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CENSORED IRAQI DECLARATION

As we reported in the last Peace Dossier, the overwhelmingly larger part of Iraq's report on weapons of mass destruction was withheld from the elected members of the United Nations Security Council. The Russell Foundation is still seeking an explanation of how this censorship came about, who did it, and on what mandate. The following letters and newspaper report take the story further.

The Times, February 13, 2003*Weapons declaration**From Professor Ken Coates*

Sir, Jack Straw claims that Iraq's declaration about its weapons of mass destruction, submitted to the United Nations in December, 'was neither full, accurate, nor complete' (Comment, February 5).

The elected members of the United Nations Security Council will have to take Mr Straw's word for it, since we understand that more than 8,000 of the declaration's 11,800 pages were omitted when it was circulated to them.

The full dossier was given to the United Nations and transported to New York, where by some mechanism it came into the hands of the United States Administration, which promised to copy it for members of the Security Council. In the event, two thirds of the declaration were withheld from the ten non-permanent members. I wrote to these members asking whether British press reports on these matters were true (an inquiry to the office of the Secretary-General had produced no response).

The current President of the Security Council, Joschka Fischer, confirmed these facts. In a letter dated Monday, February 3, his office writes:

'The facts of the case as you present them are correct. In fact the Iraqi statement of around 12,000 pages of 8th December was given in full only to the five permanent members of the Security Council.'

Who authorised this substantial deletion?

Yours sincerely,

Ken Coates

Chairman, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation

The Times, February 18, 2003*From Mr Llew Smith, MP for Blaenau Gwent (Labour)*

Sir, Professor Ken Coates asks (letter, February 13th) who authorised the deletion of 8,000 pages of Iraq's original declaration to the United Nations last December, prior to its distribution to non-permanent UN Security Council members.

I asked the Foreign Secretary about this removal of information in a written question, to which I received the following reply from junior Foreign Office Minister, Denis MacShane:

The President of the UN Security Council decided that the Iraqi Declaration should first be given to [permanent] members of the Security Council with the expertise to assess the risks of proliferation... UNMOVIC and the IAEA will judge what material needs to be excised before it distributes the declaration to all Security Council members (Hansard, December 17, 2002, col.764W).

While I can accept the sensitivity of some of the details in the Iraqi declaration, which could contain information on how to make certain weapons of mass destruction, I do not accept that the diplomatic delegations of member states of the United Nations Security Council would be unable to keep confidential information that should remain so.

I prefer the suggestion made at the time (report, December 12) that the Iraqi declaration named US and UK suppliers to Iraq's military programme that our Governments did not want made public, as it would show direct complicity in building up Saddam's weapons arsenal.

Yours sincerely,

Llew Smith

House of Commons, February 13.

The Times, February 26, 2003*Implications of weapons dossier cuts**From Professor Ken Coates*

Sir, In his response to my letter published on February 13, Llew Smith, MP (letter, February 18), throws a further interesting light on the suppression of two thirds of the Iraqi dossier on weapons of mass destruction which was submitted to the United Nations on December 7.

However, I have recently received more informative letters from the Swedish Foreign Secretary and from Hans von Sponeck, the former Assistant Secretary-General to the UN who resigned in protest at UN policy in 2000, who is glad that this matter has now emerged into the public domain.

On December 7 the presidency of the Security Council was held by Colombia. I understand that the United States deployed all the arts of persuasion to ensure that Colombia yielded up the Iraqi dossier on the implausible pretext that the

Americans had superior photocopying facilities to those which were available in the United Nations Secretariat. I still have not been able to elicit precise information about how the suppression of so much of the dossier was decided. But there is a more serious matter.

Both the British and Swedish Foreign Offices agree that the permanent members of the Security Council were involved in transferring to Unmovic and the IAEA the decision about what to excise. But the Swedish Foreign Minister registers the opinion that the Security Council cannot risk having an A team and a B team, one of which is informed, and the other not.

Certainly the permanent members have a special status in respect of voting, but they have no constitutionally valid special status in terms of access to information, or rights to withhold inconvenient information from their colleagues.

