

# THE PEACE PAGES

## 'United For Peace'

### What The Churches Say

The pivotal issue of whether to launch a war against Iraq is not whether Saddam Hussein has weapons of mass destruction or who controls the oil. What is pivotal are two linked, fundamental issues, hardly mentioned in the media, yet far more important for humanity—children & morality.

#### Children

The overriding issue is Iraq's children: the children who have died in the war by sanctions (the siege of Iraq), the children who will be killed and injured by the invasion of Iraq, and the children who will die in the years to come due to the invasion's after effects.

#### The Moral Spiritual Issue

The underlying issue is the moral/spiritual issue. The central issue in a discussion of war between civilized people is not how it will affect the stock market; it is how it will affect the soul of the nation that declares war, how it will determine the moral standards of that nation. Church leaders have for several years been searching the Christian conscience. They have rooted their meditations in the Gospels of Jesus and they have all come out with declarations of peace. On the the brink of war, their statements are deserving of close attention.

#### Methodist

United Methodists have a particular duty to speak out against an unprovoked attack. President Bush and Vice-President Cheney are members of our denomination. Our silence now could be interpreted as tacit approval of war. Christ came to break old cycles of revenge and violence. Too often, we have said we worship and follow Jesus but have failed to change our ways. Jesus proved on the cross the failure of state-sponsored revenge. It is inconceivable that Jesus Christ, our Lord and Savior and the Prince of Peace, would support this proposed attack.—Secretary Jim Winkler of The United Methodist Church General Board of Church and Society, August 30, 2002.

#### Catholic

War in Iraq would be a defeat for humanity. —Pope John Paul, Feb 9, 2003.

We respectfully urge you to step back from the brink of war and help lead the world to act together to fashion an effective global response to Iraq's threats that conforms with traditional moral limits on the use of military force. —U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, Letter to President Bush, September 13, 2002.

Since the end of the Gulf War, the U.S. Catholic Bishops and Pope John Paul II have repeatedly called for reducing, reshaping and quickly ending the economic sanctions against Iraq that have brought such suffering to the Iraqi people. Recently, I joined with other religious leaders in a call for "fresh thinking and new approaches" to end this intolerable situation. After more than nine years of unparalleled and unmerited suffering, it is long past time to end the economic embargo against Iraq.—Statement on Iraq, U.S. Catholic Conference, November 15, 1999.

A war in Iraq would cause great destruction and suffering. It would also entail grave consequences for our own country and for the world. There is reason to be concerned that military intervention would set the Arab world against the West, and undermine efforts directed at peace between Israel and the Palestinian people.—Extract from Letter of Cardinal Cormac Murphy-O'Connor (Catholic Primate, UK).

#### Episcopalian

A superpower, especially one that declares itself to be 'under God,' must exercise the role of super servant. Our nation has an opportunity to reflect the values and ideals that we espouse by focusing upon issues of poverty, disease and despair, not only within our own nation but throughout the global community of which we are a part.—The Presiding Bishop's statement on military action against Iraq, September 6, 2002.

#### Presbyterian

We urge Presbyterians to oppose a precipitate U.S. attack on Iraq and the Bush administration's new doctrine of pre-emptive military action. We call upon President George W. Bush and other leaders to: Refrain from language that seems to label certain individuals and nations as 'evil' and others as 'good'; Oppose ethnic and religious stereotyping; Guard against a unilateralism, rooted in our unique position of political, economic and military power, that perpetuates the perception that 'might makes right'; Allow United Nations weapons inspections in Iraq, without undue pressure or threats of pre-emptive, unilateral action; and

End the economic sanctions against Iraq, which have been ineffectual but have done untold damage to the Iraqi people.—The General Assembly Council and the staff leadership team of the Presbyterian Church (USA), September 28, 2002.

#### Lutheran

While we are fully aware of the potential threat posed by the government of Iraq and its leader, I believe it is wrong for the United States to seek to over-throw the regime of Saddam Hussein with military action. Morally, I oppose it because I know a war with Iraq will have great consequences for the people of Iraq, who have already suffered through years of war and economic sanctions. [...] In the final analysis, we must stand unequivocally for peace.—ELCA Presiding Bishop Mark S. Hanson's Statement on Iraq Situation, August 30, 2002.

#### Mennonite

To speak against war and invasion is to hold up a conviction that, in light of all uncertainties, peace and security are enlarged when authorities choose the path of non-violent diplomacy. The concerns noted above convince us that this is both a moral and a practical path. Our call is also a statement of belief that God wills the path of peace and will work alongside those who have the courage to take risks for peace.—Statement of the Mennonite Central Committee, April 20, 2002.

#### Quaker (Society of Friends)

We call upon Friends to witness and work to prevent this war, to reverse this new military doctrine, to call upon our governments to implement multilateral, diplomatic responses to the threats posed by the government of Iraq, and to continue developing positive, nonviolent approaches to resolving international conflicts. We know that there are millions of people of good will with whom we can join in this work.—Joint Statement in Response to Threat of War with Iraq from the General and Executive Secretaries of Five Quaker Organizations, September 24, 2002.

#### United Church of Christ

With heavy hearts we hear once again the drumbeat of war against Iraq. As leaders committed to God's reign of justice and peace in the world and to the just conduct of our nation, we firmly oppose this advance to war.... We fear that war would only provoke greater regional instability and lead to the mass destruction it is intended to prevent.—UCC leaders, September 13, 2002.

