussion and meditation on peace in the Middle East, as prelude to the Sung Eucharist.

At Welwyn Garden City, One World Week group's inter-faith event focused on children and Peace, with a mini-play by local Baha'i youngsters on 'How Children see Peace'. Fifty people attended Horsham's inter-faith Peace and Disarmament forum, when Canon David Partridge expounded Biblical understandings of peace. In Edinburgh, several house group meetings on such themes as 'Roots of Peace' and 'Religion and Violence' were held as an experiment, instead of a single inter-faith event as in previous years; I also addressed an inter-faith forum on 'Unity and Peace of the Human Family'. [a major Christian-Muslim event on 'Global Co-operation of Faiths for World Peace' is planned for Edinburgh in May.]

Birmingham Bloxham, Brighton, Burham, Chelmsford, Coulsdon, Crawley, Gloucester, Halifax, High Wycombe, Hyde, Mitcham, Sheffield, Sidley, Southend and Witham were among other venues of 2008 Peace Weekend occasions.

All these events were most worthwhile and much appreciated by those present – but the decline in notified support for the Weekend in recent years clearly raises the issue of its future viability. Until 2006, most years saw some 100 to 120 notified events, but 2006 and 2007 saw

this drop to 60 or fewer, for no clear reason. [Of course, prompted by the publicity leaflet circulated by denominations and religious peace groups, events may well be held *without WDC being notified.*]

Since 1981 the UN has denoted September 21 as an International Peace Day, calling the global community to observe a day marked by peace and non-violence. As well as official and NGO events, over the years religious bodies in various countries have also marked the day with spiritual observances. In 2007 some UK churches – notably Baptist, Methodist and United Reformed – answered the World Council of Churches' call for member churches to support this September 21 observance, as part of the WCC 2001-2011 'Decade to Overcome Violence' programme. These denominations publicised the date [or nearest Sunday] as an 'International Day of Prayer for Peace', and some local churches held special services. It may be that WDC's Churches' Peace Weekend could be changed to support the September 21 observance, to increase support for a focal peace day for religious bodies. Comments on this from WDC members involved in faith-based peace action would be welcomed. [Please write to me at PO Box 28209, Edinburgh EH9 1ZR]

BRIAN G COOPER, WDC Churches & Inter-Faith Secretary



## AMERICAN EMPIRE IN FULL COLOUR GRAPHICS

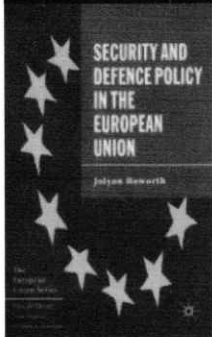


The latest of the "State of ..." Atlases is the State of the American Empire. In the usual style, it presents a mass of information in easily absorbed graphical form, backed up with succinct explanations of the context. That it is an empire cannot be denied. While it is not one established by conquest and occupation like previous empires, its military strength, economic power, and the spread of its ideas and culture – McDonald's and Starbucks are only the most obvious signs – ensure that it maintains its hegemony. The discussion of this in the introduction is interesting. The author distinguishes between hegemony and imperialism. The former is described as a system where the dominant state uses its power in a benign way, while imperialism implies that the state acts only for its own interests, completely selfishly. Many would probably question this distinction. However, in the terms of this definition, it is concluded that America presides over a global system between these two extremes, and its role contains elements of both hegemony and imperialism. Whether one agrees with this analysis or not, the value of the book is in the facts and figures, and the accessible way they are presented. Highly recommended to anyone who needs these facts and figures readily to hand. Of course, they are inevitably out of date in detail before they are printed, but the broad thrust is likely to remain valid for the next few years.

FRANK JACKSON

The State of the American Empire: How the USA shapes the world, by Stephen Burman, Earthscan, pbk £12.99, ISBN 978-1-84407-428-0

# REVIEW: Security and Defence Policy in the EU



From its inception, the European integration process has seen attempts to forge a militarily united Europe. The 1948 Treaty of Brussels led to the Western European Union, the pre-NATO body to co-ordinate the defence of UK, France and Benelux. The creation of NATO with US involvement did not end calls for a purely European military structure – from the 1950s' Pleven 'European Army' Plan and de Gaulle's vision of Europe as a global 'Third Force', to later concepts of Franco-British nuclear alliance at its core.

For fifty years national self-interest and Euro-idealists' opposition to any EU military role rejected such dangerous notions: EU states were either in NATO or neutrals outside it. Throughout the Cold War the EU had no military pretensions, but concentrated on building lasting peace between its member states through economic integration, and internationally through trade treaties, diplomacy, Third World aid and cultural relations.

