

*TRIDENT  
A BRITISH WAR CRIME*

*AN ORATORIO*

*Composed by Camilla Cancantata  
May 2004*



With acknowledgements to Rebecca Johnson and Angie Zelter  
for invaluable information, research and advice

**Dedicated to all the victims of nuclear warfare and  
weapons testing**

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This piece was originally composed for Trident Ploughshares for use in their continuing civil resistance against the nuclear weapons of the UK. It was aimed specifically at the Scottish and English Judiciary who have a duty to uphold International Law and respect the Nuremberg Principles and yet who continue to allow illegal weapons of mass destruction (the UK Trident weapon system) to be deployed at Faslane in Scotland. It deals with the most serious crimes of concern to the whole international community – crimes against humanity and war crimes. It is a direct appeal to the Judiciary to act independently of the Government to uphold the basic principles of law – to rule that it is Trident that is a breach of the peace and a crime against humanity, not the nonviolent anti-nuclear protesters.

This Oratorio was composed in order to reclaim space, both the public space, that has been enclosed and defined by the state and establishment hierarchy, and private space - our mental space, our imagination, which is increasingly invaded by corporate media, political propaganda, and information overload. A group of Trident Ploughshares and Theatre of War activists performed it at the Edinburgh High Court on July 12<sup>th</sup> 2004, as a call to the judiciary, who have consistently failed to fulfil their obligations to uphold international law in Britain. We encourage choirs and singing groups in all of the nuclear states to use or adapt this material to put the case in their own countries and reconfigure the local landscape physically and mentally.

States and corporations like to keep things apart – nuclear weapons in military bases, music in concert halls or acceptable public spaces, children in schools, legal processes obscured by unintelligible language and intimidating rituals. In the name of security, common land is enclosed and made into high security areas, which it is a criminal offence to enter. In the name of development, corporations expropriate indigenous people's lands for dams, oil pipelines and transgenic crops. Legal systems are manipulated to serve the interests of the rich and powerful, rather than protecting the poor, or upholding international laws that affirm equal rights for all and acknowledge our common future.

But once we accept the interconnectedness of all being, we cannot support systems that are life-denying, or accept the increasingly unbearable reality they try to impose. We do not need to be afraid that so-called political art is just the province of a few intellectuals with time on their hands, or simplistic agit-prop with no intrinsic artistic value. It is about acts of the imagination, that can free us to think about the kind of world we really want to live in and how to create it, as well as what we want to leave behind. In the process of imagining we already inhabit a different mental space to that of the military-industrial complex. We refuse to collude with, or be silenced by ideologies of greed and fear, and acknowledge both our power, and our moral obligation to create change.

**Note to performers** – a small and dedicated group of activists (not a professional choir) worked very hard to create both the live and pre-recorded versions of this piece. See the last page for names. In some cases, there may be a discrepancy between the recorded and written version. If in doubt, keep to the written sheet-music version, but feel free also to adapt to your needs, especially in the Hiroshima song, where different people will want to highlight different places that have been destroyed or contaminated by nuclear poisons.

## Who are the criminals?

Who are the criminals<sup>1</sup>, who is the judge? What is the crime, who decides?  
What is the law, who will judge? What is the threat, what is the crime?  
Who are the criminals, what is the crime? Who are the criminals, what is the crime?  
What is the crime, what is the crime?

Nuremburg<sup>2</sup>, Nuremburg. Remember Nuremburg, remember Nuremburg.  
International law is clear. We have the right to live without fear.  
Threatening the innocent is a war crime.  
Preparing for mass murder is a war crime, war crime, war crime.

How many, how many, how many, how many, how many children killed?

Who are the victims, who dies in war, how many lives torn apart?  
How many children killed by bombs? How many profits made from death?  
How many weapons built to destroy? How many deals made in blood?  
Where is the justice, under what law?

Who are the criminals, who will judge? Who are the victims, who decides?  
Who the oppressor, who will judge? Who is the enemy, who decides?  
Who are the criminals, who will judge?

