Irish Anti War Movement

FactFile no.2

Contents:

END BUSH AND BLAIR'S SENSELESS WAR

U.S. TROOPS AND TORTURE FLIGHTS OUT OF SHANNON

Cindy Sheehan, US Peace Mom
Mother of US soldier killed in Iraq

George Galloway MP
Respect, Stop the War Coalition (UK)

Rhuhel Ahmed
Former Guantanamo Bay prisoner (Tipton 3)

Richard Boyd Barrett
Chair, Irish Anti-War Movement

Tuesday 22 May 7.30pm
Kingston Hotel, Dun Laoghaire
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FOREWORD

Millions of people across the world have demonstrated against the US/UK occupation of Iraq. In Ireland a clear majority oppose the war and the Irish government's complicity in it through the use of SHANNON AIRPORT for US troop movements and CIA sponsored torture flights.
(see the Lansdowne Marketing poll on p.2)

This FactFile no.2 has been produced to counter the biased reporting and pro-war spin that emanates from most of the mainstream media. It aims to assist anti-war activists and supporters with information & analysis.
The IAWM welcomes the participation of all who want to end this bloody war and occupation.

IAWM WELCOMES US PEACE MUM CINDY SHEEHAN BACK TO IRELAND

Cindy Sheehan is an inspirational US mother who lost her eldest son Casey in the Iraq war on 04.04.04.

Since her son was killed, Cindy has being active in anti war / peace activities ranging from camping outside George Bush's ranch at Crawford, Texas to being one of the key organisers in some

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Independent National Survey shows Irish people oppose the use of Shannon airport in the Iraq War

The Peace & Neutrality Alliance (PANA) commissioned Lansdowne Market Research Ltd to conduct a national survey of a representative sample of the Irish people on their attitude towards the use of Shannon Airport in the Iraq war.

They were asked; *"Are you in favour of or opposed to the use of Shannon Airport by US troops travelling to and from Iraq?"* Their response was as follows:

- **In Favour: 19%**
- **Opposed: 58%**
- **No opinion: 21%**
- **Don't know: 2%**
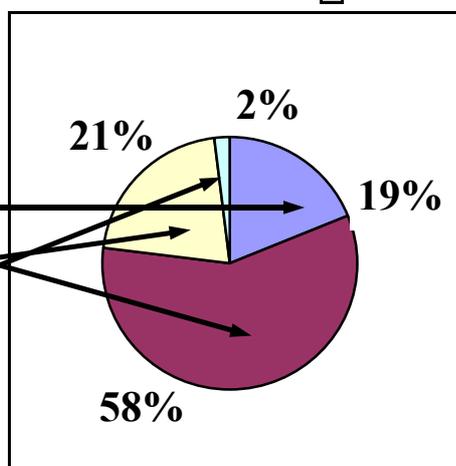
The Chair of the Peace & Neutrality Alliance, **Roger Cole** in response to the survey said:
"PANA welcomes the results of this survey. PANA which helped to organise the massive demonstration against the war on Iraq and the Ahern FF/PD governments support for the war by destroying Irish/neutrality, on the 15/3/03 accepts that the numbers turning out on ant-war demonstrations since then has fallen dramatically.
PANA however believed this reflected people's belief that there was little point in taking part and not their opposition to the war. These results show that the massive majority of the Irish people oppose the use of Shannon and that the Ahern Government does not have a democratic mandate for its policy to support the war and destroy Irish neutrality. PANA seeks to make the use of Shannon Airport in the war an issue in the election.
Since other polls show that it is unlikely that the current war parties of FF and the PD's will return to power without the support of either the Labour Party, the Green Party or Sinn

Kerry firm to supply technology to US military

by Sean Moraghan - Tralee Anti-War Group

Just when you thought that the war in Iraq couldn't get even closer to us than Shannon, it turns out that an Irish company is planning to supply technology to the US military for use in Iraq.

According to The Kerryman newspaper 25/4/2007, Tralee company **Altobridge** will supply technology which will improve battlefield communications, and which will be "in use in conflict zones like Iraq and Afghanistan".

This is in marked contrast to an otherwise laudable development where the company created technology to allow mobile phone communications aboard aircraft.

The military technology appears to follow on from the earlier civilian use, and points up the problem of so-called "dual-use" products that form a large section of the largely unacknowledged Irish arms industry. About 60 companies based in Ireland, both Irish and multinational, supply various products to the world military market. In 2003 an Amnesty International report complained that Irish exports of military or dual-use products were not being logged accurately, the implication being that government is unwilling to admit that our much-lauded technology industry is so involved in products with unsavoury end-uses and with states with poor human rights records. Of concern is the fact that US military hardware and software often finds its way into other theatres of imperialist aggression, most notably Israel.

The fact that the company's product will, it claims, reduce friendly-fire incidents cannot belie the fact that the technology will be used by the most aggressive and powerful military force in the world in the pursuit of global political hegemony.

The company's insistence that there will be no risk of its staff going to Iraq or Afghanistan to monitor the equipment also betrays a certain cynicism—to say the least!

A few facts about Iraq—as seen by Chatham House

Chatham House is one of the world's leading right-wing organizations for the analysis of international issues. Once known as the Royal Institute of International Affairs, it has recently re-branded itself as Chatham House. It projects an image independent of government and politics. It is membership-based and, it says " aims to help individuals and organizations to be at the forefront of developments in an ever-changing and increasingly complex world".
The paper we summarize below was presented on May 17th and is entitled
'Fragmentation and Civil wars in Iraq'.

- The social fabric of Iraq has been torn apart.
- There is not 'one' civil war, nor 'one' insurgency, but several civil wars and insurgencies between different communities and organisations; there is also a range of actors seeking to undermine, overthrow or take control of the Iraqi government.
- Iraqi nationalisms exist, but one distinct 'Iraqi' nationalism does not. Iraq has fractured into regions dominated by sectarian, ethnic or tribal political groupings that have gained further strength from their control of informal local economies.
- Al-Qaeda has a very real presence in Iraq that has spread to the major cities of the centre and north of the country, including Baghdad, Kirkuk and Mosul. Although Al-Qaeda's position is challenged by local actors, it is a mistake to exaggerate the ability of tribal groups and other insurgents to stop the momentum building behind its operations in Iraq.
- Regional powers have a greater capacity than either the US or the UK to influence events in Iraq. This arises from a historical legacy of social interaction and religious association that exists irrespective of modern international state boundaries.
- The Iraqi government is not able to exert authority evenly or effectively over the country. Across huge swathes of territory, it is largely irrelevant in terms of ordering social, economic, and political life. At best, it is merely one of several 'state-like actors' that now exist in Iraq.
- Security in Iraq cannot be 'normalized' in a matter of months but instead should be considered within a timeframe of many years. If the Multinational Force is withdrawn, Iraq's nascent security services would not be able to cope with the current levels of insecurity.