#### Ecumenical

We are compelled by the prophetic vision of peace to speak a word of caution to our governments and our people. [...] As leaders of these communities in the United States and the United Kingdom, it is our considered judgment that a preemptive war against Iraq, particularly in the current situation, would not be justified.—Statement from Religious Leaders, October 11, 2002.

#### Canadian Churches.

Fifteen prominent church leaders representing a broad spectrum of Canadian church denominations joined together to send an urgent message to Jean Chrétien (September 25, 2002), imploring the Prime Minister to resist growing "pressure" in favour of "a new invasion of Iraq." Canadian churches have been vocal in denouncing the devastating impact of eleven years of international sanctions against Iraq, sanctions they say have not weakened the oppressive grip of the Saddam Hussein regime but instead hurt ordinary Iraqi civilians. Acknowledging that many in Iraq "long and pray for a regime 'change,'" the church leaders emphasize its "all the more striking" that "voices from that country and region urge us not to bring about a new regime by means of a violent invasion from outside." Instead the church leaders call on Prime Minister Chrétien to ensure the Canadian government supports a negotiated, peace-building approach "consistent with international law and taking the common good of Iraq's people as its starting point."

"[...] negotiations cannot open minds and possibilities if the universe is divided beforehand into two camps, the good and the evil, with 'our side' being only good. Such an approach, besides running counter to a Christian sense of sin and grace, reveals an arrogance which can only deepen anger and hostility."

#### Commentary

This 'war' compels us to decide. Do we go along with creating a world forged by military power? Or do we aspire to a world based on humanitarian standards and moral values? /

## A More Peaceful & Less Violent World

For months Patrick Brown and Peter Carter have been combing the Web for primary sources and for reported information on the US/Iraq situation. The World Wide Web is an extraordinary information tool. No one site has the 'truth' (beware that word) but from the mass of information available a more complete worldview can be built than from the mass-media—right from your desktop.

On February 15, world-wide, the largest number of people ever will be demonstrating for peace. In honour of the many demonstrations taking place this week, we felt that what we should do is compile a tiny portion of what is significant into these 'Peace Pages.' Of course, this is a misnomer as they are anti-war pages—humankind is in crisis, we face an imminent war and it is difficult to think any other way.

Hopefully we can do this again at [www.islandtides.com](http://www.islandtides.com) (please pass this URL on to your email lists) and we will be working toward more peaceful peace pages.

We are among many others who are motivated to do things we haven't done before to work to avoid catastrophe. Raging Granny Sharon Perry quotes a speaker at last June's Global Six Billion Conference in Calgary 'We are the people we have been waiting for.'

In this edition of the 'Peace Pages' we wanted to look at the costs of unleashing war from an humanitarian and spiritual aspect—the number of groups (we are featuring the Churches) who have spoken out against war; the intolerable horror of modern warfare; the scale of the task before us in global disarmament; and the range of international infrastructure already in place to set standards and provide alternatives to war—the bad news and the good news.

Read these pages and, yes, weep—humankind is worth weeping for. It's the least we can do—hundreds of thousands may be about to die horribly. But let's do more. All around you will be soul-saving ways you can contribute to a peaceful world. Consider your every action—does it contribute to more peace?

Christa Grace-Warrick

## Bush at War

Author Bob Woodward is well known for books on the US Presidency, starting with *All the President's Men* (with Carl Bernstein) in 1974, the definitive portrait of the Nixon administration. Now he has focused on a short but critical period—roughly from the World Trade Centre bombings on September 11th, 2001 to November 12th, 2002.

This day-by-day description of what President George W. Bush thought and did, and what went on in the White House and around the cabinet table, could be a movie script. The genesis of the 'War on Terror,' the planning of the attack on Afghanistan, the frustration at not being able to find Osama bin Laden—all here. The characters—Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of State Colin Powell, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, CIA director George Tenet, Adviser Condoleezza Rice, and many other players—all here. It's a dramatic read.

Prior to September 11, President Bush had almost refused to focus on affairs outside the US, and had struggled with a domestic agenda, an economic policy based on tax cuts, and a recalcitrant Congress. Safe in Air Force One on the day of the terrorist attacks, Bush redefined the US as a nation at war. When he spoke to the nation on television that evening, he had become the wartime persona of the American president, the Commander in Chief.

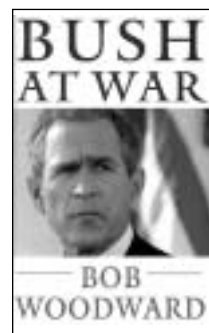
This changed the office, changed the way the Presidency works, and changed the man. No longer would he have to negotiate with the other branches of government to carry out his initiatives. Traditionally, Americans do not question the Commander in Chief. As Woodward puts it, they 'salute and follow order.'

Woodward characterizes the post September 11 Bush as a man with a mission, expanding from a 'war on terror' to ridding the world of 'evildoers.' The development of top-down decision making, the rapid creation of a 'war cabinet' with experience from Vietnam to the first Gulf war, the rivalries between the armed services and the various intelligence services; all are illustrated in this fast-paced narrative.

Does this book give us an understanding of President Bush? Yes and no. Woodward seems at times rather surprised at Bush's drive, and his impatience with his cabinet, all of whom are more experienced than he is. Woodward gives great credit to Condoleezza Rice, who appeared closer to Bush than the others, and many times was credited with tidying up after the President.

There's a lot of other stuff that Woodward seemed to find didn't fit neatly into the main narrative. Descriptions of Powell's attempt to mediate the Israeli/Palestinian dispute; the 'axis of evil' and the targeting of Iraq; the development of the pre-emption policy; North Korea; and so on—almost to the present. It's hard to understand history while it's going on. This book is a real help.

