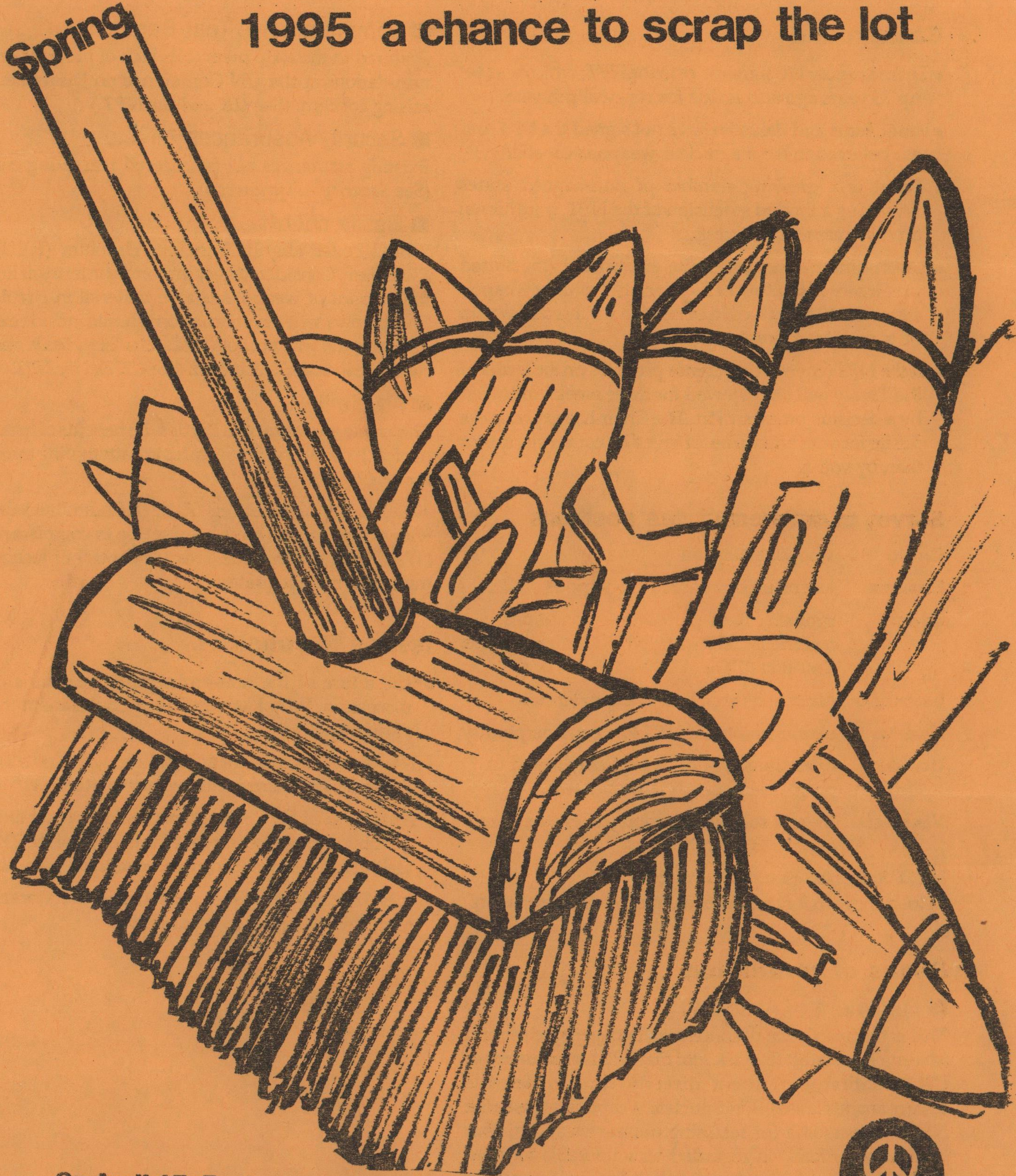


NOTTINGHAM CND

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Spring

1995 a chance to scrap the lot



On April 17, Easter Monday, the Non-Proliferation Treaty Conference will begin in New York. It is there that the world's choice - nuclear-free or nuclear free-for-all is to be discussed.



