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EUROPEAN CONFERENCE ON PEACE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The Russell Foundation organised the Second Consultation to prepare the Conference at the European Parliament in Brussels on 7/8 December 2000. More than 70 people from 16 countries, representing more than 60 organisations, took part. Most of the time was given over to four main workshops.

- i) Military Alliances and the United Nations: Nato's enlargement Eastwards, the Partnership for Peace, and European Common Foreign and Security Policy*
- ii) The implications for Europe of the revival of Star Wars, ending the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, and moves towards nuclear war-fighting*
- iii) The relevance of nuclear-weapon-free-zones and other proposals for disarmament and arms control: Agencies for change (including peace movements; churches; development organisations; women's movements; local government; international law campaigns; international medical campaigns; engineers and scientists)*
- iv) Peace and human rights after the Nice European Council with special reference to the crisis in Israel/Palestine*

Reports from these workshops, together with many of the workshop papers, are available on the Russell Foundation's new web site (www.russfound.org).

There have now been two successful consultations among peace movements and activists from every country in the European Union, and some beyond. In order to deepen and broaden the process, it was agreed to carry through a series of national meetings before meeting again at the European level. **The Russell Foundation would like to hear from those who are able to join in organising, promoting and popularising such a gathering in their own country.**

UN VOTES TO STRENGTHEN ABM TREATY

On 20 November 2000, the UN General Assembly, acting on the recommendation of its First Committee (Disarmament and International Security), voted to strengthen the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems (ABM Treaty). The Assembly, stressing the paramount importance of full and strict compliance by the parties with the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems

(ABM Treaty), called for continued efforts to strengthen it and preserve its integrity and validity, so that it remained a cornerstone in maintaining global strategic stability. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 88 in favour to 5 against (Albania, Federated States of Micronesia, Honduras, Israel, United States), with 66 abstentions:

In favour: Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belarus, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Cape Verde, China, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, France, Gabon, Grenada, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Jamaica, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kiribati, Kyrgyzstan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mexico, Monaco, Mongolia, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Republic of Moldova, Russian Federation, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syria, Tajikistan, Thailand, Togo, Tonga, Turkmenistan, Uganda, Ukraine, United Republic of Tanzania, Vanuatu, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Albania, Federated States of Micronesia, Honduras, Israel, United States.

Abstain: Andorra, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Belgium, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Eritrea, Estonia, Finland, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lesotho, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Marshall Islands, Mauritius, Morocco, Nauru, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Romania, Samoa, San Marino, Slovakia, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, Spain, Sweden, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Absent: Afghanistan, Chad, Comoros, Congo, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Dominica, El Salvador, Gambia, Jordan, Kuwait, Maldives, Palau, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Tuvalu, United Arab Emirates, Uzbekistan, Yugoslavia.

A NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONE IN EUROPE

The Austrian Peace Council has initiated a 'Call for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in Europe'.

Aims of the Campaign

- To build renewed public support in all European countries for making a major part of this continent free of nuclear weapons under binding terms of international law.

- To demand of governments and inter-governmental organizations that they act to achieve this goal.
- To give impetus to the efforts for nuclear arms control and for nuclear disarmament in general by launching in-depth deliberations on a concrete arms limitation measure for Europe.

The need for such a Campaign

Nuclear disarmament remains a crucial issue if the threat of nuclear war is to be banished and the enormous resources still wasted on the arms race are to be made available for solving the urgent problems of humanity. While there is no longer the sharp confrontation of the Cold War years, an estimated 36,000 nuclear warheads are still ready for use. Doctrines of nuclear deterrence are maintained. First use policies have not been revoked. Thousands of nuclear weapons, in particular those on strategic missiles, are on hair trigger alert. Research and development of new types of nuclear weapons continues. Huge funds are again made available for weapons-upgrading projects.

