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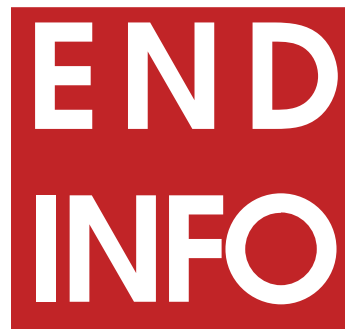
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AUKUS troubles

AUKUS and other troubles



Norway's decision to send observers to the TPNW Meeting of State Parties, scheduled for March 2022 in Vienna, should be warmly welcomed. Norway is the first NATO member state to 'break ranks' with that organisations' determined effort to undermine the global nuclear ban. Norway's decision is the product of a coalition agreement between the Labor Party and Center Party embodied in the 'Hurdal platform', named after the Norwegian municipality where it was drafted.

Prior to the elections, Labor had moved decisively to strengthen commitments to making progress on nuclear disarmament. Unlike many other political parties, Labor maintained pre-election commitments on this question after the polls closed.

NATO's reaction to this development, represented by comments from Jens Stoltenberg - himself a former Norwegian Prime Minister - are instructive:

"NATO's position on the Treaty of Prohibition is very clear; we do not believe in that treaty as a path to nuclear disarmament. And I expect everyone to take this into account when addressing nuclear weapons issues and consulting closely with other NATO allies."

Stoltenberg's school-masterly scolding of the new Norwegian government has not gone down well. Two other former Norwegian Prime Ministers took Stoltenberg to task in the pages of the *Verdens Gang* newspaper, writing:

73 percent of Norwegians believe that nuclear weapons create more risk than security, according to a survey conducted by Respons Analyze for Norwegian People's Aid. This majority deserves a government that takes the nuclear threat seriously. The Hurdal platform gives us hopes that we now have this. For as the UN Secretary-General says: "We must reject" the toxic and erroneous logic "of

nuclear deterrence", because "humanity remains one misunderstanding, one mistake, one miscalculation, one push of a button away from being wiped out."

Rather than take such matters seriously, Stoltenberg, the organisation he represents and the dominant political forces within it - nuclear powers one and all - continue with their determined crusade re-arm, expand and increase global tensions.

That such efforts continue without pause following the shambolic evacuation of NATO forces from Afghanistan would be remarkable if not for the fact that NATO ultimately serves - as it has always served - the geopolitical and strategic interests of the United States.

One example of the dynamics of these interests is to be found in the recent announcement of the AUKUS agreement between Australia, the UK and United States. What else to make of this agreement other than as another artefact of the ongoing and accelerating 'tilt to Asia'. Stoltenberg didn't find the time to issue warnings to the UK and US about "consulting closely with NATO allies" when fellow-NATO member France lost out financially from the agreement.

What of the fact that all NATO members are also full participants in the Non-Proliferation Treaty? What of the serial breaches of nuclear-armed NATO members and the arms race they have sparked? No word from Stoltenberg.

What of the 'carbon footprint' of NATO operations? When the world is focussed on COP26, Stoltenberg's appearance in Glasgow came with no commitments on this question.

The new Norwegian government was right to follow the instructions of the electorate - and their own political good sense - in deciding to attend the Meeting of State Parties. Will more follow their lead? There is hope!

AUKUS – Catalyst for a Nuclear Arms Race



Steve Bell

The new pact between the Australian, British and US governments is the latest escalation in a new cold war on China, and the developing world. The “enhanced trilateral security partnership called AUKUS”(1) does not name China, but every single serious commentator has interpreted it as being aimed against the People’s Republic of China.

Coming exactly one month after the fall of Kabul, the announcement was a blessed relief for both Joe Biden and Boris Johnson. Biden reasserts US pre-eminence, weeks after it was humiliated by a foe without an air force. Johnson resumes the ‘Global Britain’ adventure, weeks after British power more closely resembled a globule.

For both of them, a policy shift has been made without reckoning with the past, or a messy national debate. The debacle of their governments, and NATO, in Afghanistan has been pushed off the news agenda.

Military aggression with no diplomatic frills

The text of the Joint Leaders Statement is notable not just for the absence of a specific reference to China. Equally notable is the complete absence of any diplomatic purpose in the pact.

There is some conventional diplomatic language – “our enduring ideals and shared commitment to the international rules-based order”: “our common traditions as maritime democracies”, and “our shared values”. But there is nothing which can be interpreted as proposals to actually lower tensions between the states in the Indo-Pacific region. That being the case, the diplomatic phrases simply function as cant concealing the threats to China and the developing nations in the region.

The most immediate, and long-term, significance of the pact is the decision of the US to release the technology required for the

Australian Navy to acquire nuclear powered submarines. This is only the second time that the US has done so. The first being the agreement with Britain under the 1958 US-UK Mutual Defence Agreement”. All pact signatories stressed that this does not involve the acquisition of nuclear weapons by Australia.

Yet as the pact is escalating military tensions in the region, there are no guarantees on future developments. Certainly scepticism is in order when we read: “Our three nations are deeply committed to upholding our leadership on global non-proliferation” – this, half a year after Johnson committed Britain to a forty per cent increase in nuclear missiles.