NPT Issues

The nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty review and renewal conference will take place at the UN in New York April 17 to May 12 (renewal decision may be deferred or conference extended).

Background

- There are now 170 signatories to the NPT, which was set up 25 years ago and is due for renewal this year.
- Israel, India and Pakistan have not signed the NPT and are believed to have a nuclear weapons capability.
- There is a growing number of non-aligned states favouring a limited extension of the NPT, conditional on disarmament progress.
- Unconditional and indefinite extension is the stated preference of four out of five declared nuclear weapon states. 85-90 votes would be needed for this decision to be carried by a simple majority.
- At the NPT renewal conference progress on the terms of the Treaty will be reviewed for three weeks, followed by a decision on extension. The Chair has expressed a desire for a decision to be achieved by consensus rather than by voting.

Survey of different states' positions

- CHINA: smooth extension
- ECUADOR: extension by consecutive periods
- EGYPT: probably fixed period(s) — conditions include Israel joining NPT, Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB)
- INDONESIA: conditions attached to any extension
- NIGERIA: inappropriate for NPT to enjoy a perpetuity
- UGANDA: extensions should be explicitly linked to progress in nuclear disarmament
- VENEZUELA: 25-year rolling extension (renew the Treaty exactly as it is)
- UK, US, RUSSIA, FRANCE, NATO, EU:
all lobbying hard for unconditional and indefinite extension.

Bones of contention

■ Fulfilment of Article VI

This is the main bone of contention between nuclear and non-nuclear states. (See *UK and the NPT* for summary of UK situation — Trident directly contravenes the disarmament clause). Some nuclear weapon states see the NPT as a mandate for retaining nuclear weapons. This 'nuclear apartheid' is regarded as intolerable by non-nuclear states, which point out that Article VI commits the nuclear weapon states to complete nuclear disarmament.

■ Comprehensive Test Ban

Featured in the NPT preamble, lack of progress on CTB negotiations at the UN Conference on Disarmament is raising concern. (See *UK and the NPT*.)

■ Security Assurances

Existing assurances not considered reassuring enough! (See *Security Assurances*.)

■ Fissile cut-off

Would cover Highly Enriched Uranium (HEU) and Plutonium. Considered very important in terms of limiting the amount of weapons-usable material in circulation. Conflict over whether discussions should include existing stockpiles and whether both civil and military fissile materials should be included in a cut-off. (See *UK and the NPT*.)

■ Article IV

The article guarantees all Parties the benefits of 'peaceful' nuclear technology. Some states are attempting to use this for leverage.

Additional structures (eg. Zanger Committee) dealing with export control have been set up to complement the NPT, indicating that the Treaty's control of technology transfer is not adequate.

Issues to consider

- The future of the non-proliferation regime is under discussion. Why has there been no debate in the UK Parliament?
- Why is the Government going ahead with Trident when the system is in direct contravention of Article VI?
- What form of NPT extension would be most likely to guarantee implementation of the terms of the Treaty? (deliver a nuclear test ban, real nuclear disarmament etc.)
- Does Article IV guarantee potential proliferators access to the technology they most desire?

Security Assurances

Existing security assurances given to non-nuclear states by nuclear weapon states are all different, are of uncertain legal status and allow too many exceptions.

The UK statement

Sir Derick Ashe (head of the UK delegation) made the following Negative Security Assurance to the UN First Special Session on Disarmament on 28 June 1978 (during the time of the Callaghan government):

In the draft Programme of Action which my Government co-sponsored on 1 February, we included to call on nuclear weapon States to give appropriate assurances to increase the confidence of non-nuclear weapon States in their security from nuclear attack...