<sup>1</sup> **Trident and the Scottish High Court** - in June 1999 Trident Ploughshares Pledgers, Ellen Moxley, Ulla Roder, and Angie Zelter, damaged Maytime, a Trident-related research barge in Loch Long. They were subsequently found not guilty of criminal damage by Sheriff Margaret Gimblett in Greenock Sheriff Court. Gimblett took the view that their action was justified because of Trident's unlawfulness. Predictably the Lord Advocate responded by referring her judgment to the Scottish High Court for review in a process called a Lord Advocate's Reference (LAR). There were seven days of hearing during which powerful arguments were put to show the illegality of Trident and the right of the women to take the action they did. The High Court did not agree and in its opinion on the LAR criticised Margaret Gimblett's judgment and said that the UK government was not breaking the law in deploying Trident. They argued that international law on weapons specifically related to warfare and times of armed conflict and since we were not at war (as they claimed, even though evidence of ongoing UK bombing of Iraq was presented to the Court) you could not examine the legality of our weapon system. Further they claimed that the deployment of Trident by the UK was not a threat –it was a general deterrent. We take the view that their judgment was nonsensical and contrary to the findings of the International Court of Justice in 1996.

The legal struggle against Trident is by no means over. When we look at how many changes in the law and how it is interpreted, have been forced by popular opinion on such matters as domestic abuse and rape we can hope that the sheer simplicity and power of the legal case against Trident will eventually be understood and accepted by the legal establishment, just as it is today by most ordinary people who spend ten minutes thinking about it.

The root problem in all this is the unwillingness of the leading western nations, the nuclear weapon states, to be judged by the standards they wish to impose on others. After all, that is what international law means, the willingness to be bound by common standards.

The Scottish High Court has also been the scene of many Trident Ploughshares appeals. Appeals that have ranged from challenging the way Breach of the Peace is applied to protesters but not to those in the military establishment enabling Trident to be deployed; all the way through to appeals against over heavy fines and lengths of imprisonment imposed on Trident Ploughshares Pledgers. The Scottish High Court have been given many opportunities to rule on the side of peace and justice and against the Government and will continue to hear cases where they could, if they wished, use their wisdom and knowledge of the law to judge according to the basic human right to life. They could help stop the UK's preparations for mass murder.

Nuremburg is the town in Germany where the war-crimes trials of Nazis were conducted after the end of WWII. In particular, it established that the defence of 'just following orders' was not legally or morally acceptable, and that soldiers were responsible for their actions even when under orders. Orders to kill civilians, destroy hospitals and schools, commit genocide or any other war-crimes, are unlawful and there is a duty under international law (whatever the domestic, national law may say) to refuse to carry out such unlawful orders.

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### **This is our World**

This is our world. This is our world.  
One trillion, one million million dollars a year<sup>3</sup>, spent by the world on weapons.  
And the richest countries, and the richest countries, squander the resources of the rest.  
  
Who is the criminal, who will judge? Who is the criminal, who will judge?

<sup>3</sup> The figure of one trillion dollars per year is taken from a UN statement in 2004.

### **Breach of the Peace**

Alarming, disturbing, breach of the peace<sup>4</sup>. Who is guilty of breach of the peace?  
One hundred kilotonnes of war machine. Totally destructive submarine.  
Trident in the Clyde. Trident in the Clyde. Nuclear war right at your door.  
Totally alarming, totally disturbing. Trident is the crime. Trident is the crime.  
We protest, we protest.  
  
Breach of the peace. Breach of the peace. Breach of the peace.  
Trident is the Crime. Trident is the Crime. Trident in the Clyde. Trident in the Clyde.  
Trident is the Crime. Trident is the Crime. Totally alarming. Totally disturbing.  
Trident is the crime.

<sup>4</sup> A person is charged with 'breach of the peace' if her actions are deemed by the police to be 'alarming' or 'disturbing' or 'likely to disturb or cause alarm' to others. Peaceful protesters against nuclear weapons in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries have frequently been charged under this law in the UK.

### **Proliferation, shame of the nation state**

Proliferation<sup>5</sup>, shame of the nation state,  
which views the other with hate, which views the other with hate, with hate, with hate.  
  
Proliferation, shame of the nation state,  
which views the other with hate, which views the other with hate, with hate, with hate.