This raises a vital principle. As Hans von Sponeck writes in his letter to me:

It is not only a case of unacceptable differential treatment of permanent and non-permanent members of the UN Security Council, it is also a challenge to the neutrality of the UN Secretariat.

Yours sincerely,
Ken Coates

* * *

Revealed: 17 British firms armed Saddam with his weapons

Neil Mackay, Sunday Herald, 2/24/03

<http://www.sundayherald.com/31710>

Seventeen British companies who supplied Iraq with nuclear, biological, chemical, rocket and conventional weapons technology are to be investigated and could face prosecution following a Sunday Herald investigation.

One of the companies is International Military Services, a part of the Ministry of Defence, which sold rocket technology to Iraq. The companies were named by Iraq in a 12,000 page dossier submitted to the UN in December. The Security Council agreed to US requests to censor 8000 pages – including sections naming western businesses which aided Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programme.

The five permanent members of the security council – Britain, France, Russia, America and China – are named as allowing companies to sell weapons technology to Iraq.

The dossier claims 24 US firms sold Iraq weapons. Hewlett-Packard sold nuclear and rocket technology; Dupont sold nuclear technology, and Eastman Kodak sold rocket capabilities. The dossier also says some '50 subsidiaries of foreign enterprises conducted their arms business with Iraq from the US'...

TORTURE ON DIEGO GARCIA?

In our previous issue, we examined press reports about the interrogation and torture of a number of captives said to be members of Al Qaeda, or holding other allegiances. In particular, an article in the *Washington Post* (26.12.02) quite specifically alleged that the United States has 'rendered' captives for interrogation in a number of other countries in which the conventions about torture are said to be more laxly interpreted. Such countries include Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Yemen.

But the *Washington Post* also quite specifically alleged that unjustifiable interrogation techniques were being used at the US bases of Bagram in Afghanistan, and on the small island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. Diego Garcia has the status of a British Indian Ocean Territory. It is leased by the United States who use it as a strategic military base. There is no British Civilian Administration on Diego Garcia. The island usually has a small complement of less than 50 Royal Naval personnel under a Royal Navy Commander who also acts as the representative of the British Foreign Office.

When the allegations of torture on Diego Garcia were raised in the British House of Lords, on 8 January 2003, Baroness Amos, the Foreign Office Minister, denied them. She said 'The United States Government would need to ask for our permission to bring any suspects to Diego Garcia. It has not done so, and no suspected terrorists are being held on Diego Garcia... under current British Indian Ocean Territory law, there would be no authority for the detention of Al Qaeda suspects in the territory.'

A further enquiry elicited a response from Charles Hamilton of the Overseas Territories Department in the Foreign & Commonwealth Office who replied that: 'Under the various treaties governing the use of Diego Garcia by the US, they would have to ask for our permission before they could hold suspected terrorists there. As Baroness Amos said in the House of Lords on 8 January, they have not done so, and they have assured us that there is no truth in the press stories.'

In our last issue, we promised to look into this denial of torture on Diego Garcia. We sought a response from the *Washington Post* to Baroness Amos's original statement. Barton Gellman, one of the journalists responsible for the article of 26 December, informed us that he saw no reason to modify their story. He wrote:

'Our experience with spokesmen most likely mirrors yours: they persuade themselves sometimes that they avoid a lie (while appearing to call something true false) by using private definitions of ordinary language. The formulation of Baroness Amos might be consistent with a view that those being held are not suspected "terrorists" but perhaps "associates" of some organisation, or that being held aboard a ship is not "on" Diego Garcia. (I don't know if they're aboard ship or not.) Or again that those present are not "held" because they've voluntarily agreed to be questioned there in lieu of transfer to some place nastier.

A more complex statement – referring to a secret base for interrogation and torture

– might be denied with many things in mind. The spokesman might maintain an unspoken view that the methods of questioning don't count as torture, and therefore that the entire sentence is wrong because it uses "and" to link interrogation to torture. I don't know what was in the minds of your officials, but I do not exaggerate the way the game is now played in Washington.

What we have from our sources is that some al Qaeda suspects are indeed being held and questioned at Diego Garcia. The British government could go some way to clearing this up by permitting you or us to pay an unrestricted visit. If I had anything else I could tell you I would publish it, and I haven't.