'Bush at War', Bob Woodward. Simon & Schuster, Toronto, 2002. /



## War without rules

British non-government organizations (NGOs) including the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), have put members of the British government on notice of consequences to the use of force against Iraq involving methods of attack or weapon systems that breach rules of International Humanitarian Law (IHL). The statement says that the NGOs will indict members of the UK Government under international criminal law before the International Criminal Court (ICC).

In the lengthy document, lawyers acting for the groups stated, 'Our clients' concerns are that, based on evidence of the use of armed force in the Gulf War in 1991, in Kosovo and in Afghanistan, the US and the UK have clearly breached fundamental requirements of IHL in the past. Thus there is every reason to believe that these requirements will be breached again in any forthcoming war in Iraq ... These three recent examples all pre-date July 2002 when the ICC came into being and its jurisdiction over these matters requires now a fundamentally different approach by the UK...

'[From these three wars,] our clients' concerns include the following:

### Illegitimate Means & Method of Attack

- The unannounced bombing of Amiraya Civilian Air Raid Shelter in Baghdad killing between 600 and 1000 civilians on February 13, 1991 when it was known by coalition forces that the facility had been previously used as a civil-defence shelter;
- The deliberate killing of thousands of civilians, especially Palestinians, killed as they tried to escape from Kuwait City after February 26, 1991;
- What appears to have been the deliberate massacre, without quarter, of tens of thousands of Iraqi soldiers and civilians on the road to Basra on February 26 and 27, 1991;
- The bombing of cities which served as major military communications and supply centres, for example Basra, Ramadi, Diwaniya and Mosul;
- The fact that 93% of the bombs used were free-falling bombs and that most appeared to have been dropped from higher than 30,000 feet;
- The fact that only 7,000 tons were guided bombs leaving 82,000 tons of bombs used that were non-precision guided;
- The use by the US of massive amounts of fire bombs;
- The use by the US of fuel air explosives;
- The use by the US of BLU-82s (otherwise known as "daisy cutters");
- The use of cluster bombs and anti-personnel bombs;
- The use of the weapon system CBU-75 carrying 1800 bomblets called 'Sadeyes' (each bomblet contains 600 razor sharp steel fragments lethal up to 40 feet);
- The declaration of Basra as a 'free fire zone';
- The use of carpet bombing techniques;
- The targeting of chemical plants;
- The use of at least 320 tons of depleted uranium ammunition in air and tank rounds and sniper bullets.

### Attack on Objects Dedicated to Civilian Purposes

- The destruction of civilian targets such as the Iraqi Ministries of Justice and Municipal Affairs;
- The destruction of between 10-20,000 homes, apartments, and other dwellings;
- The destruction of commercial centres, with shops, retail stores, offices, hotels, restaurants and other public accommodation destroyed;
- The destruction or damage of scores of schools, hospitals, mosques and churches;
- The targeting of isolated Bedouin tents in Western Iraq

CBS interviewed Harlan Ullman, who drew a direct parallel to Hiroshima. Within two to five days, the Iraqi people would be 'physically, emotionally and psychologically exhausted,' he stated. He spoke of having 'this simultaneous effect, rather like the nuclear weapons at Hiroshima, not taking days or weeks but minutes.'

**The saturation bombing will exceed anything previously seen in history. 'The sheer size of this has never been seen before, never been contemplated before,' —a Pentagon official on TV**

### Dominance

Here are some excerpts from the Bush war manual 'Shock and Awe Achieving Rapid Dominance,' the Pentagon's National Defense University 1996 book authored by Ullman and Wade:

'Theoretically, the magnitude that Shock and Awe Rapid Dominance seeks to impose (in extreme cases) is the non-nuclear equivalent of the impact that the atomic weapons dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki had on the Japanese.

'Rapid Dominance must be all-encompassing. It will require the means to anticipate and to counter all opposing moves. It will involve the capability to deny an opponent things of critical value, and to convey the unmistakable message that unconditional compliance is the only available recourse. It will

leaving 46 dead civilians, including infants and children;

- The bombing of the 'baby-milk' factory in Abu Gharaib on January 22, 1991.

### Destruction of Iraqi Infrastructure

• The deliberate disproportionate targeting and destruction of Iraq's infrastructure towards the end of the war leaving it in a pre-industrial condition. Among the facilities targeted and destroyed were:

- Electricity power generation, relay and transmission;
- Water treatment, pumping and distribution systems and reservoirs;
- Telephone and radio exchanges, relay stations, towers and transmission facilities;
- Food processing, storage and distribution facilities and markets, infant milk formula and beverage plants, animal vaccination facilities and irrigation sites;
- Railroad transportation facilities, bus depots, bridges, highway overpasses, highways, highway repair stations, trains, buses and other public transportation vehicles, commercial and private vehicles;
- Oil wells and pumps, pipelines, refineries, oil storage tanks, gasoline filling stations and fuel delivery tanks, cars and trucks, and kerosene storage tanks;
- Sewage treatment and disposal systems;
- Factories engaged in civilian production, for example, textile and automobile assembly;
- Historical markers and ancient sites;
- As a result of the above the deaths of tens of thousands of civilians from dehydration, dysentery and diseases caused by impure water, inability to obtain effective medical assistance and debilitation from hunger, shock, cold and stress.