Message from Denis J. Halliday – former UN Assistant Secretary – General

Congratulations on planned Press Conference. Next Irish Government cannot be allowed have us collaborate in any way with US or UK genocidal aggression on people of Iraq. The human cost of US/UK military terrorism, aggression and catastrophic occupation in Iraq has long reached genocidal proportions on several levels as per the UN Genocide Convention, including intentional and massive scale of civilian killing, widespread cultural destruction, forced displacement of 4 million people, along with total social collapse.

The next Irish Government must refuse all collaboration with US/UK ongoing war crimes, human rights violations and killing of innocents. We Irish must stop friendly corporate cuddling, including ongoing manufacture of hi-tech weapon components which undermine our national integrity compounded when we support American and British warfare in the Middle-East. We must not confuse our desire for investment and prosperity at home with support for state terrorism by US and UK overseas.

We in Ireland must sustain our own values in respect of the UN, international law, human rights and love for those brutally occupied with regard to ethnicity or faith.

Denis J. Halliday May 18th 2007

CONSEQUENCES OF THE US STRATEGIC SHIFT RE:IRAN

by Michael Youlton

"In the past few months, as the situation in Iraq has deteriorated, the Bush Administration, in both its public diplomacy and its covert operations, has significantly shifted its Middle East strategy. The "redirection," as some inside the White House have called the new strategy, has brought the United States closer to an open confrontation with Iran and, in parts of the region, propelled it into a widening sectarian conflict between Shiite and Sunni Muslims."

> from Seymour Hersch's 'The Strategic Shift'

"I would say the likelihood of a military action against Iran is 100%!"

> Frank Gaffney – US Defence Department quoted in International Herald Tribune - April 5th

"The detainees were released without any deal, without any negotiation, without any side agreement of any nature whatsoever…"

> Tony Blair - April 4th

"…..The general picture, as I said before, is that there are elements of the Iranian regime that are backing, financing, arming, supporting terrorism in Iraq!"

> Tony Blair - April 5th

As the 15 British sailors and marines captured and held captive in Iran for nearly two weeks are back home, and the tone re: 'What to do about Iran' shifts internationally, it is no doubt a good moment for us, in the anti-war movement, to reflect and discuss the political situation developing in the region.

Though the issues at hand are highly volatile and complex, in this article I will concentrate on a number of limited aspects of the situation:

- The timing of the capture of the Britons
- Iran's political configuration and response to the crisis
- Britain's tempered response and rhetoric – comparisons with the US position

The timing of the capture of the Britons and Iran's political configuration and response to the crisis

The capture of the 15 British sailors and marines was no accident. It followed the passage of a UN resolution censuring Iran for its "nuclear infractions" and came as the US dispatched aircraft carriers to the Gulf as well as American interference and threats towards Iranian banks. Iran, through the capture, the media campaign with the captives, and the subsequent (and largely unexpected) release, sent a pointed message to its adversaries: just as it will meet confrontation with confrontation, it will also respond to what it perceives as flexibility with pragmatism. This latter pragmatism is a message worth heeding for the US/British alliance that seems to be moving inexorably towards conflict – I believe it is not 'a sign of weakness and capitulation by the mullahs' as some anti-Islamic ideologues close at home would have it.
Although the Bush administration has been busy proclaiming

that its confrontational policy towards Iran is "a success", Teheran's straight forward political, some say "unsubtle", conduct in this crisis suggests otherwise. The ruling elites of Iranian society today see regional stability in their interest. They seek, and at times achieve, influence within the existing power structures in the Middle East.

Throughout the 1990s Iran has managed to improve its relations with its Gulf neighbours and, in particular, succeeded in normalising its relations with Saudi Arabia – its main Sunni adversary in the region. It is not very well known, or conveniently forgotten, that Iran opposed the Taliban and while, not actively a participant, supported the 'stabilisation' of Afghanistan and even Iraq – especially during the early phases of the occupation. In this context, we have to ask ourselves the impact further conflict will have on Iran's foreign policy and the quality of that impact both for the Iranian people as well as the people of the region.

Another element worth taking into consideration is the fact that for most Iranians, living in Iran, the likelihood of the United States launching an attack on their country appears as a very distant possibility. The country is not on a war footing. Most Iranians dismiss the possibility of an American assault. This attitude has its roots not only in the political other-wordliness of the Bush position (an attitude shared, incidentally by most Irish people and for the same reasons) but also because of the fact that most Iranians get their news from state-run media. The Iranian government is very careful in allowing public access to foreign-based sources – there have recently been a number of raids on satellite dishes and websites are filtered.

The official view in Iran, at the moment, is that "the Global Arrogance" of the US must be courageously opposed and the right of Iran to peaceful nuclear energy must be protected. As these lines are being written, Iran has just announced the building of another three nuclear power plants. This is why, for example, the support of international leaders like Chavez from Venezuela and Mugabe from Zimbabwe, is given huge prominence while the US is shown as being blocked by growing domestic opposition and its self-inflicted calamity in Iraq.

I have always been favourably struck by the impressive cultural self-consciousness of Iranians. Their pride in the legacy of the Persian Empire and its 2,500 years of history is only matched, in my opinion, by similar attitudes of modern Greeks. After all, Iran was invaded by the Macedonians (Alexander), by the Arabs, by the Mongols and the Ottomans. It was attacked by the Afghans and Iraqis, and occupied by Britain and Russia. Iran has survived all of that and its belief that it will live through anything more that the world may throw at it certainly appears to have a sound historical basis.

Most Iranians consider the current conflict as another 'episode' in a global power game. For many, particularly the thriving professional and business classes, which contrary to many shibboleths includes a great number of women, the nuclear debate is another great power intervention in Iranian

Winograd Commission submits Interim Report

On Monday, April 30, the Inquiry Commission into the military campaign held in Lebanon in summer 2006, headed by former Justice Dr. Eliyahu Winograd, submitted to the Prime Minister and Minister of Defense an interim report relating to the time from the IDF's exit from Lebanon to the soldiers' abduction on July 12, 2006 and to the time between July 12 and July 17, when the decision to move into war was taken.

Israeli PM Olmert receives Interim Report from Commission chairman, former Justice Dr. Eliyahu Winograd.

On September 17th 2006, the Government of Israel decided, under section 8A of Basic Law: The Government 2001, to appoint a governmental commission of examination "To look into the preparation and conduct of the political and the security levels concerning all the dimensions of the Northern Campaign which started on July 12th 2006". The Commission was appointed due to a strong sense of a crisis and deep disappointment with the consequences of the campaign and the way it was conducted. We regarded accepting this difficult task both as a duty and a privilege. It is our belief that the larger the event and the deeper the feeling of crisis - the greater the opportunity to change and improve matters which are essential for the security and the flourishing of state and society in Israel. This conception of our role affected the way we operated. No-one underestimates the need to study what happened in the past, including the imposition of personal responsibility. The past is the key for learning lessons for the future.