SPYING ON THE UNITED NATIONS – READ ALL ABOUT IT?

Norman Solomon examines the suppression of a crucial story by the media in the United States.

Three days after a British newspaper revealed a memo about the United States spying on United Nations Security Council delegations, I asked Daniel Ellsberg to assess the importance of the story. 'This leak,' he replied, 'is more timely and potentially more important than the Pentagon Papers.'

The key word is 'timely.' Publication of the secret Pentagon Papers in 1971, made possible by Ellsberg's heroic decision to leak those documents, came after the Vietnam War had already been under way for many years. But with all-out war on Iraq still in the future, the leak about spying at the United Nations could erode the Bush administration's already slim chances of getting a war resolution through the Security Council.

'As part of its battle to win votes in favour of war against Iraq,' the London-based *Observer* reported on March 2 that the United States government developed an 'aggressive surveillance operation, which involves interception of the home and office telephones and the e-mails of United Nations delegates.' The smoking gun was 'a memorandum written by a top official at the National Security Agency – the U.S. body which intercepts communications around the world – and circulated to both senior agents in his organisation and to a friendly foreign intelligence agency.'

The Observer added: 'The leaked memorandum makes clear that the target of the heightened surveillance efforts are the delegations from Angola, Cameroon, Chile, Mexico, Guinea and Pakistan at the UN headquarters in New York – the so-called 'Middle Six' delegations whose votes are being fought over by the pro-war party, led by the US and Britain, and the party arguing for more time for UN inspections, led by France, China and Russia.'

The National Security Agency memo, dated January 31, outlines the wide scope of the surveillance activities, seeking any information useful to push a war resolution through the Security Council – 'the whole gamut of information that could give US policymakers an edge in obtaining results favourable to US goals or to head off surprises.'

Three days after the memo came to light, *The Times* of London printed an article noting that the Bush administration ‘finds itself isolated’ in its zeal for war on Iraq. ‘In the most recent setback,’ the newspaper reported, ‘a memorandum by the US National Security Agency, leaked to *The Observer*, revealed that American spies were ordered to eavesdrop on the conversations of the six undecided countries on the United Nations Security Council.’

The London *Times* article called it an ‘embarrassing disclosure.’ And the embarrassment was nearly world-wide. From Russia to France to Chile to Japan to Australia, the story was big mainstream news. But not in the United States.

Several days after the ‘embarrassing disclosure,’ not a word about it had appeared in America’s supposed paper of record. *The New York Times* – the single most influential media outlet in the United States – still had not printed anything about the story. How could that be?

‘Well, it’s not that we haven’t been interested,’ *New York Times* deputy foreign editor Alison Smale said on the evening of March 5, nearly 96 hours after *The Observer* broke the story. ‘We could get no confirmation or comment’ on the memo from US officials.

The New York Times opted not to relay *The Observer*’s account, Smale told me. ‘We would normally expect to do our own intelligence reporting.’ She added: ‘We are still definitely looking into it. It’s not that we’re not.’

Belated coverage would be better than none at all. But readers should be suspicious of the failure of *The New York Times* to cover this story during the crucial first days after it broke. At some moments in history, when war and peace hang in the balance, journalism delayed is journalism denied.

Overall, the sparse US coverage that did take place seemed eager to downplay the significance of *The Observer*’s revelations. On March 4, the *Washington Post* ran a back-page 514-word article headlined ‘Spying Report No Shock to UN,’ while the *Los Angeles Times* published a longer piece that began by emphasising that US spy activities at the United Nations are ‘long-standing.’

The US media treatment has contrasted sharply with coverage on other continents. ‘While some have taken a ho-hum attitude in the US, many around the world are furious,’ says Ed Vulliamy, one of *The Observer* reporters who wrote the March 2 article. ‘Still, almost all governments are extremely reluctant to speak up against the espionage. This further illustrates their vulnerability to the US government.’