Aside from Australia acquiring weapons grade uranium in its new submarines, the pact stresses growing “interoperability, commonality, and mutual benefit”. All of which strengthens the US without additional cost, taxpayers in Australia and Britain will be funding this. Most certainly the pact does nothing to strengthen the independent “power” of Australia or Britain. Former prime minister of Australia, Paul Keating, nailed this when he characterised the agreement as a “further dramatic loss of Australian sovereignty”.

Finally, the composition of the pact – an oligopoly of white majority, anglo-saxon, imperialist states – is in stark contrast to the majority composition of the peoples of the region.

International opposition to the pact

In the west, opposition to the pact has been presented as most centrally from inside the EU. Australia cancelled its submarine contract with the French firms, worth around \$66billion. French Foreign Minister, Jean-Yves Le Drian, said: “This brutal, unilateral and unpredictable decision reminds me a lot of what Mr Trump used to do. I

am bitter and angry. This isn't done between allies". The French government has withdrawn its ambassadors from the US and Australia. There was no point in withdrawing their ambassador to Britain, as Johnson's government has no independent agency in the pact. Le Drian, on French television, compared Britain's role to a "fifth wheel on a wagon".

The discomfort of the French has been felt, if less strongly, within the EU. The complete absence of consultation with the EU about the timing of the US's drawdown from Afghanistan remains a recent sore spot. Now, the signing of the pact represents another accomplished fact for the US allies in the EU. Josep Borrell, EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security, said that what was needed was "more cooperation, more coordination and less fragmentation" to achieve peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific Region. This was particularly heartfelt, as the EU's painfully negotiated, new Indo-Pacific strategy was overshadowed by the pact's announcement the day before the EU document's publication.

It is unclear how this diplomatic spat will be resolved. Whether the French, and other governments, will seek to strengthen the EU's "autonomy" is an open question. The EU has suffered one major blow, as Trump's US succeeded in wrenching the UK out. But though weakened, the EU and the French government, will also be anxious to restore normal relations with Biden and the US.

But of far greater significance, and much less reported, than European opposition is the response inside the Indo Pacific. China, of course, understands the completely hostile character of the pact. Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson, Zhao Lijian, said that the three countries were "severely damaging regional peace and stability, intensifying an arms race, and damaging international nuclear non-proliferation efforts".

This response was endorsed by other significant states. On 17th September, Indonesia's foreign affairs spokesperson, Teuku Faizasyah said: "Indonesia is deeply concerned over the continuing arms race and power projection in the region". He added: "Indonesia calls on Australia to maintain its commitment towards regional peace, stability and security in accordance with the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation". The Treaty is the code of conduct between the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Another ASEAN nation strongly opposed the pact. Malaysian Prime Minister, Ismail Sabri Yaakob, defined AUKUS as a "catalyst for a nuclear arms race in the Indo-Pacific region". He

added: "As a country within ASEAN, Malaysia holds the principle of maintaining ASEAN as a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality".

Concern to keep the peace in the Pacific led the New Zealand government to oppose the pact. On 16th September, Prime Minister Jacinda Arden stated that Australia's new nuclear powered submarines would not be allowed into New Zealand's territorial waters under its 1984 nuclear free policy.

The pact signatories have considerable histories of intervening against national liberation movements in the region. Inevitably there will be concern about their agreement to increase their military profile. The new, nuclear element is a particularly sharp issue for the region. Between 1946 and 1958, the US tested 92 nuclear devices on Pacific islands. Between 1952 and 1958, Britain tested 21 nuclear devices on Pacific atolls, and in Australian desert locations. It was the peoples of the region who suffered from the resulting fallout.

Building bases for war

Although not highlighted at the time, the pact's announcement also involves an increase in base-building by the US in Australia. On September 16th, Australia's Defense Minister, Peter Dutton, reported to a press conference on plans to establish new armed forces facilities with "... combined logistics, sustainment, and capability for maintenance to support enhanced activities, including ... for our submarines and surface combatants" and "rotational deployments of all types of US military aircraft to Australia". The US already has at least seven installations in Australia.(2)

Increasing base numbers cannot be defined as defence, this is increasing forward platforms for offensive action. These will be added to the upwards of 750 US bases worldwide, after the withdrawal from Afghanistan. 750 bases is nearly three times the combined number of embassies, consulates and missions of the US worldwide. Approximately 400 of the bases are situated in countries suitable for offensive action against China.

There has been no new announcement of additional bases for Britain in the region. Currently the UK has around 60 military personnel deployed at various locations in Australia.(3) This includes a drone testing site. Britain has other bases suitable for confronting China, including a naval logistics base in Singapore, a naval base in Brunei, three facilities in Nepal, as well as training facilities in Pakistan, and personnel at unspecified locations in New Zealand. Nor should it be overlooked that Britain has recently acquired naval base facilities in Bahrain and

Oman which are linked to the use of the two new aircraft carriers. One of these has already been used in the provocative deployment of a carrier strike group into the seas around China. Again, the location of these bases defends neither the population, nor the territory of the UK, they are forward, aggressive placements. With 145 bases worldwide, that tops the combined number of 84 British embassies and 49 consulates worldwide.