This emphasis on learning lessons follows from our belief that one of Israeli society's greatest sources of strength is its being free, open and creative. Together with great achievements, the challenges facing it are existential. To cope with them, Israel must be a learning society - a society which examines its achievements and, in particular, its failures, in order to improve its ability to face the future.

Initially we hoped that the appointment of the Commission will serve as an incentive to accelerate learning processes in the relevant systems, while we are working, so that we could devote our time to study all of the materials in depth, and present the public with a comprehensive picture. However, learning processes have been limited. In some ways an opposite, and worrying, process emerged - a process of 'waiting' for the Commission's Report before energetic and determined action is taken to redress failures which have been revealed. Therefore we decided to publish initially an Interim Report, focusing on the decisions related to starting the war. We do this in the hope that the relevant bodies will act urgently to change and correct all that it implies. We would like to reiterate and emphasize that we hope that this Partial Report, which concentrates on the functioning of the highest political and military echelons in their decision to move into the war will not divert attention from the overall troubling complete picture revealed by the war as a whole.

The core of the interim report is a detailed examination of the decisions of senior political and military decision-makers to go to war at the wake of the abduction of the two soldiers on the morning of July 12th. We start with the decision of the government on the fateful evening of the 12th to authorize a sharp military response, and end with the speech of the Prime Minister in the Knesset on July 17th, when he officially presented the campaign and its goals. These decisions were critical and constitutive, and therefore deserve separate investigation. We should note that these decisions enjoyed broad support within the government, the Knesset and the public throughout this period.

Despite this broad support, we determine that there are very serious failings in these decisions and the way they were made. We impose the primary responsibility for these failures on the Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence and the (outgoing) Chief of Staff. All three made a decisive personal contribution to these decisions and the way in which they were made. However,, there are many others who share responsibility for the mistakes we found in these decisions and for their background conditions.

10. The main failures in the decisions made and the decision-making processes can be summed up as follows:

    a.The decision to respond with an immediate, intensive military strike was not based on a detailed, comprehensive and authorized military plan, based on careful study of the complex characteristics of the Lebanon

arena. A meticulous examination of these characteristics would have revealed the following: the ability to achieve military gains having significant political-international weight was limited; an Israeli military strike would inevitably lead to missiles fired at the Israeli civilian north; there was no other effective military response to such missile attacks than an extensive and prolonged ground operation to capture the areas from which the missiles were fired - which would have a high "cost" and which did not enjoy broad support. These difficulties were not explicitly raised with the political leaders before the decision to strike was taken.

b. Consequently, in making the decision to go to war, the government did not consider the whole range of options, including that of continuing the policy of 'containment', or combining political and diplomatic moves with military strikes below the 'escalation level', or military preparations without immediate military action - so as to maintain for Israel the full range of responses to the abduction. This failure reflects weakness in strategic thinking.

c. The support in the cabinet for this move was gained in part through ambiguity in the presentation of goals and modes of operation, so that ministers with different or even contradictory attitudes could support it. The ministers voted for a vague decision, without understanding and knowing its nature and implications. They authorized to commence a military campaign without considering how to exit it.

d. Some of the declared goals of the war were not clear and could not be achieved, and in part were not achievable by military action.

e. The IDF did not exhibit creativity in proposing alternative action possibilities, did not alert the political decision-makers to the discrepancy between its own scenarios and the authorized modes of action, and did not demand - as was necessary under its own plans - early mobilization of the reserves so they could be equipped and trained in case a ground operation would be required.

f. Even after these facts became known to the political leaders, they failed to adapt the military way of operation and its goals to the reality on the ground. On the contrary, declared goals were too ambitious, and it was publicly states that fighting will continue till they are achieved.

The primary responsibility for these serious failings rests with the Prime Minister, the Minister of Defense and the (outgoing) Chief of Staff. We single out these three because it is likely that had any of them acted better - the decisions in the relevant period and the ways they were made, as well as the outcome of the war, would have been significantly better.

Let us start with the Prime Minister.

a. The Prime Minister bears supreme and comprehensive responsibility for the decisions of 'his' government and the operations of the army. His responsibility for the failures in the initial decisions concerning the war stem from both his position and from his behaviour, as he initiated and led the decisions which were taken.

b. The Prime Minister made up his mind hastily, despite the fact that no detailed military plan was submitted to him and without asking for one. Also, his decision was made without close study of the complex features of the Lebanon front and of the military, political and diplomatic options available to Israel. He made his decision without systematic consultation with others, especially outside the IDF, despite not having experience in external-political and military affairs. In addition, he did not adequately consider political and professional reservations presented to him before the fateful decisions of July 12th.

c. The Prime Minister is responsible for the fact that the goals of the campaign were not set out clearly and carefully, and that there was no serious discussion of the relationships between these goals and the authorized modes of military action.

d. The Prime Minister did not adapt his plans once it became clear that the assumptions and expectations of Israel's actions were not realistic and were not materializing. All of these add up to a serious failure in exercising judgment, responsibility and prudence.

13. The Minister of Defence is the minister responsible for overseeing the IDF, and he is a senior member in the group of leaders in charge of political-military affairs.

a. The Minister of Defence did not have knowledge or experience in military, political or governmental matters. He also did not have good knowledge of the basic principles of using military force to achieve political goals. Despite these serious gaps, he made his decisions during this period without systemic consultations with experienced political and professional experts, including outside the security establishment. In addition, he did not give adequate weight to reservations expressed in the meetings he attended.

b. The Minister of Defence did not act within a strategic conception of the systems he oversaw. He did not ask for the IDF's operational plans and did not examine them; he did not check the preparedness and fitness of IDF; and did not examine the fit between the goals set and the modes of action presented and authorized for achieving them.

c. The Minister of Defence did not develop an independent assessment of the implications of the complexity of the front for Israel's proper response, the goals of the campaign, and the relations between military and diplomatic moves within it. His lack of experience and knowledge prevented him from challenging in a competent way both the IDF, over which he was in charge, and the Prime Minister.

d. In all these ways, the Minister of Defence failed in fulfilling his functions. Therefore, his serving as Minister of Defence during the war impaired Israel's ability to respond well to its challenges.

The Chief of Staff (COS) is the supreme commander of the IDF, and the main source of information concerning the army, its plans, abilities and recommendations presented to the political echelon.