The status of nuclear weapons in Europe, as to location, numbers, types and assigned missions, is clouded in secrecy. This holds true not only for the two European nuclear-weapon states, but also for many non-nuclear-weapon states, and particularly for those allied with nuclear-weapon powers.

There are unconfirmed but also uncontested reports that nuclear weapons are still held in readiness, or are stored on the territories of European non-nuclear-weapon states. Information about nuclear weapons on board ships entering territorial waters and harbours of non-nuclear-weapon states, or on planes landing in or flying over such states, is not made available. There are reports of arrangements under which airplanes or missiles of non-nuclear-weapon states would deliver nuclear weapons of their allies to targets if a military conflict should engulf Europe.

These uncertainties as to the status of nuclear weapons in Europe are a dangerous, destabilising factor for the security situation of the continent. Areas suspected of containing nuclear weapons would become targets for conventional or nuclear attack in the opening phase of a conflict. The logical remedy against such dangers is to make as much of Europe as possible free of nuclear weapons. Nuclear-weapon-free areas must be established by agreements under international law and guaranteed by suitable verification measures.

Most of the measures now proposed to advance nuclear arms limitation and nuclear disarmament have to be achieved through agreements between the nuclear-weapon states. Non-nuclear-weapon states can speak up for such solutions, as they have done frequently, in particular in the form of resolutions adopted by the UN General Assembly. But they have little influence on the negotiation process leading to such agreements. In the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones the role of non-nuclear-weapon states can be quite different, in particular when the states of a continent or a region act together. Their concepts and initiatives are decisive for establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones.

Agreements to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones have been reached for

Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco), the South Pacific (Treaty of Rarotonga), Africa (Treaty of Pelindaba) and for South-East Asia (Treaty of Bangkok). (The ratification process for some of these treaties has not been completed.) On the basis of provisions of the Antarctic Treaty, this continent is nuclear-weapon-free. An agreement for Central Asia is being negotiated. The situation in Europe is more complicated because of the presence of nuclear-weapon states. But since large parts of Europe are now *de facto* free of nuclear weapons, binding agreements for establishing nuclear-weapon-free areas are a realistic goal.

Elements of the Campaign

In the opening phase of the Campaign, efforts should be made to involve many organizations and to discuss the possibility for coordinated activities in various countries.

Statements and plans of activities should be drawn up by participating organizations or by coordinating national groups. Such statements could include:

- Describing the threat due to nuclear weapons in the specific situation of the country or region concerned: Deployment or storage of nuclear weapons in the country or nearby. Nuclear weapons on ships and aircraft entering the territory, territorial waters and air space of the country. Arrangements for the involvement of armed forces of the country in operations deploying nuclear weapons.
- Demands to be presented to the government and to parliament for steps towards establishing nuclear-weapon-free areas in Europe. Some steps that could be called for are outlined below (Addendum 1). A special effort should be made to address parliamentarians who will participate in the annual session of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe Parliamentary Assembly, to meet in Paris from 6 to 10 July 2001.

Activities to obtain support from organizations and personalities for the demands to be presented to the government and to parliament.

A suitable reference point for approaching governments and parliaments would be the Final Document of the 2000 NPT Review Conference (NPT... Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons) adopted on 19 May 2000 in New York. Some important passages from this Document are quoted below (Addendum 2). It could be pointed out that, one year after the adoption of this Document, it is time to evaluate progress achieved and to discuss further steps to be taken.

Reference to the Final Document of the 2000 NPT Review Conference also provides a point of departure for stressing the global nature of the nuclear threat, and taking up with governments the important question: What steps leading to the start of negotiations for a nuclear weapons convention (i.e. an agreement on the complete ban and the step-by-step destruction of all nuclear weapons worldwide) have been or should now be taken?

Each participating organization should inform all others about its statements and plans, about its discussions with ministers and members of parliaments, their reactions in conversation or in writing to statements sent to them, as well as about media reporting on the Campaign in their country. The core group for the

Campaign will arrange a rapid international information exchange. The possibility of international press releases and of international press conferences will be considered later.