To Daniel Ellsberg, the leaking of the National Security Agency memo was a hopeful sign. ‘Truth-telling like this can stop a war,’ he said. Time is short for insiders at intelligence agencies ‘to tell the truth and save many many lives.’ But major news outlets must stop dodging the information that emerges.

Norman Solomon is co-author of the new book ‘*Target Iraq: What the News Media Didn’t Tell You*,’ published by Context Books (www.contextbooks.com/newF.html).

‘SHOCK AND AWE’ WAR ON IRAQ

Vladimir Slipchenko, military analyst, doctor of military sciences, professor, and a major general in the reserves, is a leading Russian specialist on future wars. His predictions of the course of United States military operations in Iraq (1991, 1996, and 1998), Yugoslavia (1999), and Afghanistan (2001) coincided closely with what subsequently happened. Here, he predicts the course and outcome of the next United States war against Iraq, which the American military themselves have already dubbed Operation ‘Shock and Awe.’ Vladimir Slipchenko is interviewed by Aleksandr Khokhlov of Rossiyskaya Gazeta.

Vladimir Ivanovich, so much has already been said about the reasons and causes of the new war in Iraq, but I cannot get rid of the feeling that they are either talking about something entirely different, or not telling the full story?

The main purpose of the war is indeed being left out of the picture and nobody is saying anything about it. I see the main purpose of the war as being the large-scale real-life testing by the United States of sophisticated models of precision weapons. That is the objective that they place first. All the other aims are either incidental, or outright disinformation.

For more than ten years now, the United States has conducted exclusively no-contact wars. In May 2001, George Bush Junior, delivering his first presidential speech to students at the Naval Academy in Annapolis, spoke of the need for accelerated preparation of the United States Armed Forces for future wars. He emphasised that they should be high-tech Armed Forces capable of conducting hostilities throughout the world by the no-contact method. This task is now being carried out very consistently.

It should be observed that the Pentagon buys from the military-industrial complex only those weapons that have been tested in conditions of real warfare and received a certificate of quality on the battlefield. After a series of live experiments – the wars in Iraq, Yugoslavia, and Afghanistan – many corporations in the United States military-industrial complex have been granted the right to sell their precision weapons to the Pentagon. They include Lockheed Martin, General Electric, and Loral. But many other well-known companies are as yet without orders from the military department. The bottom line is \$50-60 billion a year. Who would want to miss out on that kind of money? But the present suppliers of precision weapons to the Pentagon are also constantly developing new types of arms and they must also be tested. The United States military-industrial complex demands test-bed wars from its country’s political leadership. And it gets them. And that is the main aim of the new war in Iraq.

How will this war differ from the no-contact wars previously waged by the United States?

First, in terms of its political objectives. For the first time since 1991, the United States sets the goal of changing the political system in the enemy state and removing or physically eliminating the country's leadership. They have not previously succeeded in this. Remember, the Americans did not previously try to remove Saddam Hussein from politics, and even Milosevic was not removed from the post of Yugoslav leader by military means. The United States Armed Forces carried out their required tests of new weapons and then packed up their guns and went home. Now they face a very difficult mission. Therefore, second, because of the change of objective the strategy of the war also changes radically. For the first time the war aims mean that the United States must without fail achieve total victory. To that end it is necessary to achieve three objectives: rout the enemy's armed forces, destroy his economy, and change the political system.

The Iraqi army will be subjected to very powerful blows. It will be physically annihilated. In order to impose a new puppet government in the country (and I am sure the Americans have already formed that government) and to give that government the opportunity to get on with its work, the United States will be forced actually to occupy Iraq. The occupation of territory within which seats of organised resistance could persist would lead to large losses among US Army personnel. Guerrillas, and in the context of the Arab world also *shahid* martyrs wearing explosive belts – naturally the Americans do not need this. Therefore they will totally annihilate the Iraqi army. Practically all Iraq servicemen will die. There will be terrible carnage.

Does Iraq have any chance of offering resistance to the United States?