Furthermore, the COS's personal involvement with decision making within the army and in coordination with the political echelon were dominant.

a. The army and the COS were not prepared for the event of the abduction despite recurring alerts. When the abduction happened, he responded impulsively. He did not alert the political leaders to the complexity of the situation, and did not present information, assessments and plans that were available in the IDF at various levels of planning and approval and which would have enabled a better response to the challenges.

b. Among other things, the COS did not alert the political echelon to the serious shortcomings in the preparedness and the fitness of the armed forces for an extensive ground operation, if that became necessary. In addition, he did not clarify that the military assessments and analyses of the arena were that a military strike against Hezbollah will with a high probability make such a move necessary.

c. The COS's responsibility is aggravated by the fact that he knew well that both the Prime Minister and the Minister of Defence lacked adequate knowledge and experience in these matters, and by the fact that he had led them to believe that the IDF was ready and prepared and had operational plans fitting the situation.

d. The COS did not provide adequate responses to serious reservation about his recommendations raised by ministers and others during the first days of the campaign, and he did not present to the political leaders the internal debates within the IDF concerning the fit between the stated goals and the authorized modes of actions.

e. In all these the Chief of Staff failed in his duties as commander in chief of the army and as a critical part of the political-military leadership, and exhibited flaws in professionalism, responsibility and judgment.

Concomitantly we determine that the failures listed here, and in the outcomes of the war, had many other partners.

a. The complexity of the Lebanon scene is basically outside Israel's control.

b. The ability of Hezbollah to sit 'on the border', its ability to dictate the moment of escalation, and the growth of its military abilities and missile arsenal increased significantly as a result of Israel's unilateral withdrawal in May 2000 .

c. The shortcomings in the preparedness and the training of the army, its operational doctrine, and various flaws in its organizational culture and structure, were all the responsibility of the military commanders and political leaders in charge years before the present Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Chief of Staff took office.

d. On the political-security strategic level, the lack of preparedness was also caused by the failure to update and fully articulate Israel's security strategy doctrine, in the fullest sense of that term, so that it could not serve as a basis for coping comprehensively will all the challenges facing Israel. Responsibility for this lack of an updates national security strategy lies with Israel's governments over the years. This omission made it difficult to devise an immediate proper response to the abduction, because it led to stressing an immediate and sharp military strike. If the response had been derived from a more comprehensive security strategy, it would have been easier to take into account Israel's overall balance of strengths and vulnerabilities, including the preparedness of the civil population.

e. Another factor which largely contributed to the failures is the weakness of the high staff work available to the political leadership. This weakness existed under all previous Prime Ministers and this continuing failure is the responsibility of these PMs and their cabinets. The current political leadership did not act in a way that could compensate for this lack, and did not rely sufficiently on other bodies within and outside the security system that could have helped it.

f. Israel's government in its plenum failed in its political function of taking full responsibility for its decisions. It did not explore and seek adequate response for various reservations that were raised, and authorized an immediate military strike that was not thought-through and suffered from over-reliance on the judgment of the primary decision-makers.

g. Members of the IDF's general staff who were familiar with the assessments and intelligence concerning the Lebanon front, and the serious deficiencies in preparedness and training, did not insist that these should be considered within the army, and did not alert the political leaders concerning the flaws in the decisions and the way they were made.

As a result of our investigation, we make a number of structural and institutional recommendations, which require urgent attention:

a. The improvement of the quality of discussions and decision making within the government through strengthening and deepening staff work; strict enforcement of the prohibition of leaks; improving the knowledge base of all members of the government on core issues of Israel's challenges, and orderly procedures for presentation of issues for discussion and resolution.

b. Full incorporation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in security decisions with political and diplomatic aspects.

c. Substantial improvement in the functioning of the National Security Council, the establishment of a national assessment team, and creating a center for crises management in the Prime Minister's Office.

We regard it is of great importance to make findings, reach conclusions and present recommendations on the other critical issues which emerged in this war. We will cover them in the

final report, which we strive to conclude soon. These subjects include, among others, the direction of the war was led and its management by the political echelon; the conduct of the military campaign by the army; the civil-military relationship in the war; taking care of Israel's civilian population under missile attack; the diplomatic negotiations by the Prime Minister's office and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; censorship, the media and secrecy; the effectiveness of Israel's media campaign; and the discussion of various social and political processes which are essential for a comprehensive analysis of the events of the war and their significance.

Let us add a few final comments: It took the government till March 2007 to name the events of the summer of 2006 'The Second Lebanon War'. After 25 years without a war, Israel experienced a war of a different kind. The war thus brought back to centre stage some critical questions that parts of Israeli society preferred to avoid.

The IDF was not ready for this war. Among the many reasons for this we can mention a few: Some of the political and military elites in Israel have reached the conclusion that Israel is beyond the era of wars. It had enough military might and superiority to deter others from declaring war against her; these

would also be sufficient to send a painful reminder to anyone who seemed to be undeterred; since Israel did not intend to initiate a war, the conclusion was that the main challenge facing the land forces would be low intensity asymmetrical conflicts.

Given these assumptions, the IDF did not need to be prepared for 'real' war. There was also no urgent need to update in a systematic and sophisticated way Israel's overall security strategy and to consider how to mobilize and combine all its resources and sources of strength - political, economic, social, military, spiritual. cultural and scientific - to address the totality of the challenges it faces.

We believe that - beyond the important need to examine the failures of conducting the war and the preparation for it, beyond the need to identify the weaknesses (and strengths) in the decisions made in the war - these are the main questions raised by the Second Lebanon war. These are questions that go far beyond the mandate of this or that commission of inquiry; they are the questions that stand at the center of our existence here as a Jewish and democratic state. It would be a grave mistake to concentrate only on the flaws revealed in the war and not to address these basic issues.

We hope that our findings and conclusions in the interim report and in the final report will not only impel taking care of the serious governmental flaws and failures we examine and expose, but will also lead towards a renewed process in which Israeli society, and its political and spiritual leaders will take up and explore Israel's long-term aspirations and the ways to advance them.

politics. Just like the 1953 Coup orchestrated by American and British spooks that swept aside the popular nationalist prime minister Mohammad Mossadegh, because he tried to nationalise Iran's oil industry, then controlled and exploited by the British.

To summarise, after 28 years of sanctions and containment, I think it is time to accept that this multiform pressure has not tempered Iran's strategy and political attitudes. The unexpected release of the British captives, however, shows that the Islamic Republic is still willing, and capable, of mitigating its ideology with pragmatism. **There is a lesson for us in there.**

To conclude I would like to consider a couple of statements by Zbigniew Brzezinski, National Security to the Carter administration and extremely influential in the first Clinton administration through his pupil Madeleine Albright. I think they explain adequately some recent shifts in US policy:

"To keep the barbarians from coming together, to prevent collusion and maintain security, the most pressing task is through manoeuvre and manipulation to prevent the emergence of a hostile coalition…those who must be divided and ruled are Germany, Russia and Iran as well as Japan and China"
quoted by G.Achcar in 'Rasputin plays at chess'
p.72 by Verso 2000

It was Brzezinski too who infamously defended US support for the Taliban: " What is more important in the world view of history? The Taliban or the fall of the Soviet Empire? A few stirred up Muslims or the liberation of Central Europe?"