In comparison, the “predatory”, “assertive”, and “rising” China has one overseas military base in Djibouti. In the same tiny country, there is the most extensive, permanent US base in the African continent, alongside the bases of five other countries. It is difficult to see how this deployment is a threat to the US or UK. But facts should not be allowed to interfere with the developing narrative for a new cold war.

Bipartisan politics in support of the new cold war

The House of Commons debate on September 16th demonstrated, once again, that Labour, under Keir Starmer, is in essential agreement with the Tory Party in promoting the cold war on China. A bouyant Boris Johnson explained that: “Australia has ...taken the momentous decision to acquire a fleet of nuclear-powered submarines and it asked for our help in achieving this ambition. I am delighted to tell the House that we have agreed to this request...” In his enthusiasm he must have forgotten to explain that it will have been the US that decided on the release of the technology.

He gravely explained how we are joined to Australia by “blood and history” – while presumably the millions of Chinese who died as a result of British colonialism in their country had neither blood, nor history. Nor could he contain his glee that there will be “hundreds of highly skilled jobs across the UK”. Clearly nuclear proliferation is a price worth paying for “hundreds” of jobs.

Starmer’s response was in line with his general approach of supporting Tory foreign policy. Increasing military spending and increasing nuclear warheads had been endorsed when he welcomed the government’s strategic military review, earlier this year. However, he was aware that the international situation was not quite as bright and simple as Johnson suggested. He said: “The lesson of the past few weeks is that Britain must look after our most important relationships, or our influence and security quickly decline”. This was an odd thing to say – given that our “most important” ally had acted entirely without reference to Britain in those “few weeks”. But such painful truths are best suppressed.

Starmer did raise a very interesting question when he said: “..the UK must maintain a

commercial relationship with China...So what plan does the Prime Minister have to ensure that this new arrangement increases rather than decreases our ability to influence China?” After all, nuclear escalation is not the best calling card to offer a trading partner. Johnson responded by squaring the circle, explaining that the pact: “is not intended to be adversarial towards any other power: it merely reflects... the close relationship that we have with the United States and Australia”. Immediately after, Tory MP Tobias Ellwood said: “We must work with and stand up to China. This is about a more coordinated, long-term strategy in challenging China’s increasing, hostile dominance in the South China Sea”. Strangely enough, Johnson didn’t bother to correct Ellwood.

Starmer’s parliamentary position was endorsed by Lisa Nandy in a Sky interview, that same day. Whilst she reiterated the general stance of supporting the Tory government position, Nandy did add to Starmer’s question about the tension between war-mongering and trading. She said: “We have to take a far more strategic approach to how we manage that relationship and that involves working with our allies, which is why we welcome today’s announcement and we’d like to see the government go further”.

The luxury, or consolation, of opposition is to criticise the government without explaining your alternative. Nothing in her interview suggested what Labour’s “more strategic approach” might entail. After all, the Shadow Front Bench has endorsed the idea of China as a “systemic competitor”. The Tories record levels of increased military spending and increasing nuke numbers is one possible strategic response to a competitor. Having endorsed this expenditure, and its international furtherance in AUKUS, what really can Labour suggest as a more strategic approach? Do not hold your breath in anticipation.

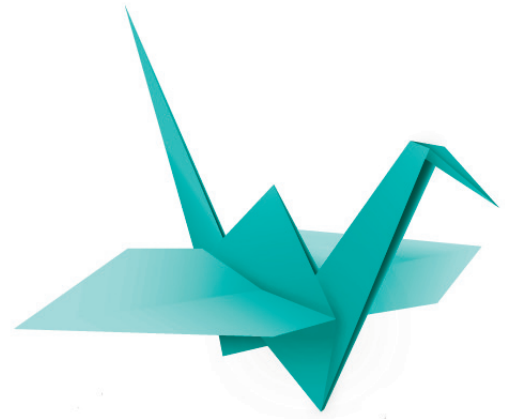
For the anti-war movement, and socialists inside Labour, AUKUS must be opposed. Locking Britain into decades of nuclear escalation in the Pacific is globally dangerous, hugely expensive and totally unnecessary.

Notes:

- (1) Joint leaders statement on AUKUS, 15/9/21
- (2) “Drawdown: Improving U.S. and Global Security Through Military Base Closures Abroad”, Quincy Institute 20/9/21
- (3) “The UK military’s overseas base network involves 145 sites in 42 countries”, Declassified website, 24/11/20

First published at labouroutlook.org

Unite for a Climate of Peace



Message to COP26 from Nuke Free Europe

One set of issues that will not be addressed by governments at COP26 are those connected to militarism, war and prospects for peace. For example, in 2017 the US military alone emitted 59 million tons of greenhouse gasses: equivalent to the emissions of Sweden, Denmark or Portugal. The 'carbon boot print' of the world's military is not up for discussion. We must put it on the agenda.

World military spending stands at \$2 trillion: there is always enough money for war and armaments, no questions asked. Why is there plenty of money for destruction while pressing issues of survival such as climate and health are severely underfunded?