In Iraq we will once again see a situation where two generations of warfare meet. Iraq is strong and prepared for a war of the last generation – on land and for land, for every target. But 600,000 soldiers, 220 military aircraft, something like 2,200 tanks, 1,900 artillery guns, around 500 multiple rocket launchers, 6 SCUD missile launchers, 110 surface-to-air missile systems, and 700 anti-aircraft installations will prove useless when they meet the aggressor. In fact, there will not be a meeting on the battlefield as such. The Americans, waging a no-contact war, will methodically use precision missile strikes to destroy all the key facilities of Iraq's state and military infrastructure, and will then wipe out enemy manpower with missile and bombing raids.

How will the Americans begin hostilities?

First of all there will be precision strikes against bunkers and command posts where Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi leaders might be hiding, against Army headquarters and troop positions, and against components of the air defence system. Sophisticated ground-penetrating vacuum-type precision munitions will be used to destroy buried targets. Even if one of these weapons explodes not exactly inside, say, an underground bunker, in any case the exits from the shelter will be blocked. The bunker will become a mass grave for everyone who is

unfortunate enough to be in it.

To destroy armoured equipment, in the very first days the Americans will use cluster aviation bombs with self-guided munitions. The 'mother'-cluster bomb gives 'birth' to several tens or hundreds of 'baby' bombs, each of which independently chooses its own target to destroy on the ground. I am confident that in the very first hours of the war the United States will also use new pulse bombs. They are also called microwave bombs. The principle on which these weapons operate is as follows: there is an instantaneous discharge of electromagnetic radiation of the order of two megawatts. At a distance of 2-2.5 kilometres from the epicentre of the explosion the 'microwaves' instantly put out of action all radio-electronic systems, communications and radar systems, all computers, radio receivers, and even hearing aids and heart pacemakers. All these things are destroyed by the meltdown method. Just imagine, a person's heart explodes!

As a result of the use of these weapons, Iraqi systems for command and control of the state and troops will be destroyed practically instantaneously.

What other new types of arms could be tested?

Since this war will be experimental for the United States, several new types of precision cruise missiles will be tested with a view to obtaining quality certificates. I believe attention will be devoted first and foremost to missile launches from submarines. The Americans are planning to make their submarine fleet the main launch-pad. The Pentagon will continue to perfect the mechanism for targeting precision weapons. In 2000, with the help of the space shuttle *Endeavour*, the United States scanned around 80 per cent of the surface of the Earth and created an electronic map of the planet in three-dimensional co-ordinates. The level of detail of objects on this map is down to the size of a window. That is to say, you could train a lens – installed in a military satellite – first on Baghdad, then on the city centre, then on Saddam's palace, and on his bedroom window. You give the command – and in a few minutes' time a targeted cruise missile flies into that window.

How long will this war go on?

I predict that Operation Shock And Awe will last not more than six weeks. The first period of the war – the 'shock' – will last around 30 days. Some 400-500 sea and air-based precision cruise missiles will be launched against targets in Iraq every 24 hours. During that month Iraq's troops and its economic potential will be annihilated. Anything that survives for any reason will be guaranteed destruction in the next two weeks. In the second stage – 'awe' – the Americans will conduct a piloted version of a total clean-up of the territory. To this end the United States will use B-52 and B-2 Stealth bombers. In four hours of flight one Stealth is capable of detecting and destroying as many as 200 stationary or moving targets on the ground. The United States intends to use at least 16 B-2 bombers. The Stealths will be in the air constantly, one replacing the other.

Will the Iraqi air defence system be able to counter the American planes and cruise missiles?

Iraq already has no air defence facilities in the north and south of the country – United States aviation is constantly bombing these areas. What remains in the centre of the country will be destroyed in the first 10 minutes of the war. Iraq's anti-aircraft system is based on the classical active radar detection system: emit – detect – illuminate – destroy. The Americans will exploit this for their own purposes. As soon as an Iraqi radar reveals itself by emitting electromagnetic energy, a precision cruise missile will be dispatched against the 'revealed' air defence facility using this same beam. Iraq has no chance of countering this.

How much will this war cost?

According to my estimates, \$80 billion. But the total sum spent could rise to 100 billion. We will never know the exact figure of expenditure, if only because the war will be partly funded by private companies offering the Pentagon their experimental models of precision weapons for free in the hope of future dividends. The programme for rearming the US Armed Forces is about \$600 billion. Therefore, the military-industrial complex need not stint. It can give weapons to the Army for free.