<sup>5</sup> There are two kinds of proliferation: horizontal proliferation – the acquisition and spread of weapons to additional states or armed groups – and vertical proliferation, which includes further qualitative or quantitative developments by States acknowledged to possess certain weapons and the means of WMD delivery. All too often, when Western countries speak of proliferation and non-proliferation, they ignore vertical proliferation and point the finger only at the horizontal spread of the weapons. However, both kinds of proliferation are a serious threat to security. At present 8 countries are known to have nuclear weapons. Despite significant reductions since the end of the cold war, the United States and Russia possess more than 20,000 nuclear weapons between them, many of them still deployed on hair trigger alert. France is believed to have an arsenal of around 350 nuclear weapons (for submarines and aeroplanes); China, which has now overtaken France, has around 400; Britain possesses up to 200 warheads for the Trident nuclear weapon system; Israel is believed to have some 75-100 nuclear weapons, though some estimates put the Israeli arsenal as high as 200; India is building up, and believed to have around 50-60; and Pakistan may have 30-50. In addition, North Korea claims to have a nuclear programme and to have weaponised at least a few bombs, and there are continuing concerns about the nuclear ambitions of others such as Iran. Formerly, countries such as South Africa, Brazil and Argentina also pursued nuclear weapon programmes (and in South Africa's case actually produced some bombs), but when they changed their political systems they gave up their nuclear ambitions.

### Remember, remember Hiroshima

Remember, remember Hiroshima<sup>6</sup>, Nagasaki<sup>7</sup>, Rongelap<sup>8</sup>, Kwajalein<sup>8</sup>,  
We cannot forget the victims that died, shadows on the wall<sup>9</sup>, searing pain.  
The baby drawing breath, the children at play.  
Children playing, Mothers singing.  
Burning, burning, burning, burning. Crying for water, lost in hell.  
Vanished, vanished, burning, burning. Crying for water, lost in hell on earth.

Remember. We cannot forget.  
Hiroshima, and Sellafield<sup>10</sup>, and Aldermaston<sup>11</sup>. The children dying, struck with leukaemia<sup>12</sup>.  
Remember, Bikini Atoll<sup>13</sup> and Moruroa<sup>14</sup> and Christmas Island<sup>15</sup>, and Lop Nor<sup>16</sup>, and Chernobyl<sup>17</sup>.  
Remember Novaya Zemlya<sup>18</sup>, Nevada Test Site<sup>19</sup> and Rajasthan<sup>20</sup>.  
Remember Dimona<sup>21</sup>, Savannah River<sup>22</sup> and Nagasaki, Faslane<sup>23</sup> and Coulport<sup>24</sup>.

(This piece is adaptable to enable variation in the list of nuclear horror stories to include ones close to the singers).

<sup>6</sup> Hiroshima in Japan was where the first ever nuclear weapon was dropped by the USA on August 6, 1945; over 100,000 killed and many more injured. The bomb had been nicknamed "little boy" by the Americans.

<sup>7</sup> Nagasaki in Japan, where the second nuclear bomb (codenamed 'Fat Man') was dropped on August 9, 1945 and where 70,000 people died instantly, and thousands more died, over time, from radiation sickness and cancer.

<sup>8</sup> Rongelap and Kwajalein were inhabited islands in the Pacific that were contaminated and essentially destroyed by US nuclear tests during the 1950s.

<sup>9</sup> After the destruction at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, shadows of people incinerated by the flashes generated from the nuclear explosions were found on some remaining walls and pavements. Hiroshima and Nagasaki day commemorations often include shadow painting on the streets as a reminder.

<sup>10</sup> Sellafield, UK, is the facility that used to separate spent fuel to make plutonium for UK nuclear weapons and which now operates for non-military purposes. Sellafield changed its name from Windscale after a terrible nuclear fire contaminated surrounding areas in 1957.

<sup>11</sup> Aldermaston, UK is the central facility in the UK Atomic Weapons Establishment. Since the 1950s it has researched, designed, tested and manufactured all kinds of nuclear warheads.

<sup>12</sup> Leukaemia is a deadly cancer closely associated with exposure to radiation. In addition to the terrible toll that the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs inflicted on children, including harming unborn babies in the womb, leukaemia clusters have been identified near Sellafield and Aldermaston and in other sites near to nuclear facilities or nuclear testing.

<sup>13</sup> The 1954 'Bravo' nuclear test at Bikini Atoll in the Pacific was one of the largest and most destructive of the US nuclear tests. It killed and contaminated nearby islanders, many of whom were then forcibly removed from their homes and treated like guinea pigs when they fell ill with radiation sickness and cancers such as thyroid cancer and leukaemia.