...The United Kingdom is now ready formally to give such an assurance. I accordingly give the following assurance on behalf of my Government to non-nuclear weapon States which are parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty or other internationally binding commitments not to manufacture or acquire nuclear explosive devices: Britain undertakes not to use nuclear weapons against such States except in the case of an attack on the United Kingdom, its dependent territories, its armed forces or its Allies by such a State in association or alliance with a nuclear weapon State.

[The US negative security assurance is similar; the Soviet (now Russian) statement permits slightly fewer exceptions.]

How comprehensive is that statement?

Not very. The following exceptions are allowed for:

- The UK is permitted to use nuclear weapons on:
 - any state which has not joined the NPT (or an analogous regional treaty)
 - any state which both
 - (i) has some form of alliance with Russia or China (or India, Pakistan or Israel?) and
 - (ii) finds itself in conflict with troops from a NATO country.
- The UK is permitted to threaten the use of nuclear weapons against anyone.
- The Government's commitment to even these assurances is not absolutely solid: in an important speech on 16 November 1993, Malcolm Rifkind hinted strongly that states with chemical or biological weapons may also in future be excluded from our negative security assurance.

How can this statement be improved?

Here is a possible five-step programme which could be entered into immediately and completed quickly:

- 1 Undertake not to use nuclear weapons under any circumstances against non-nuclear NPT signatories.
- 2 Extend this commitment to all other states which have no intention of obtaining nuclear weapons, or for whom this is a clear impossibility.
- 3 Undertake not to target nuclear weapons against states against which we have guaranteed not to use them.
- 4 Declare to all other states (ie. declared, undeclared and potential nuclear states) that our nuclear weapons exist solely to deter nuclear attack and amend our targeting strategies accordingly.
- 5 Join with the other four official nuclear states and issue a declaration that nuclear weapons will not be used except in response to nuclear attack — a No First Use treaty.

These five steps, together with other initiatives taking place simultaneously (disarmament, Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, building of regional Nuclear-Free Zones etc.), would lead to an international climate in which a Treaty to eliminate all nuclear weapons is at last a practical possibility.

Anything else?

We have considered only negative security assurances — commitments not to use nuclear weapons on other countries.

Some third world countries would also welcome strong positive assurances — commitments to protect states from nuclear attack.

The UK and the NPT

The UK's objective in the NPT negotiations is to achieve an indefinite and unconditional extension of the treaty, by consensus or large majority. There are currently no signs that the UK is bringing any positive suggestions for improvements to the non-proliferation regime. The UK is resisting discussion of other non-proliferation measures linked with the NPT.

UK compliance with the NPT

■ Article VI and the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons

"I do not think we would wish to find ourselves constrained at this stage by moving into an arms control process".

Nick Witney, Ministry of Defence, 1993.

Article VI of the NPT commits its signatories to "pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament".

The UK sees its obligation under Article VI of the NPT not as a commitment to nuclear disarmament but to "limiting the possession of nuclear weapons to the five states defined in the NPT as nuclear weapon states". Its hypocritical policy is "whilst retaining our own nuclear deterrent, to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons."

The UK supports indefinite and unconditional extension of the NPT as a mechanism for maintaining the status quo where some states, the UK included, keep their nuclear weapons in perpetuity.

Given this attitude it is hardly surprising that the UK's nuclear weapons programme has not been restrained by the NPT over the last 25 years. Without a change of heart or the discipline of a time-bound framework and a target date for the total elimination of nuclear weapons, the UK is unlikely to make progress on disarmament in the near future.

In order to maintain pressure on the nuclear weapons states to disarm, the NPT should be extended for a limited period, with future extensions conditional upon progress towards a global treaty to ban all nuclear weapons, thus fulfilling Article VI.

■ The UK Trident programme

"Can you tell us how you reconcile the British Trident programme with Article VI?"

"No problem".

(Douglas Hogg, UK Foreign Minister, 1994.)

■ Trident's role

The first UK Trident nuclear missile submarine entered service on 13 December 1994. Trident will replace the

UK's older Polaris submarines.