The 21<sup>st</sup> century, however, sees this EU global role, distinctive and of wide appeal for its 'soft 'power' approach, in danger of being compromised by the EU's post-Cold War military actions outside its borders, under its post-1999 European Security and Defence Policy [ESDP]. For Professor Jolyon Howorth of Yale – who is also Jean Monnet Professor of European politics at Bath University – this development signals “the arrival of the EU as a military player after fifty years as a purely civilian entity”.

His deeply-researched and constantly insightful study of ESDP's origins, actions and prospects analyses EU members' [except Denmark] commitment to “co-ordinated and increasingly integrated security and defence policy initiatives”, while retaining national military structures.

The mainly civilian orientation of EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy [1991 onwards], divergence between USA and EU on key 1990s issues, and the inadequacy of the intra-NATO European Security and Defence Identity and WEU to tackle crises on EU's periphery [notably Yugoslavia], led UK and France especially to drive forward ESDP for 'crisis management', involving “the deployment of diplomatic or economic instruments, despatch of police or administrative agents, or even the deployment of combat troops ... Most often, the mobilisation of all of these”.

Tracing ESDP's institutional and political development from the founding Franco-British summit and 1999 EU Councils to the current 'Headline Goal 2010' strategy, Howorth sees four types of ESDP and ESDP-related missions to date: Police, Border Control and Military/ Technical Assistance, Peace Monitoring and Judicial Training, and Military. The first, involving both temporary deployment of police officers from EU and other states, and local police training schemes, he deems ESDP's “greatest innovation” for post-conflict stability. Police missions have assisted Macedonia, Congo [Kinshasa], Palestine and Bosnia, but the latter revealed their limited benefit if undertaken without full local political backing.

Assistance in safeguarding the Moldova/Ukraine and

Palestine/Israel/Egypt borders [2005-2007 and 2005-2006 respectively] were useful contributions to those regions' stability, but in relation to Sudan Darfur, EU like NATO has lacked the political will for any decisive action, confining itself to token aid to African Union forces. Small specialised ESDP missions trained hundreds of judicial officials in both Georgia and Iraq, while 2005-2007 saw EU personnel overseeing the peace agreement ending the 30-year civil war between Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement.

The four strictly military ESDP missions – in Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina [involving 7000 personnel] and twice in Congo (in UN-mandated actions such as supporting UN forces providing security for the 2006 election) – Howorth judges successful crisis actions but only so because complemented by post-conflict reconstruction programmes. Deeming the military role as 'essential underpinning' rather than the 'primary instrument' of ESDP, he concludes these operations “do not consecrate a global role for EU intervention”.

Such may seem reassuring and EU actions so far may be seen as well-intentioned and welcome contributions to regional peace-keeping, but deeper questions persist. Howorth stresses that EU's adoption of a military role, however limited to date, marks a profound shift in how it sees itself operating outside its borders. Influenced by Blairite interventionist notions, ESDP could become used for aggressive EU power-projection in the future – for example to control resources deemed vital to EU economic interests. (It is also a disturbing precedent that seven ESDP missions have been undertaken without specific UN mandate.)

It will surprise and alarm many that ESDP currently provides for up to fifteen deployment-ready EU battle groups. As EU states face an increasingly volatile international environment (the author's chapter 'The EU's world in 2025' on threats and challenges in a multi-polar world merits close attention), increasingly they will be tempted to use ESDP for non-peace-building purposes. The Peace Movement so far has paid relatively little attention to ESDP; it is high time to rectify this omission. Certainly its potential dangers underline the need for consistent pro-peace lobbying at EU institutions, especially the European Parliament. The laudable 'soft power' tradition is under threat.

BRIAN COOPER, WDC Co-ordinator

Security and Defence Policy in the European Union, by Jolyon Howorth, Palgrave Macmillan, pbk £21.99, ISBN 978-0-333-63912-2

**STOP PRESS:** Anti-nuclear weapon campaigners have lost their High Court challenge to the “no-camping” byelaw which they say could put an end to the women's peace camp outside the Atomic Weapons Establishment at Aldermaston. The byelaw, introduced in May 2007, sought to prohibit camping, and thus criminalise the camp. However, a spokeswoman said, “The Peace Camp has been here for 22 years – and we mean to continue”. On Saturday 8 March, the camp celebrated international women's day at the camp, reaffirming their right to protest. And on Easter Monday, 24 April, they will be welcoming visitors who plan to surround the establishment with a “human chain” as part of CND's 50th birthday and the anniversary of the first Aldermaston March.



# A WORLD WITHOUT WAR: Two approaches

These two books by WDC members are both, in their very different ways, valuable additions to any peace activist's bookshelf.