There is no doubt that the above very rough analytical lines need further discussion and precision.

b. Political positions/strategy of the Iranian opposition:

As this article was being drafted I came across a note in Indymedia advertising a meeting in Queens University Belfast, and in Dublin, with an objective of setting up a 'Hands Off the People of Iran' campaign in the 32 Counties.

This initiative was taken by Iranian political activists and organisations that oppose the Islamic regime in Iran **and also stand against any imperialist sanctions or attack**. It has links with students, womens' organisations and workers struggles in Iran who are fighting for their rights there and are also against US or UN intervention.

An organisation has been set up in Britain and meetings have taken place in the United States as well as in other European countries. See the website for more details of supporters and the founding statement, news from Iran, activities and recent statements - www.hopoi.org

Yassamine Mather, a leading Iranian political activist and writer will be the main speaker at the meetings in Cork, Dublin and Belfast to launch the Irish campaign . She will give details of the situation in Iran and the links that have been made with the movements there as well as an analysis of the current crisis. Some of the organisations supporting this initiative have been listed as:

Campaign for a Marxist Party
Communist Party of Great Britain
Communist Students
Iran Bulletin - Middle East Forum
Iranian Workers Bulletin
Marxistische Initiative / Germany
Movement for Socialism
Organization of Revolutionary Workers of Iran Republican Communist Network
Socialist Democracy (Ireland)
Workers Left Unity – Iran

The www.hopoi.org website associated with this campaign states that among many other 'personalities' supporting this initiative, it has also received support from Senator David Norris and SWP's Mike Gonzalez .

c.   Britain's tempered response and rhetoric – comparisons with the US position

Had the British followed the American example, once the sailors and marines were captured, they could have escalated the conflict by pursuing the matter *more forcefully* at the United Nations or sending additional naval forces into the Gulf. Instead, they tempered their rhetoric and insisted that diplomacy was the only means of resolving the conflict. I was struck by how quick the Foreign Office in stressing that the use of the concept of 'hostages' used by Bush himself and some of the bellicose media, did not meet with the approval of the British administration.

There are conflicting analyses on the reasons why…some are arguing that the British Army is hard pushed as it is with its involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq to even consider a further escalation. As these lines are being written, questions are being raised in the British media about the objectives of the 'routine operation' by the marines and sailors in the Shatt al-Arab waterway, how they came to be captured, or the behaviour of some of the (former) captives and whether they were properly trained to either defend themselves or how to behave under interrogation. Others have suggested that the original operation was planned so as to force the Iranians into precipitate action and this create an environment for further escalation.

The whole debate on Iran, and particularly the arrest and captivity of the marines and sailors, has rekindled the tug – of – war between the two competing schools of foreign affairs in the US itself and their echoes across the Atlantic. The choices faced by Americans at the outset of both World War I and II have resurfaced. On the one hand, there is the dominant 'Atlanticist' and aggressively interventionist global current, fiercely fuelled by a whole cabal of neo-cons, and on the other there is a 'Jacksonian' America-first isolationist current pulling policy makers in different directions.

The gunboat diplomacy and the resulting 'war on terror' was the expression of the political dominance of the Atlanticist current. The with-us-or-against-us attitude of the Bush administration effectively divided what has been called 'the West' and underlies the calamity of the Iraq invasion. The interventionist current is now looking at Iran, with all the talk about the nuclear menace, as a potential anti-Iraq palliative. The

A recent view of Teheran with its 15 million inhabitants

neo-cons point out, that in contrast to the iron grip Saddam had on Iraq, the Mahmoud Ahmadinejad regime's power in Iran, in what is without question a much more pluralist society, is far from secure….this is translated as being a much more fertile ground for intervention, especially as inflation and unemployment have been rising in the country. I can't avoid drawing parallels with US foreign policy vis-à-vis Cuba in this respect.

The humiliation and abuse suffered by some of the hostages, particularly Faye Turney, in the hands of the British Press throws another sharp light into the equation above and the way politics work and are seen to work out in practice. Who was guiding or misguiding the young people, not only before their capture, but also after their return? We know that the MoD told them to go ahead and make some cash by selling their stories…..then the bureaucrats changed their mind after some of the marines did just that! Having been through the Iranian chapter of their adventure they now find themselves at the centre of an even more horrible and violent political quagmire.

d. The situation in Iraq and Iran's influence

After the revolution of 1979 against the Shah, and despite very large scale popular opposition, a religious government assumed power. Many progressive elements of the anti-Shah opposition were gradually and systematically eliminated while others were forced to choose between exile or capitulation. The United States, from its part, broke with Iran and cultivated closer relations with the leaders of Sunni Arab states such as Jordan, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. That strategy became infinitely more complex after September 11th, especially with regard to the Saudis. Al Qaeda is Sunni, and many of its operatives came from extremist religious circles inside Saudi Arabia. So are the Taliban in Afghanistan and most of the virulently anti-American opposition in Pakistan.

Before the invasion of Iraq, in 2003, Bush Administration officials, influenced by neo-conservatives, assumed that a Shiite government there could provide a pro-American balance to Sunni extremists, since Iraq's Shiite majority had been oppressed under Saddam Hussein. They ignored warnings about the ties between Iraqi Shiite leaders and Iran, where some had lived in exile for years. Now, to the distress of the White House, Iran has forged a close relationship with the Shiite-dominated government of Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki as well as with a number of very militant Shiite forces, such as the Mahdi Army, that have been gradually adopting anti-occupation positions.

This is the background of a gradually emerging new US policy in the region. Flynt Leverett, a former Bush Administration National Security Council official, put it succinctly when he said: "There is nothing coincidental or ironic about our new strategy with regard to the region. The Administration is trying to make a case that Iran is more dangerous and more provocative than the Sunni insurgents to American interests in Iraq, when—if you look at the actual casualty numbers—the punishment inflicted on America by the Sunnis is greater by an order of magnitude….This is all part of the campaign of provocative steps to increase the pressure on Iran. The idea is that at some point the Iranians will respond and then the Administration will have an open door to strike at them."

To summarise, this emerging novel configuration of strategies and forces, highlighted by the entrance of Saudi Arabia and its main weapon money into the game, requires a very serious study and analysis. I suggest comrades in the anti-war movement study very carefully Seymour Hersch's article 'A Strategic Shift' the conclusions to which I fully subscribe. His analyses about what goes on in Lebanon, in Syria and in Egypt, as a result of this changing US policy are excellent and timely.

Blair admits terrorist "blowback" (edited)
by David Morrison
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The crowning achievement of Blair's premiership is that, by engaging in military action against Afghanistan and Iraq, ostensibly to counter threats to Britain, he has provoked an actual threat to Britain. And in the process, he has caused the deaths of about 200 British soldiers, and hundreds of thousands of Afghans and Iraqis. As for the threats to Britain, there were none. And there is no end in sight.