The World Bank estimates that there will be 200 million 'climate refugees' by 2050. Rather than hurrying to preserve nature and human life, militarised responses are being prepared: drones are taking to the skies, walls and fences erected. How can these oppressive responses be stopped and replaced with more constructive actions?

The nuclear-armed states are re-arming. There is a new nuclear arms race. Tensions between nuclear-armed states are high and the situation is very dangerous. Each new nuclear weapon costs billions of dollars – money that could be better spent preserving life on this planet. If a single nuclear weapon is detonated, hundreds of thousands of people will be killed within seconds. Millions of others will follow them to the grave in the hours and days that follow. A major nuclear war will plunge the planet into a 'nuclear winter', a severe and prolonged disruption of the climate that will exterminate much of whatever life remains. These risks are not up for discussion at COP26. They should be.

This is why the peace, anti-nuclear and climate movements need to unite to work towards a 'Climate of Peace'. These issues cannot be meaningfully separated. Serious and lasting solutions to the threats humanity faces are urgently needed.

GLOBAL DAY OF ACTION FOR CLIMATE JUSTICE NOV 6

World leaders will meet in Glasgow in November at the global climate talks, COP26. We are organising decentralised mass mobilisations across the world, bringing together movements to build power for system change – from indigenous struggles to trade unions, from racial justice groups to youth strikers.



Nuke Free Europe

www.nukefreeeurope.eu

The peace movements across Europe came together for a month of action in September 2021 to demand a safer and more peaceful future. A network of organisations, **Nuke Free Europe**, wants a **nuclear-weapon-free Europe**; an end to the stationing of **US nuclear weapons** in Europe; and we demand that European states sign up to and ratify the **Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons**.

- ▶ end the modernization of nuclear weapons
- ▶ end nuclear sharing
- ▶ sign and ratify the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons

September actions

This September the peace movements mobilised across Belgium, England, France, Germany, Italy, Scotland and The Netherlands to highlight the presence of nuclear weapons. The month of action kicked-off with a human chain at the base near Büchel in Germany and continued with cycling tours, protests, discussions and much else. It concluded with protests at Volkkel in The Netherlands and Kleine Brogel in Belgium; events at eight locations across England and Scotland highlighting the UK's nuclear infrastructure. Between the start and end of September, similar actions took place in France and Italy.

Future actions

The **Nuke Free Europe** network will continue its work for a nuclear-free Europe by hosting ongoing online webinars, engaging with peace groups and organisations, talking with politicians at the national and European level about how to end nuclear sharing, attending conferences and meeting to discuss the next steps in the campaign. Can we organise similar actions to those that took place in September? How to get more campaigns in more countries involved? Can we spread our work to Eastern Europe? What types of organising should we undertake? Who else should be involved? Your input is vital, so get involved ...

Get involved

Can you, your network or organisation get involved with **Nuke Free Europe**? Do you have time, skills and energy to share? If so, get in touch via nukefreeeurope.eu

Who we are

Nuke Free Europe was initiated by 8 campaigning organisations: the **Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation**; **Church and Peace**; the **International Network of Engineers and Scientists for Global Responsibility (INES)**; the **International Peace Bureau (IPB)**; the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**; the European section of the **International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW)**; **Pax Christi International**; and **Quakers Europe**.



Protests against US nuclear weapons in Germany

Nuclear Sharing Must End!

Marion Küpker



Despite the challenges presented by the Coronavirus, the nationwide campaign *Büchel is everywhere! nuclear weapons free now* and the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), succeeded in leading a broad political discussion about NATO's dangerous nuclear deterrence policy regarding US nuclear weapons stationed in Büchel. We received prominent support from SPD parliamentary group leader Rolf Mützenich, who publicly raised the issue of ending Germany's nuclear sharing arrangement. Our campaign group, *Abolish nuclear weapons - start with us!*, consisting of more than 70 peace movement organizations/groups, has increased pressure on the German government to withdraw the estimated 20 US nuclear bombs from Büchel. Germany must finally sign the 2017 Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and become nuclear weapons-free, instead of implementing a planned nuclear "modernization"! Against this background, a "human chain" took place alongside the Büchel air base on September 5, 2021, exactly three weeks before the Bundestag elections (see further down in the text). Currently, the German parties of the so-called "traffic light coalition" (Social Democratic Party, Alliance90/the Greens, and Free Democratic Party) are holding coalition talks about their joint approach to nuclear weapons policy.

Political, Military & Industrial Background

Even though the Cold War ended 30 years ago, about 20 US nuclear bombs are still deployed at the German air force base Büchel in West Central Germany. German pilots are trained to take off with these bombs in their Tornado fighter jets when the order comes from the US president, through NATO, to drop them on their targets. This horrifying vision is part of the "nuclear sharing agreement" in NATO, with its nuclear deterrence policy, which includes a nuclear first-strike option.

These weapons of mass destruction – illegal and criminal under German, US, and international law – are scheduled to be replaced in the near future by expensive new, precision-guided nuclear weapons – the B61-12 – in a \$10-\$12 billion program of the US National Nuclear Security Administration's nuclear weapons complex.