<sup>14</sup> Moruroa was the principal test site of the French in Polynesia, where up to 200 nuclear explosions were conducted. After the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) was signed, France closed down the Pacific Test site comprising the Moruroa and Fangataufa coral atolls.

<sup>15</sup> Christmas Island was the site of UK nuclear tests in which servicemen were exposed to the fall-out. Many later developed radiation-related cancers and died.

<sup>16</sup> Lop Nor was the Chinese test site in the deserts of Xinjiang, home of the indigenous Uighur peoples.

<sup>17</sup> Chernobyl, in the Ukraine, is a nuclear power plant not a military facility, but it is infamous as the site of the worst nuclear accident in history, April 26, 1986. People in Ukraine and Belarus continue to die and many children are born with very severe mental and physical abnormalities. Hundreds of thousands of acres of land are still dangerously contaminated from the fall-out.

<sup>18</sup> Novaya Zemlya remains badly contaminated where the Soviet Union conducted tests on both the north and south islands of the Arctic chain. The Soviet Union also conducted tests in the Arctic, Siberia and Kazakhstan.

<sup>19</sup> Nevada Test Site is the principal test site for the United States and, since 1963 for Britain as a 'guest' of the US, under the 1958 Mutual Defence Agreement for Cooperation on the Uses of Atomic Energy for Mutual Defense Purposes (MDA). On treaty-protected land forcibly taken from the Western Shoshone nation, the US and Britain have conducted more than 800 nuclear tests on top of the testing they carried out in the Pacific.

<sup>20</sup> Rajasthan is the Indian nuclear test site, where up to 5 explosions were conducted in May 1998, after most countries had signed the CTBT.

<sup>21</sup> Dimona is Israel's highly secretive nuclear weapons facility in the Negev Desert.

<sup>22</sup> Savannah River is a major facility in Georgia (USA) used for producing plutonium and tritium for America's nuclear weapons. It was shut down due to its appalling environmental record, but DOE is exerting pressure to reopen nuclear facilities there.

<sup>23</sup> Faslane is where the UK British nuclear weapon system, Trident, is deployed in Scotland. There are 4 British Trident submarines (HMS Vanguard, Victorious, Vigilant and Vengeance) which usually carry 144 nuclear warheads between them.

<sup>24</sup> Coulport, just a few miles up the Loch from Faslane, is where the extra 30 or 50 nuclear warheads are stored and where inspections and maintenance of the warheads are carried out. The conventional torpedoes are also stored at Coulport. It is probably the only site in the UK where rocket fuel, high explosives and plutonium are kept in high proximity. The Trident missiles themselves are actually leased from the USA and are usually loaded and unloaded at Kings Bay, Georgia, USA although facilities do exist for this at Coulport, Scotland.

### **The state is not a person**

The state is not a person, it is all of us. And we all have to choose the way it goes.  
Do we choose life? Do we choose death? Do we collude in murder?

### Guilty

Guilty, guilty, who is guilty? Guilty, guilty, who is guilty?  
Judges and lawyers, now is your time to prevent crime, prevent crime.  
Now is the time. You have a choice, you have a voice.  
When will you protect the people who object to crimes against peace and humanity?  
We the people will commit crime to prevent a greater crime, to prevent a greater crime.  
When will you dissent from the government? When will you dissent from the government?  
That acts illegally? With contempt for morality? This is your responsibility.  
Separate the judiciary from government duplicity. Now is the time, you must decide.  
Will you protect the people's rights? Will you prevent crimes of war?  
Will you uphold international law? Will justice be done?  
Guilty, guilty, who is guilty? Guilty, guilty, who is guilty?

### Vision Twenty Twenty, what an aberration

Vision Twenty Twenty<sup>25</sup>, what an aberration.  
They call it safety and civilization - but we're talking Annihilation.  
Full spectrum domination is an abomination. This is the new damnation, curse of proliferation.  
  
Security what does it mean? When all the earth can be blown to smithereens?  
  
Vision twenty twenty, what an aberration.  
Call it safety and civilization? What a contradiction.  
When earth and sky are nuclear free then we can talk of security.