Prime Minister Blair has finally acknowledged that his military interventions in the Muslim world have made Britain less safe. In his resignation speech in Sedgefield on May 10th, he admitted there had been "blowback" :

> "Removing Saddam and his sons from power, as with removing the Taliban, was over with relative ease. But the blowback since, from global terrorism and those elements that support it, has been fierce and unrelenting and costly. For many, it simply isn't and can't be worth it. For me, I think we must see it through. They, the terrorists, who threaten us here and round the world, will never give up if we give up. It is a test of will and of belief. And we can't fail it."

It is never easy to be sure what Blair means, but this seems clear enough: British intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan has produced a terrorist "blowback" in Britain and abroad. Because of these interventions, the terrorist threat to Britain, and to British interests abroad, has increased.

Blair justified military intervention in Afghanistan in October 2001 on the grounds that there was a threat to Britain from al-Qaida, which had to be countered. There was no threat to Britain from al-Qaida in October 2001. Immediately the British intervention began, Osama bin Laden uttered his first verbal threat against Britain .

Blair justified military intervention in Iraq in March 2003 on the grounds that there was a threat to Britain from Iraq, which had to be countered. There was no threat to Britain from Iraq in March 2003. But the intervention in Iraq increased the threat to Britain from al-Qaida. The first al-Qaida action against British interests took place in Istanbul on 20 November 2003.

Advance warning

And it's not as if Blair wasn't warned in advance. In February 2003, the British intelligence services warned him that the risk of a blowback of this kind would be increased by taking military action against Iraq.

We know this from the Intelligence and Security Committee (ISC) report *Iraqi Weapons of Mass Destruction – In-*telligence and Assessments* published in September 2003 [www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/publications/reports/isc/iwmdia.pdf], pars 125-128 owhich are concerned with terrorism. On 10 February 2003, the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) produced an assessment entitled *International Terrorism: War with Iraq*, in which, according to the ISC report, it

> "assessed that al-Qaida and associated groups continued to represent by far the greatest terrorist threat to Western interests, and that threat would be heightened by military action against Iraq….assessed that any collapse of the Iraqi regime would increase the risk of chemical and biological warfare technology or agents finding their way into the hands of terrorists, not necessarily al-Qaida."

Blair didn't tell the House of Commons about either of these warnings on 18 March 2003, lest their enthusiasm for military action against Iraq be dampened.

Threat realised

After the US/UK invasion of Iraq, the JIC produced an assessment in April 2005 entitled *International Terrorism: Impact of Iraq*, extracts from which were published in *The Sunday Times* on 2 April 2006 [www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2087-2114502,00.html]. It said:

> "We judge that the conflict in Iraq has exacerbated the threat from international terrorism and will continue to have an impact in the long term….It has reinforced the determination of terrorists who were already committed to attacking the West and motivated others who were not…...Iraq is likely to be an important motivating factor for some time to come in the radicalisation of British Muslims and for those extremists who view attacks against the UK as legitimate."

A few months after this assessment was produced by the JIC, the London bombings took place. Then, until now, despite all the evidence, Blair steadfastly refused to admit that there is a causal link between British military intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq and terrorism by Muslims in Britain

In his valedictory speech, he has finally done so.

For more information on this and other articles by David Morrison please contact him at:

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Somalia , Another Lawless War

a reckless U.S. proxy war rages largely unreported   *by Glenda Cimino*

The U.S. intelligence service, obsessed with the risk of Taliban infiltration in Somalia, inadvertently helped the Union of Islamic Courts seize power in June 2006. Now the US government is active behind the scene, through bombing raids, CIA interrogations at secret prisons in Ethiopia, backing the invasion by Ethiopian troops to bolster up a puppet regime, the 'transitional' government of a coalition of warlords against the Islamic government in Somalia.

The neoconservatives' failed strategy in Palestine, Afghanistan and Iraq, is being repeated in Somalia as well. The general plan is to set up a fake government and bring it into power by any means necessary, to represent and cater to foreign interests.

In Somalia, clashes between U.S- backed Ethiopian forces and fighters aligned with the Islamic Courts Union in the capital Mogadishu have been described as some of the heaviest fighting in the city's history. Local human rights workers report at least 329 people have been killed over the past ten days. This comes just three weeks after another series of battles claimed at least 1,000 lives.

The fighting began in December when US-backed Ethiopian forces invaded Somalia. Four months ago, Islamic fighters abandoned the capital, marking the official fall of the Islamic Courts Union, which had controlled Mogadishu for six months last year.

Humanitarian catastrophe caused by illegal invasion

A humanitarian catastrophe now looms over Somalia. The United Nations says more people have been displaced in Somalia in the past three months than anywhere else in the world. Some 350,000 have fled fighting in Mogadishu since February, more than one-third of its population. That makes the rate of displacement in Somalia over the past three months worse than Iraq. Many of those displaced are camped on the outskirts of Mogadishu and lack food, medicine and clean water. There is also concern for those trapped inside the capital where more than 600 people have died from acute diarrhoea and cholera

According to Salim Lone, journalist for *The Daily Nation* in Kenya and former spokesman for the UN mission in Iraq in 2003, women are being raped, hospitals and , neighbourhoods are being bombed and raided regardless of the presence of women and children. This is clearly a huge effort to intimidate and terrorize all those who come from clans who are fighting the government. The Ethiopians and the puppet government want to intimidate the civilians, because most of the death toll is of civilians. So this has been going on, and there has been no call whatsoever for this to stop.

Death toll greater than Lebanon, but the world is silent

The death toll now in Somalia is greater than it was in Lebanon. And you will recall, of course, that even then, the big powers -- the US, UK, even initially the UN -- did not demand a ceasefire. But the world media was full of that story, and there were condemnations around the world for what the Israelis were doing. But, of course, Somalis and Africans don't count as nearly much, because there has just been no international outcry at all. It's not just the media. According to an interview by Salim Lone in *Democracy Now,"* We are seeing the Security Council completely silent while these atrocities are going on. We are seeing Western governments completely silent. Nothing has come out of Washington. Nothing has come out of London. We now see, for the first time last Wednesday, the ambassador of Germany -- and Germany holds the EU presidency now… released a letter which he had sent to Abdullah Yusuf, the president of the transitional government. It is a very candid and a very strong letter, and that's wonderful. However, where was Germany? Where was the EU for all this period? Their silence has really given the green light for the Ethiopians to do the terrible things they've been doing. "

John Holmes, United Nations emergency relief coordinator has stated: "There are stocks available in the area. If we can sort out the access problems, if we can step up our presence, in particular if we could achieve a ceasefire in Mogadishu and the surrounding area, then I think we will be able to cope with the problem, with some difficulty. But if the fighting continues at its present intensity, if there is no halt in that, if there is no political progress made, then we could indeed be facing a very serious situation indeed. I think already this is one of the biggest…. displacements of population we've seen this year……compared to the populations of Mogadishu or indeed of Somalia as a whole, greater in that sense than Darfur or eastern Chad, and the problems there are serious enough."