### Civilian Losses in Afghanistan

- Disproportionate and indiscriminate bombardment of Afghanistan resulting in at least 3,767 civilians being killed between October 7 and December 6, 2001, in particular:
- Repeated bombing of the farming village of 450 persons of Karam, killing at least 160 civilians on October 11;
- Falling of a cluster bomb on the military hospital and mosque in Herat, killing 100 on October 21;
- Carpet-bombing by B-52s of a frontline village near Khanabad, killing at least 150 civilians on November 18.

### Civilian Losses During NATO Air Strikes in Kosovo

- At least 489 civilians killed in the ninety separate incidents in Operation Allied Force, almost half of which resulted from attacks during daylight hours, when civilians could have been expected to be on the roads and bridges or in public buildings which may have been targeted;
- The most dramatic losses of civilian life came from attacks on fleeing or travelling refugees including repeated attacks on refugees on the Djakovica-Decane road, near Korisa and Savine Vode;
- Bombing of Dubrava prison on May 21, 1998;
- Attacks on populated urban areas in Belgrade, Nis and Vranje;
- Use of cluster bombs, resulting in deaths of some 90 to 150 civilians and Britain's refusal to discontinue their use even after NATO confirmation of responsibility for the attack on Nis airfield in southern Serbia on May 7, 1998 and subsequent prohibition of cluster bomb use imposed on the US forces by the White House;
- Failure to provide clear advance warning of the attacks on state Serb Radio and Television headquarters in Belgrade on April 23, 1998 resulting in civilian deaths. ✓

imply more than the direct application of force. It will mean the ability to control the environment and to master all levels of an opponent's activities to affect will, perception, and understanding. This could include means of communication, transportation, food production, water supply, and other aspects of infrastructure as well as the denial of military responses.

Deception, misinformation, and disinformation are key components in this assault on the will and understanding of the

opponent.'

'It is clear that the targets in each category include military, civilian, industrial, infrastructure, and societal components of a country or group.'

'In some of the examples, the objective is to apply brutal levels of power and force to achieve Shock and Awe. In the attempt to keep war 'immaculate,' at least in limiting collateral damage, one point should not be forgotten. Above all, war is a nasty business or, as Sherman put it, 'war is hell.'

'Shock and Awe' is a euphemism for terror on an inconceivable scale. Do we really want follow down this dark road? Do we really need to out-do the evil of Saddam Hussein to save the world? ✓

## The George W. Song (from the internet)

Sung to the tune: 'If You're Happy and You Know It, Clap Your Hands')

If we cannot find Osama, bomb Iraq.  
If the markets hurt your Mama, bomb Iraq.  
If the terrorists are Saudi  
And the bank takes back your Audi  
And the TV shows are bawdy,  
Bomb Iraq.

If the corporate scandal's growin', bomb Iraq.  
And your ties to them are showin', bomb Iraq.  
If the smoking gun ain't smokin'  
We don't care, and we're not jokin'.  
That Saddam will soon be croakin',  
Bomb Iraq.

Even if we have no allies, bomb Iraq.  
From the sand dunes to the valleys, bomb Iraq.  
So to hell with the inspections  
Let's look tough for the elections  
Close your mind and take directions,  
Bomb Iraq.

While the globe is slowly warming, bomb Iraq.  
Yay! the clouds of war are storming, bomb Iraq.  
If the ozone hole is growing,  
Some things we prefer not knowing.  
(Though our ignorance is showing),  
Bomb Iraq.

So here's one for dear old daddy, bomb Iraq.  
From his favorite little laddie, bomb Iraq.  
Saying 'no' would look like treason.  
It's the Hussein hunting season.  
Even if we have no reason,  
Bomb Iraq.

## US war strategy 'Shock & Awe'

Last November, key Pentagon advisor Richard Perle shocked British members of parliament when he told them that even a 'clean bill of health' from UN chief weapons inspector Hans Blix would not stop a US attack on Iraq. (Richard Perle helped sell the 1991 war in the Persian Gulf as co-chair of the Committee for Peace and Security in the Gulf.)

Then, on December 11, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld sent Bush a memorandum asking for authority to place Admiral James O. Ellis Jr., the Strategic Commander (STRATCOM) in Omaha, Nebraska, in charge of the full range of 'strategic' warfare assets, including nuclear warheads, in preparation for the Iraq war. With almost no discussion inside the Pentagon, let alone Congress, since as the wartime US Commander In Chief, Bush could approved Rumsfeld's proposal without consultation.

In the middle of January, US commanders released the new war strategy that would be used against Iraq—'Shock and Awe.'

### Shock & Awe—Saturation Bombing

CBS news reported that the invasion will begin with war planes and ships launching between 300 and 400 cruise missiles on day one. This is more than the number of missiles launched during the whole of 'Desert Storm' in 1991. Another 300 to 400 missiles will follow on the second day.

At an average rate of one weapon every four minutes around the clock, radioactive missiles will relentlessly rain down on Baghdad and knock out water supplies, electricity services, communications, government buildings, roads, bridges and other essential infrastructure.

In the first Gulf War, the Pentagon's 'smart bombs' were responsible for the deaths of tens of thousands of Iraqis, civilians as well as soldiers.

This time, Pentagon officials have declared, the saturation bombing will exceed anything previously seen in history. 'The sheer size of this has never been seen before, never been contemplated before,' a Pentagon official told CBS. 'There will not be a safe place in Baghdad.'

# War—a strategic blunder ~ Patrick Brown

‘Throughout the 20th century, small groups of men seized control of great nations, built armies and arsenals and set out to dominate the weak and intimidate the world.’

