

# Another Gulf War?

## Here's what they say....

“There is simply no cosmopolitan body of respectable legal opinion that supports the Bush position.”

- Tom Farer<sup>1</sup>

“A more dangerous, illegitimate norm and example can hardly be imagined.... It completely subverts previous standards for judging the legitimacy of resorts to war, justifying any number of wars hitherto considered unjust and aggressive... It would in fact justify almost any attack by any state on any other for almost any reason... We cannot want a world that operates on this principle, and therefore we cannot really want to use it ourselves.”

- Paul Schroeder<sup>2</sup>

“We neutralized Iraq's nuclear program. We confiscated its weapon-usable material. We destroyed, removed or rendered harmless all its facilities and equipment relevant to nuclear weapons production. And while we did not claim absolute certainty, we were confident that we had not missed any significant component of Iraq's nuclear program.”

- Mohamed El Baradei, Director General of the IAEA in 1998.<sup>3</sup>

“US nuclear weapons exist; Iraqi nuclear weapons don't. US nuclear weapons number in the thousands; Iraq's count is zero. US weapons are (in the official view of the country) compatible with all international laws; Iraq's not yet acquired weapon is monstrous.”

- Elaine Scarry<sup>4</sup>

“Iraq has not solved the hardest, and most essential problem associated with the acquisition of nuclear weapons: the irreducible need for fissile material. With the destruction of essentially all of Iraq's nuclear weapons infrastructure during the course of the 1990's, Saddam is probably further from a weapon today than he was in 1991. There is universal agreement ... that it is desirable to keep it this way.... This can be done far short of war by foreclosing Saddam's opportunities to obtain fissile material.”

- Steven Miller<sup>5</sup>

“If Hussein ... cannot be deterred, what is stopping him from using WMD [weapons of mass destruction] against US forces in the Persian Gulf, forces that have bombed Iraq repeatedly over the past decade?”

- Steve Walt and John Mearsheimer.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> As quoted in Loretta Bondi. *Legitimacy and Legality: Key Issues in the Fight Against Terrorism*, The Fund for Peace, September 11, 2002.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Schroeder, “Iraq: The Case Against Preemptive War”, *The American Conservative*, October 21, 2002.

<sup>3</sup> Mohamed El Baradei, “Inspections are the Key”, *Washington Post*, October 21, 2002.

<sup>4</sup> Elaine Scarry, “A Nuclear Double Standard”, *Boston Globe*, November 3, 2002.

<sup>5</sup> Steven E. Miller “Gambling on War: Force, Order and the Implications of Attacking Iraq”, *Pugwash Workshop on Terrorism and WMD*, (Como, Italy: September, 2002).

<sup>6</sup> John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, “Can Saddam Be Contained? History Says Yes.”

“If America comes to be viewed by its key democratic allies in Europe and Asia as morally obtuse and politically naïve in failing to address terrorism in its broader and deeper dimensions ... global support for America's policies will surely decline. America's ability to maintain a broadly democratic antiterrorist coalition will suffer gravely. The prospects of international support for an eventual military confrontation with Iraq will also be drastically diminished. “

- Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser to the Carter administration.<sup>7</sup>

“If you're going to go in and try to topple Saddam Hussein, you have to go to Baghdad. Once you've got Baghdad, it's not clear what you do with it. It's not clear what kind of government you would put in place of the one that's currently there now..... How much credibility is that government going to have if it's set up by the United States military when it's there? How long does the United States military have to stay to protect the people that sign on for that government, and what happens to it once we leave? “

- Dick Cheney, then Secretary of Defense, in April 1991.<sup>8</sup>

“One year on, what has America become? ...And they have looked on with both fascination and incomprehension at the political agitation that, whether it concerns Afghanistan or Iraq, mobilization against terrorism or rejection of the International Criminal Court, obsession with military technology or scarcity of political vision, is upsetting all previous certainties and traditional givens in the transatlantic debate.”

- Nicole Gnesotto, Director of the EU's Institute for Security Studies.<sup>9</sup>

“I am unable to appreciate any moral, political or legal difference between this jihad by the United States against those it deems to be its enemies... Whatever legal justification(s) may be claimed for the actions of the United States, they can never authorize it to act as prosecutor, judge, jury and executioner in its own cause and still claim the legitimacy of international legality.”

- Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im<sup>10</sup>

“What we see now is the tragedy of a great country, with noble impulses, successful institutions, magnificent historical achievements and immense energies, which has become a menace to itself and to humankind.”

- Anatol Lieven<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Zbigniew Brzezinski, “Confronting Anti-American Grievances,” *New York Times*, September 1, 2002.

<sup>8</sup> As quoted in Timothy Noah, “Al Gore Semi-Exonerated,” *Slate*, October 15, 2002. The quote is attributed to a story from *New York Times*, April 13, 1991.

<sup>9</sup> Nicole Gnesotto, “Preface” in Pierre Hassner, *The United States: The Empire of Force or the Force of Empire?*, Chaillot Papers No 54, (Paris: Institute for Security Studies, September 2002).

<sup>10</sup> Adullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, “Upholding International Legality Against Islamic and American Jihad”, in Ken Booth and Tim Dunne, eds., *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order*, (London: Palgrave, 2002).

<sup>11</sup> Anatol Lieven, “The Push For War”, *London Review of Books*, October 3, 2002.

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