At least three US national laboratories (the Sandia and Los Alamos Labs in New Mexico, the Y-12 Complex in Tennessee) along with the Kansas City Plant in Missouri, are part of B61-12 construction, mainly through giant weapons contractors including Boeing (tailfin kit: \$1.8 billion), Lockheed-Martin, Honeywell, and Bechtel. Around 400 B61-12 bombs are to be refurbished, at a cost of around \$25 million per bomb (according to Hans Kristensen, director of the Nuclear Information Project at the Federation of American Scientists) making them more costly than if they were made of solid gold.

New developments in Büchel

Currently, Germany's Büchel nuclear weapons base is to be expanded between June 2022 and January 2026 at a cost of \$299 million (259 million). This will be done at all six US nuclear weapons sites in Europe that are part of so-called "nuclear sharing" (Belgium, Netherlands, Italy, and Turkey). These construction measures serve to prepare for the deployment of the new B61-12 nuclear bombs, the production of which will begin in the United States at the end of this year. For these four years, Luftwaffe Squadron 33 with its Tornado fighter jets will move from Büchel to the Nörvenich military base near the city of Cologne. In the coming years, the old nuclear bombs (B61-3s and B61-4s) are to be replaced with the new B61-12s. At Büchel, the construction plans include expanding the runway, as well as modernizing the nuclear weapons infrastructure. For example, special containers in the aircraft

hangars, where the approximately 20 bombs are stored, are to be renewed.

New nuclear weapon carrier fighter jets

For Germany's new government, the decision on the acquisition of new nuclear weapons carrier aircraft from the US is pending, and is estimated to cost up to \$9.248 billion, or 8 billion. Instead of buying the expensive and faulty US F-35 nuclear weapons carrier – as Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy plan to do – another US fighter jet is up for debate. Until 2040, when the EU's Future Combat Air System (FCAS) nuclear weapons fighter is to be developed, Boeing's F/A18, which can also land on US aircraft carriers, is currently favored as an interim solution. The German government wants to join forces with France and Spain to launch the new FCAS nuclear-capable multi-fighter aircraft. This new EU fighter would then perpetuate the controversial nuclear deterrent for decades between Germany and France. As a semi-autonomous weapons system networked with Eurodrones, the FCAS is expected to be operational from 2040 and would cost Germany alone about \$578 billion or 500 billion euros. Buying new jets could be put off if the service life of the 40-year-old Tornado fighter jets are extended further.

Climate and nuclear carrier aircraft

Mildly put, the 45 new US F/A 18 fighter jets alone, which German Defense Minister Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer wants to buy for \$10 billion for the nuclear bombs in Büchel, show her climate blindness. The current Tornado fighter jet has been deployed in the Eifel region since 1985. The CO₂ pollution per flight hour of the Tornado fighter jet is 12,000 kg (12 t). The Büchel-based nuclear bomber pilots from Luftwaffe Squadron 33 reached their 200,000th Tornado flight hour in April 2019, after 34 years. They celebrated this in Büchel with media attention, which means that over 34 years, the old nuclear fighter jets alone have blown about 2.5 million tons of CO₂ into our environment.

The cooperation with Fridays for Future is very important here, because military training flights, and air force "shows of force," and nuclear attack rehearsals like Steadfast Noon, must also be included in the climate balance. These carbon blasts bear a considerable share of the responsibility for climate change and should be abolished.

Inside nuclear detonations, the nuclear chain reaction creates temperatures of 108 to 180 million degrees Fahrenheit (60 to 100 million degrees Celsius). This is about 10,000 to 20,000 times the surface temperature of our sun. The 500

above-ground nuclear tests, as well as the 1500 below-ground nuclear tests were detonated by states around the world. They share responsibility for global warming. The military belongs, especially with regard to nuclear weapons, within climate change negotiations and outlawed weapons of mass destruction.

Nuclear Weapons Ban Treaty

The entry into force of the international treaty banning nuclear weapons was celebrated around the world on January 22, 2021, and in Germany alone there were over 100 actions. The entry into force means that the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons is binding international law for any country ratifying or acceding to it. As ICAN Executive Director Beatrice Fihn said, "Nuclear weapons have always been immoral, now they are illegal." However, the provisions are binding only on signatory states, but this includes the signatory states that have not yet ratified the treaty: it applies to 86 states! The nuclear weapons states' room for maneuver is thus becoming ever narrower. Some financial institutions have ethics rules against which they must now be measured if they finance corporations that produce nuclear weapons (parts, delivery and communications systems, etc.). Also, under the treaty, these weapons may no longer be produced in the 86 states that are party to the treaty.