—U.S. President George W. Bush, State of The Union Address, January 27, 2003

Never have I been so struck by the aptness of phrase, the clarity of vision, and the sheer weight of irony as in President Bush’s words (above). Mr. Bush was referring to communism, Naziism, and Japanese militarism, and by comparison, Saddam Hussein’s Iraq. But he could unconsciously have been describing the US leadership in the 21st century. The symmetry is striking.

In his State of the Union Address, Mr. Bush seems to have fallen victim to the very terrorists he seeks to stamp out. He catalogued the worst fears of a man frightened by his own visions, and yet so sure of his messianic role in history that he feels it necessary to justify the formal initiation of war.

The object of terrorism is to develop terror on the part of one’s enemies—the symbolic terrorist strike of September 11, 2001 has been successful beyond our wildest nightmares.

Yet the American development of terror has been as much a creation of its media and government as of the terrorists. The justifiable howls of hurt and outrage, waves of insulted pride, and an instinctive impetus for revenge have been amplified by media and government cheerleading. This has blinded Americans to the reality of the attack, its causes, and any thought of what response would be appropriate.

## Changing Targets

President Bush, taking up the responsibility for revenge and retribution (under the banner of justice), set out to kill one Osama bin Laden, who had been identified with some high probability as the devil incarnate. Thus the Afghanistan ‘crusade.’ Despite the bombing and easy invasion of part of Afghanistan, Mr. bin Laden has not been found, and his intended demise has fallen to the bottom of the list of US objectives. Mr. bin Laden, after all, has no homeland that can be attacked, and nothing to lose, and appears content to inhabit any convenient cave.

Mr. Bush, therefore, has retargeted his vengeance towards another incarnation of the devil, one Saddam Hussein, President of Iraq. Mr Hussein is well qualified for the part, having survived a war with Iran, massive US retaliation for his invasion of the neighbouring state of Kuwait, some ten years of economic blockade, a putative disarmament, and numerous incidents of savagery towards residents of his own country. He was a US target long before September 11; he may still have massive territorial ambitions.

## Imagination, Fear & Uncertainty

Mr. Bush invoked Americans’ worst fears in his Address to Congress, his nation, and the world. Worse fears, in fact, than if he had described specific and confirmed threats.

Conjuring up an unproven confluence of the intentions and demonstrated abilities of the September 11 terrorists, and the suspected capabilities of Mr. Hussein’s remaining ‘Weapons of Mass Destruction’ (code for a variety of deadly items chemical, biological, and nuclear), Bush asked his listeners to ‘imagine’ the possibilities of terrorists obtaining anthrax, botulism, and even atomic weapons and using them in the US.

It is not so easy to dismiss these fears as the product of a fevered imagination, even one propelled by the excitement of wielding the politics of fear. Even without conclusive evidence, we cannot ignore the possibility that Bush may be in some measure correct in his suspicion of the threat posed by Mr. Hussein and his undiscovered weapons. But there is no certainty. It is most unlikely that there will ever be certainty.

And then there is the risk of retaliation. Suicide bombing, a recent development, exemplifies the extreme of the risk/reward calculation; September 11th showed its potency. It illustrates the ultimate futility of a strategy of deterrence. And retaliation need not originate in Iraq, or even with Al Qaeda.

Unfortunately, prudence demands that steps must be taken. This has led to a single option: the massing of air and ground forces around Iraq. But if the risk is unknown, the appropriate response should also consider many other strategic choices.

## Strategy

The art of dealing with a threat is called strategy. Strategy may be defined as making choices in an environment of risk and uncertainty. The greater the risk, the more uncertain the threat, the more carefully developed the strategy must be. Strategy recognizes that neither the risk nor the uncertainty can be completely eliminated. It also recognizes that there are always choices, that things don’t always work out as expected, and that a situation where there appear to be no choices is the result of a serious strategic error.

## Strategies Tried So Far

During the eighties, the US supported Saddam Hussein in his battle against Iran. Then came Hussein’s invasion of Kuwait, and the first Gulf war. Since then, the US has encouraged internal revolution in Iraq, then failed to give it promised support, followed by an economic blockade, together with control of much of Iraq’s airspace, enlivened by occasional and increasing bombing. None of these strategies seem to have achieved very much.

## Current Strategy

It would be comforting to believe that the US government is being strategic in its current choice of a massive air and ground attack on Iraq. In fact, it resembles nothing so much as a reprise of the first Gulf War, ten years of weapons development later.

The failure of the US to demonstrate that it has considered any other alternatives at this point has led many people to question its strategic decision making. Certainly, following President Bush’s declaration that ‘you are either for us or against us,’ we are left with the impression of a nation so mired in its own virtue as to be incapable of sophisticated thought.

Certainly, it has declared that it intends to repel all challengers to its lone superpower status through military action. It has a consistent record of pursuing its own interests—economic, political, and military—by every possible means. Add to that Iraq’s location in a part of the world containing oil essential for the ‘American way of life,’ a part of the world occupied by a variety of states, tribes, and religious factions whose behaviour under the stress of war is, to say the least, unpredictable. Add to that the sheer momentum created by the transfer of a massive military force to Iraq’s borders.

Given all this, one must wonder whether any alternatives were ever, or could now be, considered.

## Strategic Objectives

Strategy starts with a clear definition of objectives. The US approach lacks this clarity. Is the objective ‘disarmament,’ ‘regime change,’ the death of Saddam Hussein, control of the oil resource, defence of the United States; destabilization of the Middle East (including Saudi Arabia, Iran, Egypt, Palestine, Israel...), intimidation of any challengers to the US superpower role, the use of the ‘war on terror’ as an excuse to settle an old score, or some or all of the above?