**Harry Davis's** *Palace of Crystal* is a truly democratic society, with all decision-making fully transparent. The phrase itself comes from Dostoevsky, but its proposed implementation is based largely on the ideas of Tom Paine and the other founders of the United States of America. Though today's US has deviated far from those early ideals, such a society, it is argued, would be far less likely to go to war than our present hierarchical and secretive system, where even in the most nominally democratic of societies, decisions are made behind closed doors by small numbers of people or even single Presidents or Prime Ministers.

Starting from the proposition – with which we fully concur – that the case for the abolition of war has been irrefutably made many times, Davis goes on to analyse in depth some of the reasons why it is so difficult (impossible, so far) to achieve in practice. Part 1 is largely historical, covering the changing nature of war and the rise of the concept of democracy, albeit still very imperfect in its implementation. Eight chapters are then devoted to the concept of leadership: the type of person who aspires to leadership, and the psychology of the people who desire “strong leaders”. He asks why so many psychopaths have achieved supreme positions, instancing Hitler, Stalin and Idi Amin among others. It is difficult to sum up a very closely argued case in a few sentences. But essentially the claim is that these are but extreme examples of common characteristics of “charismatic” leaders, and that it is precisely our desire for such leaders that produces this result. Certainly thought-provoking; there is much to be said for the view that those who most avidly seek power are the least fitted to exercise it.

Part 3 goes on to describe the Palace of Crystal, what would be required to achieve it, and how it would cope with problems such as terrorism. It is claimed that the specific measures proposed are quite modest, although some are more radical than others: Abolish the Royal prerogative; decisions not to be taken behind closed doors – the reasons for everything to be in the public domain; separation of powers between the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary to be realised in practice, not just in theory, with executive power reduced to the absolute minimum necessary; a Written Constitution; “devolved lawmaking” – the Swiss example is quoted; provision for the impeachment of a leader who had broken the law; the disestablishment of the Church of England. The last of these is only discussed briefly, almost like an afterthought, but includes the remarkable statement that “all religions are by their nature mild and moral”. This does not quite chime with the reference in the same section to the Crusades and the thousands of heretics burned at the stake, or the Old Testament God-approved massacres related in Numbers and quoted in Chapter 2.

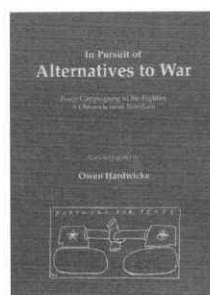
As already noted, this is one of the most thought-provoking books to come our way recently. It has

significant weaknesses, which in fact it recognises to some extent, in that it does not deal with political and economic forces which influence leaders. Space does not permit a detailed critique of this aspect. We can only recommend everyone who wishes to understand why the abolition of war seems so impossible to read it and draw their own conclusions.

**Owen Hardwicke** is a Catholic priest, who has been a peace activist throughout his career, and continues today in retirement. *In Pursuit of Alternatives to War* is subtitled *Peace Campaigning in the Eighties - A Chronicle from Wrexham*. This may make it sound parochial, and in a sense it is. But it ranges far beyond the confines of North Wales.



Owen Hardwicke



It starts with the setting up of Wrexham Against Nuclear War in 1980, in response to the launch in London of the World Disarmament Campaign by Philip Noel-Baker and Fenner Brockway. Owen becomes Pax Christi representative on the WDC Executive, and later part of the British delegation to the UN Second Special Session on Disarmament, Wrexham having contributed 11,000 signatures to the 2.3 million total from the UK. Earlier in 1982 he had visited the Soviet Union together with Fenner Brockway, with whom he shared a hotel room, and others in a 20-strong delegation. Visits to Washington, Geneva, Berlin and the Soviet Union again give rise to many anecdotes.

Having changed its name to Wrexham for Nuclear Disarmament, the focus of the group turned more towards CND, but without losing touch with WDC. There are accounts of imaginative local activities over the years covered, which could stimulate ideas for today. It has now developed into the Wrexham Peace and Justice Forum, with Owen still involved.

The real meat of the book, however, is a collection of quotations, from many sources, and covering issues still relevant to the peace movement today: nuclear deterrence; Versailles Treaty; 1932 Disarmament Conference; unilateralism; dissidents and collaborators during the Cold War; Gorbachev; US imperialism; patriotism; non-violence; and more. These had been published in the newsletters of the group to illustrate the concerns at the time, and had been retrieved from Owen's archives. Also throughout the book there are cartoons, some of which have appeared in *World Disarm!*, and which complement the words in showing up the idiocies of militaristic thinking. An unusual book, with many insights, as its title suggests, into the quest for alternatives to war, and what can be done to promote them.

