Europe: Nuclear battleground?

The formal collapse of the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty on Friday 2 August opens a dangerous new era for nuclear security in Europe. The United States quickly followed up on its sabotage of the INF Treaty by testing a Treaty-busting, ground-launched, nuclear-capable missile on 19 August. That they did this in ‘record time’ either points to the marvels of American technology or suggests that such a missile was in development for some time.

The picture looks very bleak indeed: at the hands of the Trump Administration we see a ‘bonfire’ of nuclear treaties, the development of intermediate-range missiles (see page 2), a commitment to develop ‘usable’ nuclear weapons and a sharp increase in tensions between nuclear-armed states.

The questions before us are: does Europe risk becoming a ‘nuclear battleground’ and, if so, what can we do resist such a risk? Combining the factors already mentioned, it seems clear that the US will look at Europe once more as a staging post for nuclear war and, as such, a potential nuclear battleground. If the US wants to have a ‘bit of a nuclear war’, it will want to have it as far away from the US homeland as possible.

In this context, the task of the European peace movements is clear: we must coordinate, organise, protest and develop alternative policy with the utmost urgency. Coordination is key. There are many peace organisations, movements, institutes and individuals across the length and breadth of Europe. We don’t agree on everything but we do agree on a great deal. A Europe-wide coordination for nuclear disarmament, based on activity and discussion, is an essential starting point.

Once coordinated, we must start to organise. This will mean an ongoing dialogue, a free-wheeling discussion where creative impulses lead the way. We must protest. Protest is a necessary element in any collective effort to change the world. Of course, protest is necessary but it is not sufficient.

An alternative policy only makes sense if we have avenues for implementation. The peace movements have friends in politics, some individual and others at the level of party leadership. The politics of Europe is in considerable flux and many of the developments are alarming. At the same time, there are some incredible opportunities. Policy and politics will be challenging, but if we coordinate, organise and protest – if we keep talking and doing – then the process will be all the easier.

First-things-first: the situation is urgent, the risks are real, the dangers are stark. Whilst remembering the lessons of the past, we must learn from what is happening now. This means drawing inspiration from the worldwide movement against climate catastrophe. More than that, it means making whatever links possible with climate activists.
AI control of Nukes?

“To maintain the deterrent value of America’s strategic forces, the United States may need to develop something that might seem unfathomable – an automated strategic response system based on artificial intelligence.”

So write Adam Lowther and Curtis McGiffin on the ‘War on the Rocks’ website. Their article, ‘America needs a “dead hand”’ provoked much alarm,

not least because the authors are ‘mainstream’ nuclear policy specialists and the issues they address correspond with real trends in military thinking.

Their main line of argument is as follows: US command and control systems are a relic of the Cold War; technological developments, including the dawn of ‘hypersonic missiles’, have massively compressed decision-making time frames; and that the proliferation of threats requires dynamic targeting which can only be done at speed by artificial intelligence.

These factors ‘justify’ the AI-controlled automation of nuclear weapon systems. The proposals stand in marked contrast to the findings of a 2018 RAND report on this question, which concluded that introducing AI control could make the world a more dangerous place. This seems like a pretty obvious assessment.

However alarming the AI proposals are, there are some equally alarming ideas in the article. First among them is the suggestion of a “first-strike policy that allowed the president to launch a nuclear attack based on strategic warning.” In the context of the Trump presidency, this proposal to lower the threshold at which nuclear weapons could be used suggests that mainstream nuclear thinking has already accepted the inevitability of the actual use of nuclear weapons.

The US already refuses to adopt a ‘No first use’ policy, reserving the ‘right’ to use nuclear weapons first in the event of a conflict. Allowing ‘first use’ on the basis of strategic calculations would plunge us much closer to destruction. What might the ‘strategic’ grounds be? How would the targets be determined? What might be the response. Will AI play its part?

New US intermediate-range missiles

On Monday 19th August, the United States successfully tested a ground-launched, nuclear capable missile. The test, which involved a 500km flight of a conventionally armed Tomahawk cruise missile, was announced as a “success” by the Pentagon.

Such a missile, developed and tested just months after the US’s final withdrawal from the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, would have been in direct contravention of INF provisions.

This class of missile was widely deployed by both the US and USSR up until the INF Treaty came into force. The development of new missiles of this type begs the questions: Where does the US plan to station them? Which countries will be targeted by them? Why would any state offer to host US missiles of this type?

The possible answers to these questions point to the very real risks we now face. Where: it seems likely that the US will seek to station the missiles in Europe and in South East Asia. Which: states in Eastern Europe will come under some pressure to accommodate the weapons, as will US ‘allies’ and clients in South East Asia. Why: because the US’s conception of itself as the superpower and its efforts to maintain the illusion of dominance will drive it to exert considerable pressure to get its way.