<sup>25</sup> In 1997, US Space Command published its 'Vision for 2020', in which it envisaged "*US Space Command – dominating the space dimension of military operations to protect US interests and investment*" and "*Integrating Space Forces into warfighting capabilities across the full spectrum of conflict*". A year earlier, in 1996, the Commander-in-Chief of US Space Command and of NORAD, General Joseph W. Ashy, declared "We're going to fight a war in space. We're going to fight from space and we're going to fight into space..." The Vision for 2020 called for '*full spectrum dominance*', arguing that "*the medium of space is the fourth medium of warfare – along with land, sea and air.*" Until the arrival of Donald Rumsfeld in the Pentagon, the notion of putting weapons in space was cherished by only a small coterie of neo-conservatives in US Space Command. Rumsfeld has fully backed the plan. Calling it an "evolutionary approach" leading to some 300 space based weapons, Lt. General Ronald Kadish, Director of the US Missile Defense Agency, asked Congress to finance parallel paths to acquire both a ground-based and a space-based intercept capability. By contrast, calling the notion of putting weapons in space "the single dumbest thing I have heard so far from this administration", Tom Daschle, former Leader of the Democrats in the Senate, said "It would be a disaster for us to put weapons in space of any kind under any circumstances. It only invites other countries to do the same thing."

### Security 1

Security, security, what do we mean by security?  
When the wealthy feed off the poor, and still go on demanding more?  
Every day, billions are spent on every kind of armament  
And countries that are starving and poor are still pushed into making war.  
How can we talk of liberty, when children are held in captivity?  
And women are sold into slavery, and so many die in misery?  
Justice for all must be the path we take to liberty.  
This will be security and peace, when all the world is free  
And no child dies of poverty, and no one lives in misery.  
Instead of blaming the terrorist threat, cancel international debt.  
Security, security, what do we mean by security?  
When the wealthy feed off the poor, and still go on demanding more?

### Nuclear Winter

When the nuclear winter<sup>26</sup> falls, where can we go?  
Only a barren landscape. No life left. No life, no life, only death.  
Desolation, a poisoned desert, no trees or fields, no living thing.  
Devastation, nowhere to hide, no city streets, or thriving markets.  
Nowhere, nothing. Nowhere to go. Blazing fires or frozen waste.  
Lifeless, empty, silence of death. Darkness, starvation and death.  
Nowhere safe from the silent killer, radiation, end of the future.  
No thing, nothing, nothing left. Nowhere, nothing, only death.

<sup>26</sup> This bleak image of a frozen wasteland is taken from studies during the 1970s and 1980s showing that after any large scale use of nuclear weapons the mushroom clouds could leave so much debris in the atmosphere that it blocks the sun, causing a potentially decades-long winter to fall on the Earth, which would catastrophically affect agriculture. Nuclear winter would therefore cause death through starvation and cold to any survivors of the appalling immediate effects from nuclear weapons of incinerating heat and blast and the high levels of radiation that would poison the earth and everything on it.

### We are the human family, we all have equal rights

We are the human family, we all have equal rights.  
The right to life and liberty and true security<sup>27</sup>.  
The will of the people must direct the government.  
(ad lib/round)

<sup>27</sup> These words are adapted from the UN Declaration of Human Rights.



## Security 2

Security, security, what does it mean, what does it mean?

A whole way of life destroyed in the Pacific, poisoned lagoons, shattered coral.  
Death, displacement and despair<sup>28</sup>. Paradise turned to hell by the nuclear experiment,  
the testing of armaments, in the name of security and stability.

Who are the criminals, what is the crime? Who are the criminals, what is the crime?  
What is the crime? What is the crime? What is the crime?

<sup>28</sup> All the nuclear weapon states chose to inflict their nuclear testing in places faraway from their own capital cities – the US, French and British in the Pacific; France also in Algeria; Russia in Kazakhstan and the Arctic; China in remote Xinjiang province. These places were not empty, however, but home to indigenous peoples: Polynesians and Melanesians, Aborigines, Kazakhs and Nenets, Uighurs and many others. Perhaps the worst crimes were committed against the peoples and islands in the Pacific that were poisoned and essentially destroyed by US, British and French nuclear testing. Children played in the ‘snow’ of radioactive fallout and later fell sick and died; women gave birth to “jellyfish babies” with no faces or limbs; people were transported away from the paradise islands they had inhabited for thousands of generations and herded into concrete shanty towns on the edge of US bases, having to eat tinned American food because the fruit, vegetables and fish on which they depended had been turned into radioactive poison.