Does ‘regime change’ (another terminological inexactitude) mean removing Hussein and his friends from power, changing the government from dictatorship to democracy, imposing a new dictator, breaking up Iraq into smaller states? Does it include the rebuilding of the physical, social, political, and economic corpus of Iraq? All these objectives have, at some time, been suggested.



Each of them leads to a different set of approaches. Alternatives could range from diplomacy, to economic siege, to UN trusteeship, to saturation propaganda, to lifting all sanctions, to assassination, to ethnic resettlement, to industrial development, to massive irrigation and agrarian restructuring, and, yes, military invasion. Some combination is the probable answer.

Each approach has its probability of success and its rewards. Each approach has its risks. Risks are, by definition, uncertain. Besides the risks of failure, there are risks of time and cost, and risks of reactions by both allies and enemies.

The present deployment of massive air and ground forces suggests that the immediate US objective may well be the destruction of Iraq’s infrastructure, followed by the acquisition of territory, particularly oil fields. (Some of the above-mentioned approaches might be rendered difficult, unlikely, or impossible by this strategy.) An old saying, ‘if you only have a hammer, every problem looks like a nail’ comes to mind.

## The Ends Justify the Means

Today’s overriding concept is that the ends justifies the means, however excessive the means chosen. As it stands, the means appear to be a massive American attack by air and ground forces; and resistance to the last civilian on the part of Hussein.

There are, unfortunately, no longer any respected rules or

limits to war. Opponents used to respect a clear delineation of the battlefield, a tacit agreement on allowable weaponry, agreements for the exclusion of civilians and the humane treatment of prisoners.

Stratagems such as the ‘pre-emptive strike’ are now the rule of the day. Sadly, it would appear that all administrations in this potential war believe in the inevitability of collateral damage.

## Vulnerability & Power

The idea of a war without any rules must be kept in mind when one considers vulnerability. Afghanistan was essentially invulnerable to US retaliation for the World Trade Centre; because it had already been destroyed by many years of warfare, it had little to lose. The Iraqi people have much to lose but a nihilist Saddam Hussein seems not to care.

On the other end of the scale, the US is impressively and massively vulnerable. To mix a metaphor, it’s a glass house inhabited by a nation that feels sufficiently without guilt to throw the first stone.

## Two Small Groups of Men

To return to Mr Bush’s Address to Congress, we see here two ‘small groups of men’ who apparently believe that the ends justify the means, and that humility, caution, sensitivity, and prudence mean weakness.

Both have seized control of sovereign nations, one enormously powerful, one much smaller. Either or both may be bluffing. Or they may not. And the game they are playing poses a danger to the rest of the world.

Iraq is vulnerable to destruction, its people vulnerable to death, disease, and displacement. And the US itself is not a fortress. It cannot be defended against threats from either within or without. It’s already clear that its attempts to achieve ‘homeland security’ are, in fact, destroying its heavily advertised freedoms. War would wreak havoc upon both societies—upon Americans rather than Mr Bush, upon Iraqis rather than Mr Hussein.

Mr Bush has now tasted the heady power of absolute rule by evoking fear, first of terrorism, and now of Mr Hussein. Mr Hussein has ruled absolutely by fear for many years.

## Power & Wisdom

The US has declared itself an unassailable superpower on the foundation of its unquestioned military strength. But we have not seen evidence of the wisdom or the strategic analysis that ought to underlie decisions as to how that strength should be used. Instead, President Bush has spoken of US responsibility to rid the world of ‘evildoers.’ This has never been previously accomplished, even by the Almighty. Bush would be better served at this point in history to demonstrate his restraint rather than his might, his wisdom rather than his enthusiasm, his concern for Iraqis along with his concern for Americans, his concern for the world rather than his concern for the next election.

## The United Nations

Could it be that the Americans see the UN as standing in the way of US world domination? Can the UN stand up to the US? Will it?

As I write, the US is pressuring the Security Council to approve by resolution its military invasion, including the saturation bombing plan known as ‘Shock & Awe.’ It is a strategic blunder, but it is the only alternative the US will consider.

‘Shock & Awe,’ like the London Blitz in the Second World War is designed to demoralize the nation by targeting civilians and cities. Such an attack would be a humanitarian disaster. But if the UN does not approve it, the US says it will proceed without UN approval.

This US tactic is blackmail of the most obscene kind. The Security Council has the choice of sponsoring a humanitarian disaster, or of not sponsoring it, becoming ‘irrelevant’ in US eyes, and having it happen anyway. ‘If you’re not for us, you are against us,’ says President Bush.

Were there truth, the world could judge, and the United Nations might be able to do its job. But there is no truth, only suspicions and doubts, lies and deceptions, claims and counterclaims, allegations and accusations. Given this uncertainty, the UN must pass a resolution to oppose the use of such massive force.

This situation is not new to the UN, and it is a point where the UN has failed in the past. It must not abandon the twenty-four million people of Iraq to these two small groups of men. The results of this war will haunt the world for generations. The world must judge for humankind now.

The final words are from another US President, Jimmy Carter, on receiving the Nobel Peace Prize: ‘War may sometimes be a necessary evil. But no matter how necessary, it is always an evil, never a good. We will not learn how to live together in peace by killing each other’s children.’

**‘Peace is not the absence of war, but the absence of fear, which is the presence of justice.’  
Ursula Franklin, Canadian United Nations Association Pearson Peace Medalist**

## Armaments & Treaties—weapons of mass destruction on our doorstep; non-cooperation close to home ~ Peter Carter

### Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)

No one believes that Iraq presently possesses any nuclear weapons. But globally there are over 30,000 nuclear weapons. One average nuclear warhead would instantly kill a million people in its urban target.