Trident is now justified as a deterrent to a "potential aggressor" who might threaten unspecified "British interests". In September 1993, the UK Defence Secretary announced that Trident's 100 kilotonne warheads will fulfil a 'sub-strategic' as well as a strategic role. They will secure "our vital interests" and may be used against states with biological or chemical weapons.

This role will be out of the NATO area. In other words, third world states which do not possess nuclear weapons have been legitimised as targets.

Although the UK gives negative security assurances to NPT signatories these assurances are not legally binding. (See *Security Assurances*)

■ Trident breaks Article VI

In 1993 the Defence Secretary announced a "reduction" in the maximum number of warheads to be carried by Trident from 128 to 96 per submarine. The UK Government describes this as a unilateral nuclear disarmament measure, but even the House of Commons Defence Committee disputes whether "a load greater than 96 warheads was ever seriously considered or planned for".

The UK has consistently refused to enter its Trident system into disarmament negotiations claiming that "for the safety of the world, we need to maintain our minimum deterrent". Trident is clearly *not* a "minimum deterrent" but a nuclear escalation. Even the UK Parliament's Defence Committee states that Trident is a "significant enhancement" of the UK's nuclear capability.

The UK insists that Trident will carry roughly equivalent "explosive power" to Polaris. But Trident's multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles (MIRV) enable each submarine to reach 96 targets compared with a Polaris submarine's 16 targets. The facts show that the UK is still escalating its nuclear capability.

False claims

The Defence Secretary claimed in 1993 that the UK's nuclear firepower has been reduced overall by 25%. However: (i) with Trident, significant qualitative improvements have been made and (ii) the UK has since been forced to admit that "explosive power" is not used as a measure of nuclear capability in any nuclear arms control treaties.

3. Activities from the beginning of April

a. Fax or write to UK political leaders

John Major	Tel: 0171 270 3000 Fax: 0171 930 1419
Douglas Hurd	Tel: 0171 270 3000 Fax: 0171 8392417
Tony Blair	Tel: 0171 219 3000 Fax: 0171 219 2792
Robin Cook	Tel: 0171 219 5120 Fax: 0171 219 6682
Menzies Campbell	Tel: 0171 219 4446 Fax: 0171 219 2565
Paddy Ashdown	Tel: 0171 219 3000 Fax: 0171 219 5792

The address for all MPs is House of Commons, Westminster, London SW1A 0AA.

Points to make would be similar to those suggested for lobbying (see 1 above) but you may also like to stress:

- The importance of reaching a consensus decision on extension of the NPT conference in order to avoid the Treaty falling into disrepute and a resulting nuclear free-for-all.
- The importance of full Parliamentary and public debate
- The need for the UK Government to put forward positive proposals for improving the non-proliferation regime at the NPT Conference (see CND's Blueprint for a Nuclear Weapons Free World for suggestions).
- The fact that the UK is undermining the NPT by deploying Trident and that the system should be scrapped.

b. Fax or write to US President Clinton

The White House,
Washington DC,
USA.

Fax 0101 202 456 2461

- Congratulate him on his decision to extend the nuclear testing moratorium until a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is signed.
- Ask the US to put pressure on the UK to fulfill its disarmament obligations under Article VI of the NPT.
- Ask for the US to get the UK to support signing of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty before the NPT Conference in April, or at least before the end of 1995.

REMEMBER: If your group doesn't have access to a fax machine then you should be able to find a commercial one in your high street newsagent or stationer's.

b. April 14 - 17: Youth CND walk from Aldermaston to London

Youth CND is holding a commemorative walk from Aldermaston to London April 14-17. Fifty marchers will follow the original route's march, arriving in London on the day the NPT conference begins in New York. Contact Youth CND on 0171 6073616 to find out how you can help.

c. April 17: London event to welcome YCND and mark the start of the NPT Conference

National CND will welcome Youth CND at Marble Arch at 1.00pm for a march through Central London and various other activities to mark the end of the walk and the start of the NPT talks. People who were on the original Aldermaston march are particularly invited to join the march, or to come directly to the short ceremony which will be held at the Cenotaph at about 3pm. (Please contact the National Office in advance if this applies to you.) Also we are hoping to have 50 children as part of this cross-generation ceremony. If your children could take part please let us know.