The first steps in opposing any such deployment are to warn that it is possible, explain what the consequences will be in terms of undermining common security and to begin the process of coordinating resistance.

No to intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe or anywhere else!
Extending Europe’s NWFZ

Article 5, subsection 3, of the Treaty on the Final Settlement with respect to Germany, signed in Moscow on 12 September 1990, states:

“(3) Following the completion of the withdrawal of the Soviet armed forces from the territory of the present German Democratic Republic and of Berlin, units of German armed forces assigned to military alliance structures in the same way as those in the rest of German territory may also be stationed in that part of Germany, but without nuclear weapon carriers. This does not apply to conventional weapons systems which may have other capabilities in addition to conventional ones but which in that part of Germany are equipped for a conventional role and designated for such. Foreign armed forces and nuclear weapons or their carriers will not be stationed in that part of Germany or deployed there.”

[emphasis added]

The circumstances around the drafting and agreement of this Treaty were undoubtedly exceptional. In invoking Article 5, subsection 3, of the Treaty there is no intention to downplay or minimise this reality. However, the existence of a ‘really existing’ nuclear-weapons-free zone in a part of Europe, which we were reminded of by Dr. Joachim Wernicke (translator of the German edition of Security without Nuclear Deterrence), is of some significance.

A European nuclear-weapons-free zone would make an enormous contribution towards establishing a basis for common security between what were referred to as ‘East’ and ‘West’ at the time of the Cold War. There is now much talk of a ‘new Cold War’ and there is much evidence to suggest that this is the case. However, there are also reasons to believe that the situation is even more dangerous than all that term suggests.

We face a convergence of factors that have turned the world into a ‘global tinderbox’. One false move – just one spark – could set the world alight. What are these factors? First, developments in technology and the introduction of artificial intelligence into weapons systems has massively accelerated the destructive capabilities and the risks pertaining to the new weaponry. Second, these developments are fuelling nuclear arms renewal across the nuclear-armed states. Third, this renewal involves hypersonic missiles and what have been termed ‘usable’ nuclear weapons. Fourth, the system of arms control treaties and arrangements has been sabotaged, removing any semblance of restraint or standard diplomatic functioning.

Fifth, and lastly, the once dominant global power is no longer the only global power. Yet the United States continues to behave as if this is not the case. In the shift from a unipolar to a multipolar world order, the US has adopted an aggressive, hyped-up and unpredictable posture.

Part of the reason for it sabotaging the INF Treaty and Iran Deal, for example, will be a determination in US policy circles that the ‘old power’ must reassert itself and re-shape global arrangements in its own favour. This is a desperate and dangerous move.

The US has already tested a new intermediate-range nuclear-capable missile and is undoubtedly working on ‘useable’ nuclear weapons. There can be little doubt that the US will press to base such weapons systems in Europe.

Such moves must be resisted but we will only be successful in preventing their deployment with a Europe-wide agreement: a European nuclear-weapons-free zone.

The existing zone was established in extraordinary times and for very good reasons, namely to massively reduce tensions and the risk of war. We live in extraordinary times and face extraordinary risks. There is every reason for us to demand similar protections.
Climate of Peace

Loud, energetic, creative and inspiring protests demanding urgent action on climate change have swept Europe and the wider-world. Resurrecting tactics from the peace and earlier protest movement, the ‘School Climate Strikers’, ‘Extinction Rebellion’ and others have significantly raised the profile of and levels of concern about the climate catastrophe facing our planet.

Many people in the peace movement will have looked at these actions and been inspired. We are right to be inspired.

The obvious questions are: Why doesn’t the peace movement do this? How can we link up with this movement? What’s the best way to inspire this type of alarm and action?

The questions may be obvious, but the answers are not. This is so despite the fact that the recent spike in nuclear tensions and related developments means that humanity faces two existential threats: nuclear annihilation and climate catastrophe. Both are linked to the workings behind the global arrangement of society and the economy. Both are rooted in the drive for power, all the better to exploit and oppress.

The peace and climate movements are driven by people with ‘big ideas’ and enormous aspirations. We work with a sense of urgency. This sometimes means we miss each other and misunderstand what the other is doing. The only way to overcome this is through discussion and, where possible, joint action.

END Info will be seeking input from a variety of activists and organisations to take this discussion forward. One example of a constructive and generous approach comes from Berlin, where Joachim Wernicke distributes a free pamphlet titled Der Aufstand der Kinder to the Friday School Strikers. Aufstand traces the links between the demands of the climate strikers and the concerns of the peace movement. It can be read in German at: https://doctro.id/TdB25Zv. An English translations is in preparation.