- The US possesses the largest arsenal—between 8,820 and 18,000 nuclear weapons.

‘The US nuclear arsenal today includes 5,400 warheads loaded on intercontinental ballistic missiles on land and at sea; an additional 1,750 nuclear bombs and cruise missiles ready to be launched from B-2 and B-52 bombers; a further 1,670 nuclear weapons classified as ‘tactical.’ And an additional 10,000 or so nuclear warheads held in bunkers around the United States as a ‘hedge’ against future surprises.’ (from *Newsweek*, June 25, 2001)

Closer to home, there are 1600 nuclear weapons based twenty miles west of Seattle. These are the weapons for the eight Trident nuclear submarines. These are under the control of the US Naval Undersea Warfare Center with fleet testing and logistics sites located at Nanoose, British Columbia, and Hawthorne, Nevada.

- The U.S. continues to develop nuclear weapons. It is currently developing the B61-11, which scientists who have developed it claim is a ‘low-yield,’ ‘earth-penetrating’ bomb. The Department of Defense has justified the development of such a bomb as necessary to reach underground targets such as Saddam Hussein’s bunker or other underground command centers, without destroying entire cities. The development of the B61-11 will make the use of tactical nuclear weapons more likely in future conflicts.

In a paper presented in March 2001, Paul Robinson, the head of Sandia National Laboratory, said that ‘low-yield weapons with highly accurate delivery systems’ would be desirable ‘for deterrence in the non-Russian world.’ Stephen M. Younger, chief of nuclear weapons research at Los Alamos National Laboratory, has urged the development of low-yield nuclear weapons with a five-kiloton warhead (approximately half the destructive power of the Hiroshima bomb).

- The U.S. plans to resume nuclear warhead production at Los Alamos by 2003—up to 80 a year with a contingency for hundreds. In August 2002, the US resumed nuclear weapons testing at the Nevada Test Site (on Shishone land in abuse of the Treaty of Ruby Valley).

### Chemical Weapons

The US has a 30,000 metric ton arsenal of chemical warfare agents. It has 3717 tons of declared assembled chemical weapons. Additionally there are 229 known or suspected sites of chemical weapons covering nearly every state.

The US Army stores seven and a half million pounds of unitary chemical weapons agents at a depot in Umatilla, Oregon, near the Columbia River. This depot is one of eight stockpile sites in the country.

The two types of agents stored at Umatilla are sulfur mustard (a blister agent) and two organophosphate nerve agents, sarin (GB) and VX. These chemical agents are stored in munitions such as land mines, projectiles, rockets, and bombs, and also without explosives in spray tanks and one-ton containers.

### Biological Weapons — Anthrax

It was discovered during the FBI’s investigation of the anthrax letters that the US army had been producing anthrax in a powdered form suitable for use as a weapon. But the army denied that the strain it had developed was the one that caused five deaths.

The anthrax spores enclosed in envelopes mailed to two leading Senate Democrats in October were biologically identical to bacteria secretly manufactured at a US germ warfare facility during the last decade, according to press reports and an analysis by expert microbiologists. Officers at the army’s Dugway proving ground in Utah confirmed that scientists there turned wet anthrax into a powdered form.

The existence of the secret army program was first revealed by the *Baltimore Sun* in an article published December 12, 2001. Until then, US officials, including those investigating the anthrax attacks, had maintained that the American military stopped producing germ warfare materials in the late 1960s, before the signing of an international treaty banning the development of such weapons.

The CIA admitted that it too had had a stock of weapons-grade anthrax but issued a statement that this was not the anthrax in the letters. The US had been lying about its bio weapons. It is the only country that is known to have produced weapons-grade anthrax since the signing of the Biological Weapons Convention. The US sold anthrax to Iraq during the Iraq/Iran war.

### Treaties Mistreated

*The US complains that Iraq does not comply with international WMD treaties. While Iraq has shown little interest in such treaties, the record of the US sets a poor example—one that encourages ambitious military regimes like Saddam Hussein’s.*

As regards nuclear weapons reductions, last October Canada was the only nation to vote in favour of a UN resolution calling for a world free of nuclear weapons.

In June 2002, Bush withdrew the US from the Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972. Of the major nuclear powers, only the US refuses to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty of 1996 (ratified by 93 nations). Like the other nuclear powers, the US has failed in its obligations under the UN Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty.

### US 14 Years Behind

In 1993, the United States signed the UN-sponsored Chemical Weapons Convention. In October 1996, the 65th nation ratified the convention making the treaty effective on April 29, 1997. Through ratification, the United States agreed to dispose of its unitary chemical weapons stockpile, binary chemical weapons, recovered chemical weapons, and former chemical weapon production facilities by April 29, 2007, and miscellaneous chemical warfare material by April 29, 2002. According to US chemical weapons reductions publications, the US is 14 years behind schedule for disposal. The US has problems to resolve around UN inspectors for chemical weapons and compromising US chemical corporations’ property rights.

### Bio-Weapons Treaty Veto

In a paper just released in the scientific journal *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Mark Wheelis & Malcolm Dando focus on recent US actions that have served to undermine the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention (BWC).