## Proliferation II

Proliferation, shame of the nation state, which views the other with hate.  
Which views the other with hate, which views the other with hate.  
Which views the other with hate, which views the other with hate.  
With hate, with hate.  
Hate, distrust and paranoia, nuclear war mind.

## How many Treaties Broken?

How many treaties broken, how many rulings ignored?  
How many promises of good faith gone by the board?  
Hate, distrust and paranoia, nuclear war mind.

Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty<sup>29</sup>, Outer Space Treaty<sup>30</sup>, Non-Proliferation Treaty<sup>31</sup>,  
Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty<sup>32</sup>.  
Hate distrust and paranoia, nuclear war mind.

Diminish, diminish, diminish, diminish, the role of all, be free of all.  
Unequivocal, irreversible<sup>33</sup>, upheld by the international court, agreed by the nuclear nations.  
Total elimination, and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.  
Hate distrust and paranoia, nuclear war mind.

Collateral damage, what does that mean? When the innocent are murdered, that is a crime.  
The nuclear bully states threaten all the world. They talk of security but they mean power.  
US must ratify, ratify now. No one is above the law. All must comply.  
There is no safety in pre-emptive strike. No safety in nuclear testing.  
No safe space in a nuclear world.

<sup>29</sup> **The Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty** was agreed between the United States and Soviet Union in 1972 because they found that in the insanity of the nuclear arms race they were forcing on each other, they would have to have ‘deterrence’ based on ‘mutual assured destruction’ (MAD), which meant that to prevent either side using nuclear weapons, both had to be vulnerable to complete annihilation. In the MAD logic of the Cold War, they chose to limit defences rather than the offensive weapons that the military-industrial complexes wanted to keep churning out. Once the cold war was over, Republicans wanted to make America invulnerable, to give it a free hand to act wherever it chose. In order to pursue the profoundly destabilising missile defence programme beloved of the neo-conservatives, George W. Bush announced that the US would withdraw from the ABM Treaty, despite the opposition of its treaty partner, Russia, and concerns expressed by much of the rest of the world. As a result of the US withdrawing from the ABM Treaty, by June 2002 it was officially dead, and the Bush administration was free to pursue missile defence.

<sup>30</sup> **The 1967 Outer Space Treaty (OST)** is the fundamental treaty covering space activities. It enshrines the principles of peaceful use and exploration, and that outer space should be available for the benefit of all (not subject to national appropriation or sovereignty claims). It prohibits the stationing of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons, in space orbit or on celestial bodies, but it does not prohibit putting ‘conventionally armed’ weapons or lasers in space or the transit of nuclear weapons (on missiles) through space. Nor does it prohibit nuclear weapons launched from Earth into space for the purposes of destroying space based targets or incoming missiles. Many want this treaty to be extended to prohibit all kinds of weapons from being deployed in or used from space. In 2002, Russia and China tabled a draft treaty that would comprehensively prevent the weaponisation of space, arguing that, “only a treaty-based prohibition of the deployment of weapons in outer space and the prevention of the threat or use of force against outer space objects can eliminate the emerging threat of an arms race in outer space and ensure the security for outer space assets of all countries, which is an essential condition for the maintenance of world peace.” But the US has so far refused to discuss the issue of ‘prevention of an arms race in outer space’ in the Geneva-based Conference on Disarmament (or anywhere else).

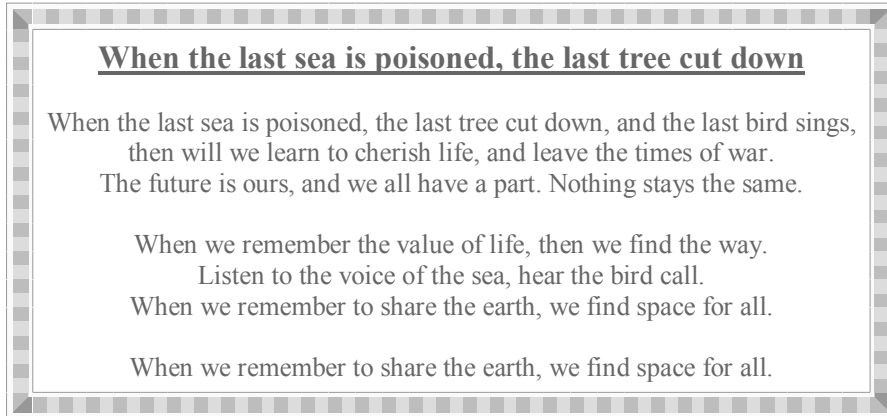
<sup>31</sup> **The 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)** entered into force in 1970 and now has 189 states parties. The NPT’s Article VI requires that the five (original) nuclear weapon states promise “negotiations in good faith” on nuclear disarmament, but because the nuclear weapon states showed little good faith (if any) on this in the Treaty’s first 30 years, in 2000 a group of non-nuclear weapon states insisted on negotiating, together with the nuclear states, a plan of action on nuclear disarmament, which became 13 steps. These were agreed by consensus, by all NPT parties, in 2000. Instead of being treated as binding, the weapon states are now busy trying to sideline the commitments and pretend they are now out of date.