As the Campaign develops, plans will be made for presenting the demands of the Campaign to the OSCE, i.e. its Chairperson-in-Office (in 2001: The Foreign Minister of Romania) and its General Secretary, and to the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. As mentioned earlier, the annual session of this Assembly will take place from 6 to 10 July 2001 in Paris. An international delegation representing the Campaign could apply to meet the President of the Assembly before that date, e.g. at preparatory meetings in Vienna, or as the Assembly convenes in Paris.

An international summary report on the Campaign is envisaged, based on the information made available by the participating organizations.

Addendum 1: Steps to establish nuclear-weapon-free areas in Europe

Several approaches for creating a nuclear-weapon-free area in Europe have been under discussion and should be considered in formulating the demands of the Campaign:

- Proposals for establishing a nuclear-weapon-free corridor running North-South in Europe, preferably with the whole territory of many countries included in this corridor, have been put forward for several decades. A treaty establishing such a nuclear-weapon-free corridor could be modelled after the treaties by which nuclear-weapon-free zones were set up in other parts of the world. An important element of such treaties should definitely be included: By protocols attached to the treaty, the nuclear-weapon states should declare that they will respect the nuclear-weapon-free status of the territory forming the zone.

Reviewing earlier proposals for such a corridor, the initiatives of Adam Rapacki, Foreign Minister of Poland in the 1960s, of the International Consultative Commission set up by the Prime Minister of Sweden, Olof Palme, in the 1980s, as well as the related proposals for a zone encompassing the Nordic countries should be recalled.

In renewing efforts for establishing such a corridor, the proponents should define the geographical extent of the corridor, taking into consideration the present political and military situation. It is evident that a Campaign for a nuclear-weapon-free corridor would focus on the countries to be part of the corridor. In other parts of Europe, governments and parliaments may take the position that the issue is not of great concern to their country.

- Another approach would be to campaign for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone which encompasses all countries of Europe wishing to be nuclear-weapon-free under international law. All countries now *de facto* nuclear-weapon-free, or with little involvement in nuclear-weapon operations, would be logical candidates for joining such a zone. A draft of a treaty establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone of this kind was formulated in the NGO community and is available from the organizations of the core group. In this draft, it is suggested that such a treaty would enter into force upon ratification by 10 or 12 European states. Campaigning for such a treaty would

allow the issue of a nuclear-weapon-free status in all parts of Europe to be raised on the basis of the same project. The goal would be to achieve a guaranteed nuclear-weapon-free status without restriction to a certain geographical location.

- There is also the possibility of countries achieving a nuclear-weapon-free status through unilateral declarations which ban nuclear weapons from the territory of the country wishing to adopt such a status. A constitutional law adopted by the Parliament of Austria in July 1999 can serve as an example. Paragraph 1 of this law decrees: ‘Nuclear weapons must not be produced, stored, transported, tested or used in Austria’. This law remains to be notified to the international community by a suitable procedure. Reference can also be made to the declaration of Mongolia, banning nuclear weapons from the territory of that country. This declaration has been internationally notified and has been welcomed in the Final Document of the 2000 NPT Review Conference and in a resolution of the UN General Assembly (A/Res/55/33 S).
- Ideas for other steps leading to the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free status for major parts of Europe should be developed, e.g. on the way in which nuclear-weapon states should contribute to this process even if they do not abandon as yet the possession of nuclear weapons.

Addendum 2: Excerpts from the Final Document of the 2000 NPT Review Conference

(New York, 24 April – 19 May 2000)

Full text of the Document – see <http://www.un.org/Depts/dda/WMD/finaldoc.html>

With reference to **nuclear disarmament** – from the section of the Document entitled

‘Article VI and eighth to twelfth preambular paragraphs’:

para. 15: The Conference agrees on the following practical steps for the systematic and progressive efforts to implement article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and paragraphs 3 and 4(c) of the 1995 Decision on ‘Principles and Objectives for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament’: ...