The march will have a carnival atmosphere, the ceremony will be more serious and everything will be geared to getting across our message about the NPT and a global ban on nuclear weapons.

Our congratulations to Youth CND, who are now becoming the dynamic force of old.

Nottm. CND are not organizing a coach for this event, but should you wish to go to London and either require/ or can offer transport please ring Nottm. 9588586 before Thursday, March 30th and we will try to put the two together.

Alan Simpson MP keeps Trident on the run

On 2 April Alan will again be giving himself sore feet for CND in the London Marathon. He needs sponsors. Ring or write for a sponsorship form to the Fundraising Department at CND.

Nuclear disarmament: how far have we got?

With the Non-Proliferation Conference just six weeks away, the peace movement's best known public figure, **Bruce Kent** gives a personal view of what we have achieved and points to some signposts for the future.

The key question for all of us in CND is how we make progress on the road towards a nuclear weapon-free world and indeed, in the words of our constitution, a general and complete disarmament.

Such aims may look a little over-optimistic. The level in concern in the public mind about nuclear weapons has dropped a long way down the scale. There is a general impression that all goes well, major cutbacks of warheads are meant to be going on and the cold war is over. At the same time the nuclear weapon issue seems quite irrelevant when one looks at the twenty or so civil wars raging in different parts of the world. Even many disarmers now see as their priorities concerns about arms sales, landmines and the ineffectiveness of UN peace keeping.

Given this assessment - and I think it is a fair one - anyone who reads the reports prepared for CND Council by groups and regions will be deeply impressed by the perseverance, courage and ingenuity of members of CND and other peace groups.

Public lack of concern is no surprise. It just reflects what the public are told by politicians and the media. In reality the situation is quite different.

..... indeed if all the warhead reductions agreed actually took place, there would still be more warheads in the world than there were when the Non-Proliferation Treaty came into force 25 years ago.

So we know that public complacency is not justified. Unhappily the belief that nuclear weapons add to, rather than take away from, national security is probably as strong as ever.

.....Interestingly enough it is Malcolm Rifkind who has at last raised some doubts about the value of nuclear deterrence. He says that in order to make it work 'an established nuclear deterrent relationship' is needed. Outside Europe 'it is difficult to see deterrence operating securely against proliferators'.

Rifkind has learnt lessons from the behaviour of Saddam Hussein who, although facing three nuclear powers, was willing to bombard a fourth with SCUD missiles. But whatever his doubts Rifkind was not raising the issue of a nuclear-free world. Such a vision is not on the agenda of the nuclear powers. Their concerns are to stop others getting what they already have which is why they campaign for an indefinite extension of the NPT.

.....For most such ideas are utopian, just a little less utopia now that, thanks to the wonderful work of World Court Project campaigners and despite the malign influence of the nuclear powers, the very legality of nuclear threat has now been put in question.

.... we are for instance told that 'threatening to use nuclear weapons won't protect us if a fanatic gets the bomb' Quite true. But they won't protect us if a non-fanatic gets one either. Non-fanatics have also learnt the lesson of Chernobyl. 'Weapons' which are indiscriminate in their effects and injure friend and foe alike are not weapons at all. Is this something that we say loudly and clearly enough in ways that the readers of the Sun and Mirror can understand?.

There is another approach which applies especially to this country, and which we could do more to make public. This is the nonsense of calling the British bomb independent. Without American co-operation it is not ours at all. We are spending £33 billion on a system which is not remotely independent. Harold Wilson called the Polaris the Moss Bros. deterrent. Trident is no different.

1995 is a year of great opportunity. What with the Review Conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the 50th Anniversary of the signing of the UN Charter, the end of the Second World War in Europe and Asia and the horrible events of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. There are dozens of opportunities for CND to come forward with ideas about real security in a future world 'Free from the scourge of war'.

Perhaps we do not realise yet that, though we are as yet far from a majority, we and our ideas are more mainstream than before.