What is actually going on, and why is it happening?

US Instigation of War between Ethiopia and Somalia

Undeterred by the horrors and setbacks in Iraq , Afghanistan and Lebanon , the Bush administration opened another battlefront in the Muslim world in late 2006. It received little media attention. With full U.S. backing and military training, at least 15,000 Ethiopian troops entered Somalia in an illegal war of aggression against the Union of Islamic Courts, which controlled at that time almost the entire south of the country.

As with Iraq in 2003, the United States cast this as a war to curtail terrorism, but its real goal is to obtain a direct foothold in a highly strategic region by establishing a client re-

gime there. The Horn of Africa is newly oil-rich, and lies just miles from Saudi Arabia, overlooking the daily passage of large numbers of oil tankers and warships through the Red Sea. General John Abizaid, then U.S. military chief of the Iraq war, was in Ethiopia , and President Hu Jintao of China visited Kenya , Sudan and Ethiopia earlier this year to pursue oil and trade agreements.

The U.S. instigation of war between Ethiopia and Somalia , two of the world's poorest countries already struggling with massive humanitarian disasters, is reckless in the extreme. Unlike in the run-up to Iraq , independent experts, including from the European Union, were united in warning that this war could destabilize the whole region even if America succeeds in its goal of toppling the Islamic Courts.

An insurgency by Somalis, millions of whom live in Kenya and Ethiopia, will surely ensue, and attract thousands of new anti-U.S. militants and terrorists.

With so much of the world convulsed by crisis, little attention has been paid to this unfolding disaster in the Horn. The UN Security Council, however, did take up the issue, and in another craven act which will further cement its reputation as an anti-Muslim body, bowed to American and British pressure to authorize a regional peacekeeping force to enter Somalia to protect the 'transitional government,' which is fighting the Islamic Courts.

The UN resolution states that the world body acted to "restore peace and stability." But as all major international news organizations have reported, this last year Somalia finally experienced its first respite from 16 years of utter lawlessness and terror at the hands of the marauding warlords who drove out UN peacekeepers in 1993, when 18 American soldiers were killed.

Since 1993, there had been no Security Council interest in sending peacekeepers to Somalia, but as peace and order took hold, a multilateral force was suddenly deemed necessary ― because it was the Islamic Courts Union that had brought about this stability. Astonishingly, the Islamists had succeeded in defeating the warlords primarily through rallying people to their side by creating law and order through the application of Sharia law, which Somalis universally practice.

The transitional government, on the other hand, is dominated by the warlords and terrorists who drove out American forces in 1993. Organised in Kenya by U.S. regional allies, it is so completely devoid of internal support that it has turned to Somalia's arch- enemy, Ethiopia, for assistance.

If this war continues, it will affect the whole region, do serious harm to U.S. interests and threaten Kenya, the only island of stability in this corner of Africa.

Ethiopia is at even greater risk, as a dictatorship with little popular support and beset also by two large internal revolts, by the Ogadenis and Oromos. It is also mired in a conflict with Eritrea, which has denied it secure access to seaports.

The best antidote to terrorism in Somalia is stability, which the Islamic Courts were providing. The Islamists have strong public support, which has grown in the face of U.S. and Ethiopian interventions. As in other Muslim-Western conflicts, the world needs to engage with the Islamists to secure peace.

Prime Minister Ali Mohamed Ghedi of the transitional government said recently his forces were now in control of Mogadishu and the BBC reported that for the first time in nine days, gunfire stopped. Ethiopians and government troops are patrolling the city conducting house-to-house searches as residents collect rotting bodies that had been abandoned in the streets.

Sources:

Salim Lone, the spokesman for the UN mission in Iraq in 2003, is a columnist for The Daily Nation in Kenya. Article, *In Somalia, a reckless U.S . proxy war* , in The Herald Tribune, www.iht.com/articles/2006/12/26/opinion/edlone.php

Salim Lone, interview with Amy Goodman on 'Democracy Now'

Gerard Prunier, a researcher at the CNRS in Paris and director of the French Centre for Ethiopian Studies in Addis Ababa. 2006 Gerard Prunier - Le Monde diplomatique, *The Strange CIA Coup in Somalia,* Le Monde diplomatique September 29, 2006

"In a matter of seven months, five hundred and thirty one villages were destroyed and eleven urban neighbourhoods emptied" (Ilan Pappe)

In May 1948, Zionist immigrants who comprised 35% of the population and owned less than 7% of the land, in defiance of the Palestinian people, persuaded the UN to support the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, what followed was a catastrophe, Palestine's.

Some 750,000 were driven out or else fled in fear, their homes and villages razed to prevent their returning - according to historian Ilan Pappe; "In a matter of seven months, five hundred and thirty one villages were destroyed and eleven urban neighbourhoods emptied. The mass expulsion was accompanied by massacres, rape and the imprisonment of men in labour camps for periods of over a year."

In an address to the General Staff in May 1948, David Ben-Gurion, founding PM of Israel set out what had to be done: "We must use terror, assassination, intimidation, land confiscation, and the cutting of all social services to rid the Galilee of its Arab population."

In December 1948, Resolution 194 was passed by the UN confirming the refugees legal right to return to their homes and land. Two years later Israel's response was to legalise the criminal expropriation of Palestinian property by passing the Absentee Property Law providing for the confiscation of the property and land left behind by fleeing Palestinians. They were defined as "absentees" (Arabs who never left Israel, and received citizenship after the war, but stayed for a few days in a nearby village had their property also confiscated). According to the UK Independent;'s Robert Fisk, an Israeli Custodian of Absentee Property told him that, including the Gaza Strip and The West Bank it could amount to up to 70% of the territory.