What human losses could Iraq suffer?

Very considerable ones. Since the Americans are planning to physically annihilate the Iraqi army, I reckon that at least 500,000 people will be killed. This will be a very bloody war.

What will come after the war?

The Americans will have to occupy Iraq. The occupation corps will apparently consist of four mechanised and armoured divisions, one parachute division, and one division of the British Armed Forces. All these troops will not fight. There will be no ground operations in Iraq! The US Army will enter a burning desert – the Iraqis will certainly set fire to the oilfields – without a single shot being fired. There will simply be nobody to shoot at them.

How long will the direct occupation last? Will the Americans stay in Iraq forever?

They will certainly leave Iraq. There is no point in their staying there. The occupation will last one and a half, two, or at the most three years and will cost American taxpayers a further \$80-100 billion to maintain the troops in Iraq. Then the United States may enlist in an operation that they will undoubtedly call 'peacekeeping' the Poles, Czechs, and other 'new recruits' to NATO, the Estonians, but they themselves will leave. The 'peacekeepers' will stay a further

one to one and a half years in Iraq.

During this time major investments will be made in the country with a regime friendly to the United States, and in two years' time Iraq's oil sector will reach a level of oil extraction of 2-2.4 million barrels a day. In five years they will be extracting up to 5 million barrels of oil a day. The world oil price will fall to \$12-15 a barrel. The currently stagnant United States economy will soar.

And what will happen to Russia's economy, which is currently supported exclusively by 'petrodollars'?

I have no answer to that question. I am an expert in wars.

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AGAINST PRE-EMPTION

The International Association of Lawyers against Nuclear Arms issued their international appeal in February 2003 (see www.ialana.org).

We the undersigned lawyers and jurists from legal traditions around the world are extremely concerned about conflicts in the Middle East regarding the suspected proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the possibility that force may be used in response to this situation.

The development of weapons of mass destruction anywhere in the world is contrary to universal norms against the acquisition, possession and threat or use of such weapons and must be addressed. However, the 'preventive' use of force currently being considered against Iraq is both illegal and unnecessary and should not be authorised by the United Nations or undertaken by any State.

General principles of international law hold that:

- peaceful resolution of conflicts between States is required,
- the use of force is only permissible in the case of an armed attack or imminent attack or under UN authorisation when a threat to the peace has been declared by the Security Council and non-military measures have been determined to be inadequate,
- enforcement of international law must be consistently applied to all States

In further enunciating and applying these principles, we believe that the use of force against Iraq would be illegal for the following reasons:

Peaceful resolution of conflicts required

i. The United Nations Charter and customary international law require States to seek peaceful resolutions to their disputes. Article 33 of the Charter states that 'The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the

maintenance of international peace and security, shall first of all seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements or other peaceful means of their own choice.’

ii. Under Article 51 of the Charter, States are only permitted to threaten or use force ‘if an armed attack occurs’ and only ‘until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.’

iii. In the case of an act of aggression or a threat to the peace, the United Nations Security Council is also required under the Charter (Article 41) to firstly employ ‘measures not involving the use of armed force.’ Only when such measures ‘would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate’ (Article 42) can the Security Council authorise the use of force.

No act of aggression or evidence of imminent threat of such act

iv. In 1991 the Security Council responded to an actual invasion of Kuwait by Iraq by authorising all means necessary to restore the peace. In the current case, however, there has been no indication by Iraq that it intends to attack another country and no evidence of military preparations for any such attack. In addition, it is generally recognized that Iraq does not have the military capability to attack the key countries in dispute, i.e. the United States and the United Kingdom.