The pressure on Germany's government is constantly being increased by the Cities and Deputies Appeal and the organization of 'Mayors for Peace', so that Germany's accession to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons can finally take place. Together with ICAN, our member organizations are working hard for this: 646 parliamentarians, 171 of them members of the Bundestag, have already signed the appeal, which says in part: "As Members of Parliament, we vow to work towards the signing and ratification of this landmark treaty by our respective states, as we see the abolition of nuclear weapons as a high global public good and an essential step towards promoting the security and well-being of all peoples." In total, 137 cities and four German states have joined the Cities Appeal to support the Treaty or call on the federal government to join it. Also, over 700 Mayors for Peace in Germany have joined the Mayors for Peace alliance calling for the abolition of nuclear weapons, the third biggest number of mayors in the world behind only Japan and Iran. Because of public interest – a poll shows that about 90% of public opinion is against these

nukes – our united campaign includes well-established organizations like IPPNW, IALANA, German Fellowship of Reconciliation, Pax Christi, and DFG-VK.

Büchel could be the key for nuclear disarmament

Our campaign shows that we are much stronger together when we focus on our united agreed goals: the fourth campaign started in 2016 with the name “20 weeks for 20 bombs.” Dozens of groups have traveled year after year to Büchel to protest directly at the base, which we call the “scene of crime.” Every year, religious leaders and bishops from different churches preach to as many as 1000 people at anti-nuclear gatherings near the base. Many group vigils and/or blockades take place at the base. Over the last several years Büchel has become a symbol of our civil disobedience/resistance to nuclear weapons. During the “20 weeks,” each group gets an introduction about our campaign *Büchel is everywhere! nuclear weapons-free now*. Many groups believe that besides lobbying and educational work, we also have to create pressure through nonviolent direct actions which uphold international laws prohibiting the planning and preparation of mass destruction (Nuremberg Principles).

Among the action groups is Nonviolent Action Abolish Nuclear Weapons (GAAA), which started the protests in Büchel 25 years ago. And since 2017, GAAA has coordinated an “international week” in July during the 20-week action presence. Among the internationals, we have had annual US delegations partly made up of peace activists working against US production of the new B61 nuclear bombs for Europe. Several “go-in” actions have resulted in court cases. On April 1, 2021, a formal appeal (of a conviction for a July 2018 “go-in” action) was filed by Stefanie Augustine and me with the Federal Constitutional Court (BGH) in Karlsruhe.

This was the 14th constitutional complaint filed this year, with almost 50 court cases of “go-in” actions in the last two years. So far, the Constitutional Court has refused to hear even one of the appeals complaints, ruling, among other things, that taking the cases would not be in the interest of the public. Again and again, all the lower courts have failed to recognize or apply international law, and they have refused to hear the testimony of the legal experts, e.g. Anabel Dwyer (US Adjunct Professor of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law at T. M. Cooley Law School). And this despite the fact that international law is superior to our German law. In May 2021, the BGH wrote in reply to our complaint that it did not want to accept it, and

the letter did not even give reasons for the rejection. This means that we have exhausted all possible legal remedies in Germany, so we are now at the beginning of November filing a complaint with the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), also known as the Strasbourg Court. With our many well-coordinated proceedings; with individual partial successes and our public relations work, we are making it increasingly difficult for the courts to continue to justify their rejection of our defense of “crime prevention” under intentional law.

Human chain in Büchel sends a signal

In the run-up to the nation-wide Bundestag elections, a “human chain” last September 5, along the highway adjacent to the “Fliegerhorst Büchel” nuclear weapons base, brought together about 800 people of the peace movement. Thus, a clear message was sent to the parties from the civilian population that the new UN nuclear weapons ban treaty must be ratified by Germany, the US nuclear weapons must be withdrawn, and the deployment of the new B61-12 bombs must be halted.

Despite major restrictions due to Corona and the rail strike, more than 40 carrier circle groups of the nationwide campaign *Büchel is everywhere! nuclear weapons free now* arrived in city buses or cars. In bright sunshine, many peace activists met for the first time after a month-long Corona break, the reunion creating a great mood along the “human chain.” The musical resisters, Lebenslaute, sang songs, dozens carried banners, and from cars there was benevolent honking and waving. Afterwards, an exciting program of speeches – which above all opened up the European perspective – energized the participants at the rally square at the air base’s main gate.

In my remarks, I drew attention to the current development of nuclear armaments in Büchel on behalf of our campaign, and pointed out the real threat of nuclear war posed by NATO’s “nuclear doctrine.” Prof. Karl Hans Bläsius devoted himself to the topic of artificial intelligence and the risk of accidental nuclear war, which is possible at any time. Angelika Claußen, who is European President of the International Section of IPPNW/ Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, presented the need for a European campaign – here is an excerpt from her speech:

“Yes, the peace movement is writing successes, we, the global civil society have pushed through the Nuclear Weapons Ban Treaty (TPNW) in alliance with the countries of the Global South and courageous outstanding

women politicians from countries in Europe, from Austria, and from Ireland. We expected the resistance of the nuclear weapon states, because the TPNW is diametrically opposed to their interests! Now it is Europe's turn! Nuclear sharing must be ended in Europe: in Germany, in Belgium, in the Netherlands and in Italy... The first step is to reject the nuclear dogma of NATO, the dogma of nuclear deterrence.