<sup>32</sup> After decades of civil society protests against nuclear testing, the **Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)** was finally negotiated and concluded in 1996. It bans all nuclear weapon test explosions and any other nuclear explosion. All the weapon states signed on September 24, 1996. Britain and France ratified in 1998, Russia in 2000, and China keeps promising to ratify but hasn’t yet done so because it is apparently waiting for the US. The Republicans in the United States, however, rejected ratification in 1999, and since taking over, the Bush Administration has publicly and repeatedly declared that the US does not support the CTBT and will never ratify it. This means that the Treaty has not yet been able to enter into full legal effect. Bush has even investigated removing the US signature from the Treaty, which could cause the treaty to collapse. India and Pakistan each conducted a series of nuclear tests in May 1998 and have not yet signed, though they have both declared a moratorium on further testing and, sheltering behind the US refusal to ratify, both say they would not impede entry into force. Hence the song’s call for the US to ratify.

The song takes some of the language from the 2000 agreements and juxtaposes it. For example, the “unequivocal undertaking” made by the nuclear weapon states, and the commitment to “irreversibility” so that nuclear disarmament becomes a one way street, rather than the present situation where weapons are dismantled but the materials and parts are reused to build newer, often more sophisticated, weapons. One calls for a “diminishing role for nuclear weapons in security policies” so that the world can finally become free of nuclear weapons. Instead of this, we see the weapon states – particularly the United States – trying to diminish the importance of the commitments they have themselves made under the NPT and seeking to be free of all the constraints of international law, arms control and the security regimes based around these important treaties.

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trying to diminish the importance of the commitments they have themselves made under the NPT and seeking to be free of all the constraints of international law, arms control and the security regimes based around these important treaties.



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Maureen Ukairo, Angie Zelter and Zina Zelter.

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Copies of the cd with pre-recorded and live performances of the Oratorio, this booklet and the sheet music cost £15. (£10 without the sheet music). Cheques should be made out to '*Trident Ploughshares*' and sent with your order to **Oratorio, Valley Farmhouse, East Runton, Cromer, Norfolk, NR27 9PN, UK.**

Many thanks also to Peter Lanyon for the Drawing of Scottish High Court Judges which he did whilst witnessing the Trident Ploughshares Lord Advocates Review (No.1 2000)



**Trident Ploughshares (TP)** is a young campaign, which aims to get rid of Britain's nuclear weapons by peaceful and nonviolent direct action.

Britain has four nuclear weapon submarines, based at Faslane in Scotland, which can fire Trident missiles at targets many thousands of miles away. The warheads on these missiles are about 8 times as powerful as the atom bomb that killed over 100,000 people in Hiroshima!

Trident is an illegal weapon of mass destruction but no British government has been willing to abolish it. TP members have taken a pledge as responsible citizens to do what they can to disarm Trident and in the past five years they have been very active. There have been spectacular actions like the raid on HMS Vengeance in 1999 when Rosie and Rachel damaged radar equipment on the sub and delayed it for a month and when the Trident Three emptied a Trident research barge of all its computers in June of the same year, as well as mass blockades at the Faslane base and lots of smaller actions by TP groups. As of January 2005 there had been 2,190 arrests and those convicted had spent 2181 days in prisons across the UK.

We are sure that our actions have helped to put Britain's nuclear weapons right back on the agenda but we need more people to share the work; to become Pledgers; to take part in one of the mass actions; to support the campaign in all sorts of practical ways; to become part of a network of information and action. We need you!

**Get in touch with us**  
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**to commemorate in sorrow the first use of nuclear weapons 60 years ago in 1945**