No precedent for preventive use of force

v. There is no precedent in international law for use of force as a preventive measure when there has been no actual or imminent attack by the offending State. There is law indicating that preventive use of force is illegal. The International Military Tribunal sitting at Nuremberg rejected Germany’s argument that they were compelled to attack Norway in order to prevent an Allied invasion (6 F.R.D. 69, 100-101, 1946).

vi. The Security Council has never authorised force based on a potential, non-imminent threat of violence. All past authorisations have been in response to actual invasion, large scale violence or humanitarian emergency.

vii. If the Security Council, for the first time, were to authorise preventive war, it would undermine the UN Charter’s restraints on the use of force and provide a dangerous precedent for States to consider the ‘preventive’ use of force in numerous situations, making war once again a tool of international politics rather than an anachronistic and prohibited action. If the use of force takes place outside the framework of international law and the UN Charter, the structure and authority of international law and the UN Charter, which have taken generations and immense human sacrifice to establish, would be severely undermined into the foreseeable future.

Consistency under international law must be maintained

viii. International law must be consistently applied in order to maintain the respect of the international community as law and not the rejection of it as a tool of the powerful to subjugate the weak.

ix. Security Council Resolution 687, setting forth the terms of the ceasefire

that ended the Gulf War, acknowledges that the elimination of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction is not an end in itself but 'represents steps towards the goal of establishing in the Middle East a zone free from weapons of mass destruction.'

x. The International Court of Justice has unanimously determined that there is an obligation on all States to 'pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control.' (*Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons, ICJ 1996*). Meaningful steps need to be taken by all States to this end, and States wishing to enforce compliance with international law must themselves comply with this requirement.

xi. Action to ensure the elimination of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction should be done in conjunction with similar actions to ensure elimination of other weapons of mass destruction in the region – including Israel's nuclear arsenal – and in the world – including the nuclear weapons of China, France, India, Pakistan, Russia, United Kingdom and the United States.

Alternative mechanisms are available to address concerns

xii. The UN Security Council has established a number of mechanisms to address the concerns regarding Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. These include diplomatic pressure, negotiations, sanctions on certain goods with military application, destruction of stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction and inspections of facilities with capabilities to assist in production of weapons of mass destruction. Evidence to date is that these mechanisms are not perfect, but are working effectively enough to have led to the destruction and curtailment of most of the Iraqi weapons of mass destruction capability.

xiii. Mechanisms are available to address charges against Iraq and the Iraqi leadership of serious human rights violations, war crimes, crimes against peace and crimes against humanity. These include domestic courts utilising universal jurisdiction, the establishment by the Security Council of an ad hoc international criminal tribunal, use of the International Criminal Court for any crimes committed after July 2002, and the International Court of Justice.

The use of force by powerful nations in disregard of the principles of international law would threaten the fabric of international law giving rise to the potential for further violations and an increasing cycle of violence and anarchy.

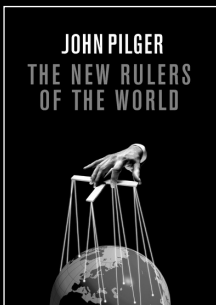
We call on the United Nations and all States to continue to pursue a path of adherence to international law and in pursuit of a peaceful resolution to the threats arising from weapons of mass destruction and other threats to the peace.

DUNCAN SMITH

We have been saddened to notice the death of Duncan Smith, not IDS, but the author of one of the latest 'Socialist Renewal' pamphlets, which he entitled

Physician, Heal Thyself (2002). The pamphlet was an updating of proposals which he had made when he was Chief Training Officer for the NHS to establish a National Health Service Staff College. Now that the NHS has a University and a Vice-Chancellor, it is to be hoped that Duncan Smith's enthusiasm for workers' control (he called it 'participation'), which he had gained over many years as the Training Officer for the National Coal Board, will take a central place in the studies at this new university. His best known work was *In Search of Social Justice* (1995) which introduced readers to the intellectual and ethical roots of the New Economic Foundation's 'philosophy based on justice, sustainability, community and democracy'.

GIVE PEACE A CHANCE

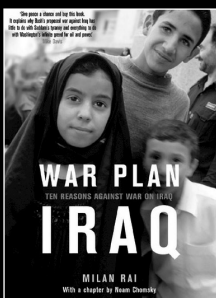


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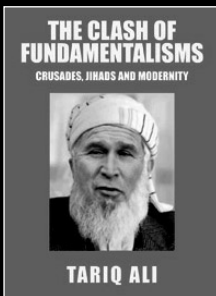
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