A German philosopher, whose name I cannot spell, once said "There are three stages in the revelation of any truth: in the first it is ridiculed, in the second resisted; in the third it is considered self-evident". My guess is that we have passed stage two and are moving towards stage three. Let's keep at it.

From an article in CND Today. Abridged by D. Gower.

CHERNOBYL CHILDREN:

During the course of the NPT conference the ninth anniversary of the exploding reactor at the Chernobyl Power Station, when radiation was carried half-way around the world.

For many people, including Mikhael Gorbachev, this was the turning point in the understanding of security. He realised that the nuclear era must be brought to an end and that common security must become a priority for the future.

Recently Adi Roche of Irish CND and Linda Walker of Manchester CND visited the Chernobyl area.

In Leipa readings of 300 rads per minute were still being generated from housing timbers, against the normal 12 rads. They met some of the conscripts brought in to 'decontaminate' the area. Of the 800,000 13,000 had died and the remainder still suffer many illnesses.

At Gomel hospital, in the heart of the contaminated region, there are children with illnesses that doctors cannot diagnose and who live as "doomed people".

In Minsk most children suffer illnesses from liver disease to cancer. There is a Cancer Hospital where children born with anything from Downs Syndrome to serious physical deformity are cared for until four years of age. They are then sent to an adult mental institute for the rest of their lives.

Is this survival? with our overstretched and underfunded Health Service this could happen to our children with the accidents waiting to happen at nuclear power stations; on trains carrying nuclear waste and nuclear weapon convoys.

The UN asked for £650 million for help to Chernobyl - they got £1 million.

PETITIONS & CARDS:

Collect signatures on the petition form and return - along with the signed card - to

Janet Bloomfield, CND. 162, Holloway Road, LONDON. N7 8DQ to arrive before 3rd April 1995.

Janet will personally present the cards and petitions at the NPT Conference.

Scary?

Following the USA poll when 60% were unable to name the President who ordered the nuclear attack on Japan, and 35% did not know that the first atomic bomb had been dropped on Hiroshima and one in four did not know that Japan was the target for the atomic bomb (and amazingly 22% didn't even know that an atomic bomb had been used) a similar survey was carried out on 13 year olds in this country.

The result were not quite as bad, but nevertheless very disquieting. Only one person had any reaction to 'What is CND?' and that was to say that it was 'something to do with peace'

Which proves that to stand still is to move backwards and bring us back to basics.

Stall

On Sunday, April 9th we are having a meeting of the persons who have been actively involved in staffing the stall over the years. The main reason for the meeting is to discuss the future of the stall. Anybody with ideas will be welcomed at the I.C.C. 62b, Mansfield Road, Nottingham at 2:00p.m.

Hiroshima Day

We hope to extend the scope of the commemorative service this year, as it will be the 50th anniversary of the dropping of the bomb and August the 6th will be a Sunday. We are inviting members of peace groups to a meeting at the I.C.C. on Sunday, May 14th at 2:00p.m. If you can make any contribution to offer to make the event remarkable please do come.

Donations

We have had a thank you letter from the World Court Project for our donation and for the fairly large signatures from Nottingham on the Declaration of Personal Conscience.

We have also received an imposing certificate from 'When you wish upon a Star' for our donation to them from the sale of White Poppies.

200 club

Winners:	<u>March.</u>			<u>February:</u>		
	65	Win Douglas	£15	7.	Tamlin Morris	£15
	76	Mary Riddell	£10	71	Mary Riddell	£10
	54	Cath Wakeman	£ 5	52	Cath Wakeman	£ 5

member's

To bury a child, of whatever age, is the cruellest act of fate for any parents, and we offer our very sincerest condolences to Roger and Vivienne Rawlinson, whose son has died since our last bulletin.

Peggy is back into the fray and going great guns. Her husband also is slowly improving.

Emma Simmonds has had her second cataract operation, but it is not the miracle of the first....but as Emma says "two miracles in a year would have been too much to expect"