3. The necessity of negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament on a non-discriminatory, multilateral and internationally and effectively verifiable treaty banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. ...
4. The necessity of establishing in the Conference on Disarmament an appropriate subsidiary body with a mandate to deal with nuclear disarmament, ...
6. An unequivocal undertaking by the nuclear-weapon States to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals leading to nuclear disarmament, to which all State parties are committed under article VI. ...
9. ... The engagement as soon as appropriate of all the nuclear-weapon States in the process leading to the total elimination of their nuclear weapons....

13. The further development of the verification capabilities that will be required to provide assurance of compliance with nuclear disarmament agreements for the achievement and maintenance of a nuclear-weapon-free world.

With reference to **nuclear-weapon-free zones** – from the section of the Document entitled

‘Article VII and the security of non-nuclear-weapon States’:

para. 6: The Conference welcomes and supports the steps taken to conclude further nuclear-weapon-free-zone treaties since 1995, and reaffirms the conviction that the establishment of internationally recognized nuclear-weapon-free zones on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at among the States of the region concerned enhances global and regional peace and security, strengthens the nuclear non-proliferation regime and contributes towards realizing the objectives of nuclear disarmament.

para. 7: The Conference supports proposals for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones where they do not yet exist, such as in the Middle East and South Asia...

para. 10: The Conference recognizes the continuing contribution that the Antarctic Treaty and the treaties of Tlatelolco, Rarotonga, Bangkok and Pelindaba are making towards the achievement of nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament objectives, ...

para. 15: The Conference ... believes that the international community should continue to promote the establishment of new nuclear-weapon-free zones in accordance with the relevant guidelines of the United Nations Disarmament Commission, ...

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SPOKESMAN PUBLISHING

Spokesman Books, the imprint of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, has re-published two collections of short stories by Russell. They are *Satan in the Suburbs* and *Nightmares of Eminent Persons*. During 2000, Spokesman also brought out a new edition of Russell's first book, *German Social Democracy*, which first appeared in 1896. Details of these and other titles can be found on the web site (www.spokesmanbooks.com).

Spokesman Books has also announced a second series of pamphlets under the Socialist Renewal rubric. The first of these, *Welfare Reform: Means-tested versus Universal Benefits* by John Grieve Smith, was published at the beginning of 2001. Further titles in the pipeline will challenge the privatisation of air traffic control and make the case for returning the railways to public ownership; address the crisis in education with the privatisation of local education authorities and business influence on the curriculum; expose the ruination of much of higher education and set out an alternative vision for universities and colleges; and examine the continuing crisis in the health service. We shall also be publishing an analysis of the New Labour Government's economic policy, and initiating a discussion of their foreign and security policies.

A subscription to the new series of Socialist Renewal pamphlets costs £15 for ten pamphlets from Russell House, Bulwell Lane, Nottingham, NG6 0BT, England.

PAT POTTLE

Pat Pottle, who died in September 2000, played an active role in establishing the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in the early 1960s, after his engagement with the Committee of 100.

In April 1963, he was arrested during the Peace March from Marathon to Athens. Subsequently, the Greek Parliamentarian, Lambrakis, who led the March, was murdered. Pottle persuaded Russell and others to intervene to try to save him, while he hovered between life and death.

Pat Pottle will be remembered for his role in the springing of George Blake from Wormwood Scrubs. Blake had been sentenced to a forty-two year stretch, for espionage, which judgement Pottle found exceptionally vindictive. He gave his account of these events in *The Blake Escape*, published in 1989. Two years later, he was brought before the Old Bailey, where the jury decided to acquit him after an impassioned address by Pottle himself.

The Russell Foundation records its sadness at the loss of one of its founder members, who always displayed a keen sense of justice, and was unrelenting in his commitment to peace and nuclear disarmament.