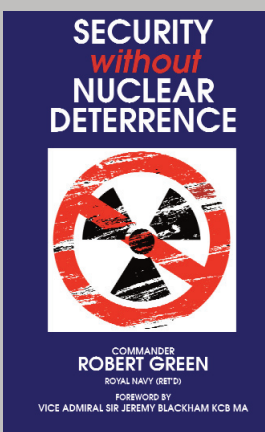
"And this is where a major current event comes into play: the defeat of the world power USA in Afghanistan. It is now crystal clear that military-based security policy is extremely destructive. The military and arms race, whether nuclear or non-nuclear, are totally inappropriate means to meet the challenges of humanity in times of climate crisis. The military itself is a climate killer. Instead, we need a civilian security and peace policy that implements important steps toward a social-ecological transformation with cooperative relations between our countries. Détente today, cooperative security policy, means drastic disarmament steps for climate justice. Nuclear-free Europe: that's what we called our joint campaign to bring the peace movement into dialogue with politicians on how a roadmap to end nuclear sharing in Europe will look.... A world free of nuclear weapons, the containment of the climate crisis including climate justice, and our right to life and health — all these goals belong together! This is what we are working for together here in Büchel!"

Speakers from other European "nuclear sharing" countries included Guido van Leemput, a staff member on Foreign Policy and National Defense of the Fraction of the Socialist Party in the Netherlands, and is involved with Bike for Peace Holland. Ludo De Brabander is spokesman for the Belgian peace organization Vrede ("peace" in Flemish), which is organizing protests at the Belgian air base Kleine Brogel. Alfonso Navarra spoke as the Italian representative of the "Demanding Disarmists" and transmitted a joint proposal of Italian peace groups to the next COP26 UN Climate Change Conference in Glasgow demanding that the military's carbon pollution be included in negotiations. Rudolf Gottfried spoke of the October 9th actions to be held against the NATO nuclear attack maneuver "Steadfast Noon" in Nörvenich.

The entire rally was recorded in a livestream (in German) and can be viewed on Youtube: www.youtube.com/watch?v=wxFABSdzBO0.

European Bike Tour (September 24-26): Month of Action

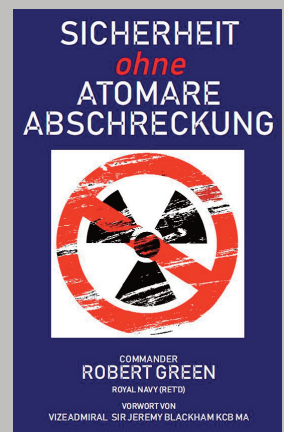
Nuke Free Europe is a young European network that proclaimed September 2021 as a "Month of Action" for the abolition of nuclear sharing in NATO states. The human chain in Büchel was the first of many, and afterwards protests at nuclear weapons bases in the Netherlands (Volkel) and Belgium (Kleine Brogel) were connected with a bicycle tour that began in Aachen. On September 24, a delegation of ten set out on



Security without Nuclear Deterrence

*Sicherheit ohne
Atomare Abschreckung*

by Commander Robert Green
RN (Ret'd)



Foreword by Vice Admiral Sir Jeremy Blackham KCB MA
German translation by Dr.-Ing Joachim Wernicke

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their bikes from Aachen's "Fridays for Future" climate strike, where we distributed leaflets on climate, our network, nuclear weapons, and military CO₂ emissions.

Arriving at Volkel (Netherlands) we were welcomed by about 70 people. A rally took place near the air base with members of the Dutch Left and Green parties and local anti-nuclear organizations. Afterwards, we cycled together around the base, where – like in Büchel – about 20 nuclear bombs are maintained and where Dutch pilots practice for their use. Afterward, we set off with our bicycles in the direction of Belgium.

The Belgian peace organization Vrede welcomed us at a campsite where we held networking discussions around a campfire until the early hours of the morning. On Sunday, September 26, we started early and joined 130 cyclists on the last stretch towards the Belgian air base Kleine Brogel, which like in Büchel, has about 20 US B61 nuclear bombs. With an international rally and a small human chain, we protested together and made many acquaintances.

Among the international participants was the American Susan Crane of Redwood City, California, who came via Amsterdam especially for her Büchel trial (September 29th in the Cochem district court). Before her trial, Susan participated in the protests in Volkel and Kleine Brogel!

Europe in danger

Our resistance is already generating a lot of pressure, because otherwise it is hard to explain that currently during the coalition negotiations on October 29, 2021, the head of the Munich Security Conference Wolfgang Ischinger is quoted in about 80 German newspapers warning that "Europe would be in danger without US nuclear weapons in Germany". I quote from the press release of our campaign:

"A withdrawal of American nuclear weapons from Germany would '... pull the rug out from under Poland's feet in terms of security policy'. Ischinger then raises the possibility that Poland might then ask that nuclear bombs be placed on its territory. The fact that Ischinger is considering this is playing with fire. As the longtime head of the so-called Security Conference in Munich, he must know that security requires trust. One basis for trust is that treaties are honored: 'pacta sunt servanda'. NATO has made a contractual commitment not to station nuclear weapons in the new accession states, including Poland. This commitment was explicitly emphasized by the Scientific Services of the Bundestag (WD 2-3000-041/20 of April 29, 2020): 'The NATO-Russia Founding Act (Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Russian Federation) of May 27, 1997, rules out the stationing of nuclear weapons on the territory of new NATO members'."