- In a move that stunned the international community last July, the US blocked an attempt to give the convention some teeth through inspections, so that member countries could check if others were keeping the agreement. Dando believes Washington’s motive for torpedoing the deal, which had the support of its allies, was to maintain secrecy over US research work on biological weapons. He said the program includes:

- CIA efforts to copy a Soviet cluster bomb designed to disperse biological weapons;
- *A project by the Pentagon to build a bio-weapon plant from commercially available materials to prove that terrorists could do the same thing; (italics ours—Ed)*
- Research by the Defence Intelligence Agency into the possibility of genetically engineering a new strain of antibiotic-resistant anthrax;
- A program to produce dried and weaponized anthrax spores, officially for testing US bio-defences, but far more spores were allegedly produced than necessary for such purposes and it is unclear whether they have been destroyed or simply stored.

In each case, the US argued the research work was being done for defensive purposes, but their legality under the BWC is questionable, the scientists argue.

For example, a clause in the biological weapons treaty forbids signatories from producing or developing ‘weapons, equipment or means of delivery designed to use such agents or toxins for hostile purposes or in armed conflict.’ Furthermore, signatories agreed to make annual declarations about their biodefence programs, but the US did not mention any of these programs in its reports. Instead, they have emerged through leaks and press reporting. /

### SOME INTERNATIONAL TREATIES

**1925 Geneva Convention** prohibiting the use of chemical and biological weapons was signed by the US in 1975.

**1949 Geneva Protocol** on the treatment of prisoners of war. The US broke the Geneva Protocol in the deportation and incarceration of foreign alleged Taliban prisoners captured in Afghanistan.

**1977 Addition to the Geneva Protocol** protects civilians from being killed wounded and abused during wars (what the Pentagon terms ‘collateral damage’). Not ratified by the US.

**Article 48: Basic Rule** ‘In order to ensure respect for and protection of the civilian population and civilian objects, the Parties to the conflict shall at all times distinguish between the civilian population and combatants and between civilian objects and military objectives and accordingly shall direct their operations only against military objectives.’

**1985 UN Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.** Ratified by the US in 1994. The United States has opposed the creation of an additional oversight group to investigate charges of torture under the U.N. Convention Against Torture, according to a State Department fact sheet released November 4, 2002. (Many of the ‘human sources’ cited by Colin Powell were, in fact, US prisoners whose human and civil rights have been denied in Guantanamo, Cuba. An article about this illegal abuse appeared in the *The Washington Post* last year.)

**1989 The Convention on the Rights of the Child** protects children from the abuses of war and was the most widely and rapidly ratified human rights treaty in history. Two countries, Somalia and the United States, have not ratified.

**1997 Mine Ban Treaty** against the use of land mines, 137 nations signed in Ottawa, 100 have ratified this agreement. The US has not signed. During its air war in Afghanistan, the United States dropped nearly a quarter-million cluster bomblets that killed or injured scores of civilians, especially children, during and after air strikes (Human Rights Watch).

**2002 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.** The US signed but the Bush administration has ‘unsigned’ by stating it will not ratify. The US has since signed agreements with several nations agreeing that those nations will not extradite US nationals accused of war crimes under the Court. /

*Dear Eileen Tides,*

Here I sit, on a beautiful island thousands of miles from the US-Iraq conflict but feeling great angst nonetheless. What can someone this far removed from the situation do for peace? I want to sleep again.

Peaceful on an Island

*Dear Peaceful on an Island,*

There’s no denying that the potential invasion of Iraq is causing concern and sleepless nights here in Paradise. Remember ‘make love, not war’? No? Well do something to jog your memory!

At home quit sweating the small stuff, learn to relax and accept, say you’re sorry when you need to, and be the peace you want to see in the world (with thanks to Mahatma Gandhi). Take joy in any little thing that presents itself.

I do have a few other suggestions for those who want to be able to tell their grandchildren they did something to help prevent this war. So, in the interests of peace and a good sleep, try some of these ideas:

Scrutinize what you choose to watch. Are you supporting a culture of conflict by renting violent videos and watching TV shows full of competition and destruction? Why not choose films and programs that promote peace, cooperation and friendship? Sure, your choice will be constrained, but think what your peaceable media diet will do for your sleep habits and daily moods. Or go on a media fast and turn your attention to gardening, crafts, cooking—like a good Islander.

Mind your metaphors. So many of us still use violent figures of speech, like ‘killing two birds with one stone’ (why not ‘healing two ailments with one remedy?’) or ‘it’s a dog-eat-dog world.’ And so many of our expressions are militaristic! So listen to what you say, and make creative choices of peaceful language. After all, our words create our reality and represent who we are to the world.

A young friend of mine asked, ‘Why do they have to have wars? Why don’t they just have a race or a contest and see who the winner is?’ That’s a hard one to answer.

For the immediate war situation, avalanche the White House with cards of peace. A friend suggests: just choose an old holiday card that speaks of peace, cut the front off, and write your message of peace on the back, like a postcard. The address is President George W. Bush, The White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20500. For that matter, why not send one to Saddam? His address is Saddam Hussein, At-Takriti President, Presidential Palace, Karadat Mariam, Baghdad, Iraq (‘Some Big Palace’ might do the trick).

Have you let our Prime Minister know how you feel? You can send him a card supporting his desire for peace by fax (613) 941-6900 or by email to [pm@pm.gc.ca](mailto:pm@pm.gc.ca).

You could campaign to make your region a ‘Weapons of Mass Destruction Free Zone.’ That’s a little idea that might catch on. Here’s another idea! Let’s invite Bush and Saddam to an Islands Trust meeting. That’ll show ‘em how to solve complex territorial problems in a civilized manner. In any case, sleep well. And peace, man!

*yours, Eileen*



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