## FRANK JACKSON

**THE PALACE OF CRYSTAL** — A World Without War, by Harry Davis, Arena Books, 6 Southgate Green, Bury St Edmunds IP33 2BL, pbk £20.99, ISBN 13-978-0-9556055-0-5

**IN PURSUIT OF ALTERNATIVES TO WAR: Peace Campaigning in the Eighties; A Chronicle from Wrexham**, by Owen Hardwicke, Bridge Books, Wrexham LL12 7AW, pbk £9.50, ISBN 1-84494-024-1 or from Wrexham Peace & Justice Centre, 35 Kings Mills Rd, Wrexham LL13 8NH

# MONEY MATTERS: Decisions needed

Many thanks to those who have paid their 2008 subscriptions and who contributed to the appeal, which raised £575. At the end of the year we had in the banks £17,100.80 and owed £501.41 from 2007. Since then we have received £784 plus payments which go directly to the banks (about £440) and spent £688.98.

A full financial report will be available at the AGM, or if you contact me directly. At the AGM there will be an in-depth discussion of the financial situation, and positive decisions will have to be taken to ensure WDC's long-term viability in its role within the peace movement.

CELIA BOWER, WDC Treasurer

February 2008

## WDC AGM & SPRING CONFERENCE

### Saturday 19 April 2008

Wesley's Chapel, 49 City Road, London EC1Y 1AU 10.30am - 4.30pm

**NUCLEAR POWER and NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION**

**Dr Frank Barnaby**

**PROLIFERATION and PARLIAMENT**

**Political Speaker (tbc)**

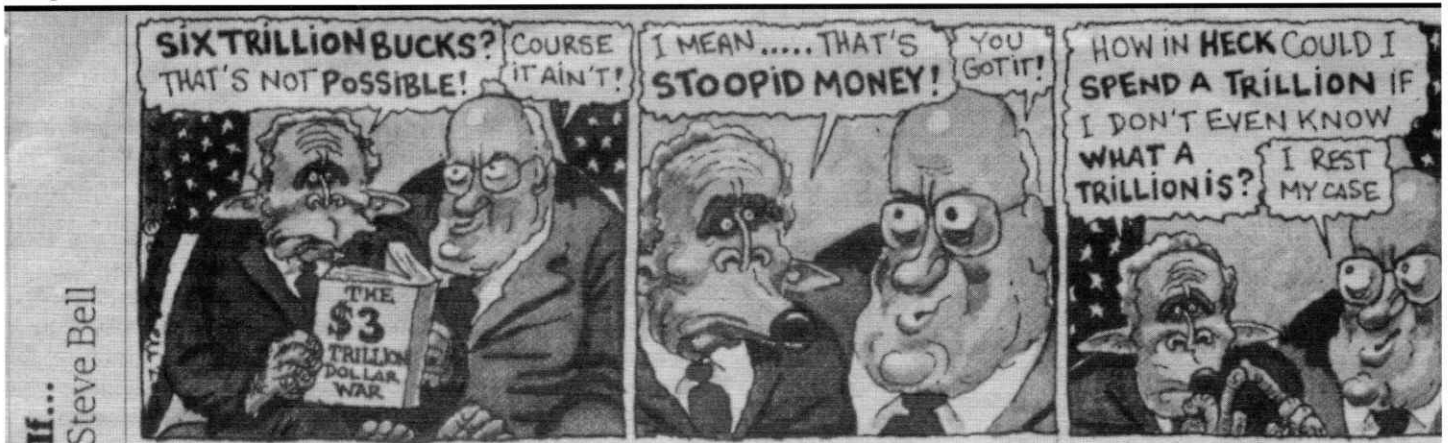
**PROLIFERATION and POLITICS in SOUTH ASIA**

**Vijay Mehta, WDC Co-Chair**

All members and friends are invited. There is no fee for members, but donations are appreciated from guests. Tea and coffee are available; bring lunch or use local cafes.

**Information: Frank Jackson, 11 Kingsmoor Road, Harlow, Essex CM19 4HP**

**Registration : Celia Bower, 78 Muswell Road, London N10 2BE**



**\$3trillion**—the true cost of the Iraq war to America, according to Nobel prize-winning economist Joseph Stiglitz. And the same amount again for the rest of the world. Steve Bell gets it right, as usual.

*The Guardian, 03-03-2008*

World Disarm! March 3008

Editor: Frank Jackson

Editorial address: 11 Kingsmoor Road, Harlow, Essex CM19 4HP

email: editor.worlddisarm@ntlworld.com

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