So it went, so it goes. no mercy for Palestine then or now, only a slow vicious torture on the Israeli wheel?.
Related Link: http://www.ipsc.ie
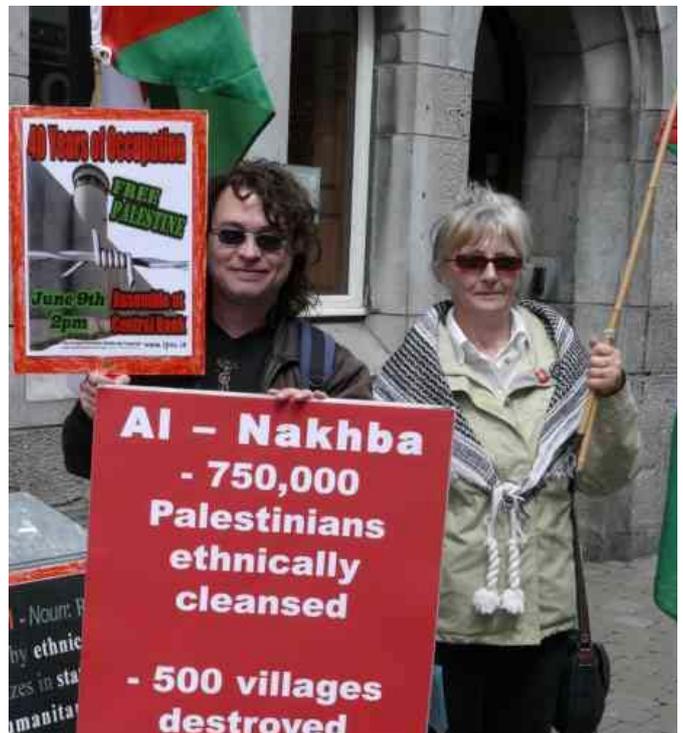
of the biggest demonstrations in the USA against the war and the continued occupation of Iraq. She has also travelled outside the US, to work with and inspire anti war movements in many countries. She was roughly ejected from the visitor's gallery of Bush's State of the Union speech because she wore a tee shirt with an anti-war message. In January 2007, along with one of the Tipton 3 (see below) and other peace activists she demonstrated on the Cuban side of the Guantanamo Bay detention centre. She continually argues strongly for the unity of the anti war / peace movement.

Much of Cindy's writing recognises the disparity between the immense suffering of the ordinary Iraqi people and the cosy comfort of the US administration;

The invasion/occupation of Iraq is a horror that was based on lies, deceptions and greed. The people of Iraq are suffering terribly in their own country while George Bush, Dick Cheney, and 99% of the American public do not have to sacrifice one iota of comfort or concern because of the terror that is being inflicted on a civilian population that have done nothing to be punished so harshly.

Cindy first came to Ireland in December 2005 as a guest of Irish Anti war Movement.. On her visit then she clearly questioned the morality of the Irish Government in providing Shannon Airport as a facility for the US army on route to Iraq. For the IAWM demo on March 24 outside the Fianna Fail Ard Fheis she sent us the following message;

> *Dear Friends...Thank you for your steadfast work against the War Machine of the US government. It has long been my feeling that even though Ireland has no troops in Iraq, that allowing our torture planes and troops transport planes to land there is immoral and aids in the illegal and immoral occupation of Iraq.*

Through her steadfast work she is recognised as a huge thorn in the side of the neo cons in Washington and a great threat to their'Project for the New American Century'.. While most of her criticism is rightly directed at Bush and his neo cons she believes also that Democratic Party politicians

should not be let off the hook, as she noted at her last public appearance in Dublin.

It is with great admiration and gratitude that the Irish Anti War Movement welcomes Cindy back to Ireland at this crucial time in our own campaign against the complicity of the Irish Government in supporting the US/UK in the Iraq war.

CLOSE GUANTANAMO BAY TORURE CAMP   by Jim Roche

George Bush has branded all Guantanamo Bay prisoners 'the worst of the worst' among the world's terrorists. Former US Ambassador to Ireland, James C Kenny has called the US prison camp at Guantanamo Bay an essential element in the fight "to make the world safe from terrorism". Both of these statements are criminal nonsense.

Guantanamo Bay is part of the new state of permanent warfare that the Bush administration has brought to the world that includes illegal prisons, covert rendition and torture. The US prison at Guantanamo Bay can only be described as a torture camp. Inmates are incarcerated in caged cells, labelled as enemy combatants and denied basic human rights including access to lawyers.

Consider the case of **Rhuhel Ahmed**, from Tipton in the West Midland—UK.. He went with three friends to Pakistan for a wedding. When the US began bombing Afghanistan all four friends crossed the border to offer help to the victims of these attacks. One of them disappeared completely. The other three, Rhuhel, Iqbal and Rasul were arrested and handed over to the US army. They were tortured before being transported to Guantanamo Bay where they spent two years.

They were released without charge in 2004 after MI 5 (who were helping the US prosecute the men) had to admit that one of the men had been working in a shop in Birmingham at the time that all three were being accused of visiting the al-Farouq training camp in Afghanistan. Note the uncanny similarities with the cases of the Guildford 4 and Birmingham 6 here.

This story is told in Michael Winterbottom's film '*The Road to Guantanamo'* which won the Silver Bear award for direction at the Berlin Film Festival. To add insult to injury, two of the men along with four of the actors in the film, were arrested, questioned and insulted by British Police at Luton Airport as they returned from the Berlin Film Festival.

Rhuhel and his Tipton 3 brothers should be compensated by the US for the horrific treatment they have received. And the torture camp must be closed!!

Anti-war activists on trial

NINE MEMBERS of the Derry Anti-War Coalition, who occupied the offices of the arms multinational Raytheon during the Israeli war on Lebanon in August 2006, are due to stand trial and face jails sentences if convicted.

Raytheon, based in Boston in the US, is the world's third largest missile manufacturer, makers of the Tomahawk, Sidewinder, Patriot and 'bunker buster' bombs, and many others. They supply the bombs used against civilians by the US and UK military in Iraq and Afghanistan and supply their allies, including Israel.

Raytheon opened an office in Derry in 1999 to make military software, used to guide missiles. During the occupation the computer equipment used to make this software was decommissioned.

If the Raytheon 9 are branded criminals then we are being asked to accept that it is a crime to occupy the office of an arms company, but not a crime to occupy a country; that it is a crime to drop computers from an office window, but that it is not a crime to drop missiles on innocent people.

The Raytheon 9 will face the court as the accusers of Raytheon not the accused, and will use the trial to highlight the war crimes of the US and UK governments.

The Derry Anti-War Coalition appeals to all those opposed to the wars in the Middle East to support the Raytheon 9 at the Preliminary Enquiry of their trial on 5 June 2007.

Defend the Raytheon 9
Derry Court House, Bishop Street
9.30am Tuesday 5 June 2007

For more details phone **Derry Anti-War Coalition** 07771 781958
For details of transport from Belfast phone **Belfast Anti-War Movement** 07837 507935
Or from Dublin, Cork & Galway phone **Irish Anti-War Movement** 00353 872886646

The Raytheon 9 have received support from throughout Ireland and across the world. Among those who have signed the statement of support are Noam Chomsky, Mark Thomas, Christy Moore, George Galloway MP, Salma Yaqoob, Stop the War Coalition, Ibrahim Mousawi (Lebanon), Caoimhe Butterly, Richard Boyd Barrett, Irish Anti-War Movement and many others. To add your name to the statement, visit the Raytheon 9 website.

www.raytheon9.org