Ischinger knows, when Germany steps out, this will affect future decisions of the other European nuclear sharing countries: A possible domino effect!

In 2018, our campaign received the Oberhausener Church Prize, and in 2019 was awarded the Aachener Peace Prize for our anti-nuclear work in Büchel.

More information is at www.atomwaffenfrei.de; and at www.buechel-atombombenfrei.de

Marion Küpker, spokeswoman for the 'Büchel is everywhere! nuclear weapons-free now' campaign, peace officer on nuclear weapons at the Fellowship of Reconciliation Germany, and international coordinator in the DFG-VK against nuclear weapons — October 31, 2021

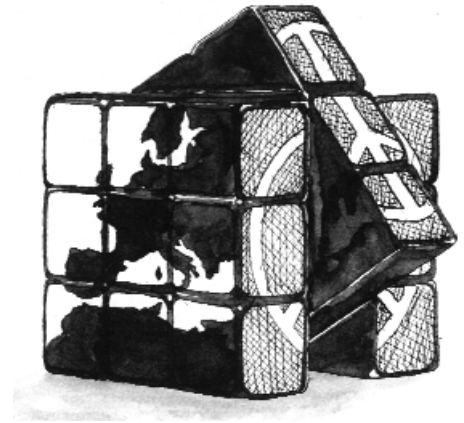
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The struggle for a Nuclear Weapons Free World



Tom Unterrainer

The following text is based on a speech made to an open meeting of the Nuke Free Europe network on 27/10/21. A video of the meeting can be found at the International Peace Bureau's YouTube account.

Where are we in terms of achieving nuclear abolition? Is it possible to make definite and precise claims about this? It might be more useful to start by looking at the current state of nuclear risks, by way of providing context for later comments. To do this, we must look at the state of play in the United States and allied powers.

I suspect that there is a consensus for the claim that nobody in the last generation did more to highlight the risks posed by nuclear weapons than former US President Donald Trump. It wasn't just that Trump spoke about nuclear weapons so much or that his Nuclear Posture Review clearly defined such weapons as possible war fighting devices. It wasn't just that Trump trashed non-proliferation, arms control and similar treaties and disorganised what previously stood as a relatively stable and predictable 'nuclear order'. It wasn't just that his administration spoke of 'useable' nuclear weapons and moved the US military-industrial complex into a new arms-race footing. It wasn't even the wide-spread perception of his political unpredictability that ramped up tensions so dramatically, though it surely didn't help. The actual scale of Trump's impact on nuclear questions is illustrated by the fact that his own military thought he was capable of ordering a nuclear attack on China in the aftermath of his electoral defeat. General Mark Milley, chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, was so concerned at the prospect that he telephoned his Chinese counterpart, General Li Zuocheng, not once but twice to assure him that the military would not allow Trump to launch a nuclear assault. The details of these calls are contained in Bob

Woodwards book, *Peril*. Can you imagine? General Milley seemed certain that Trump could be contained in the event of such an order. He seemed to think that such an order was a distinct possibility. What would have happened if such an order was given? Would the Imperial Presidency really have gone quietly into the night, thwarted by a General or two? Nothing seems certain.

Trump is no longer in office and, as such, tensions have most certainly been reduced from this high point. But they have not gone away. There was some hope that a Biden Presidency would open a new era of nuclear diplomacy, risk reduction and progress on disarmament. I'm afraid that none of this looks likely. Nobody thinks that Biden is about to 'push the button', of course. But whilst some hoped that his Nuclear Posture Review might open the way to a new, more rational, era of policy such hopes have been dashed by the removal of Leonor Tomero from the process. She was fired. An expert in non-proliferation and arms control, Tomero was seen as someone committed to undoing the damage of recent years and equally committed to taking a serious look at questions around 'sole use' and 'no first use' of nuclear weapons. What should we now expect from Biden's Nuclear Posture Review?

His attitude towards and support for the modernisation of US nuclear weapons – in fact, not just modernisation but a whole new generation of such weapons, his failure to re-start US participation in the JCPOA (Iran Deal), the continued ratcheting of tensions with China and Russia: none of this looks promising. Even the eleventh-hour US agreement to accept Russia's offer of extending New START for five years – a welcome move – was soured by Secretary of State Anthony Blinken's comments, which portrayed New START in terms of restricting Russian strategic weapons and called for China

to be forced into this bilateral treaty. Blinken failed to mention the US's own strategic nuclear forces at all. The departure of Trump has allowed for the US, under Biden's leadership, to enthusiastically re-engage with NATO, to assert US commitment to the Alliance and to move ahead with expanding NATO's activities well beyond the Atlantic region.

And then we have AUKUS – a trilateral agreement between Australia, the United Kingdom and the US – which not only tramples over the Non-Proliferation Treaty with respect to supplying nuclear power technology for non-peaceful purposes but which heralds a anglophone military pact in the South Pacific with nuclear at the heart of it.

Of course, the junior nuclear-power in the AUKUS triumvirate – the UK – has breached the NPT all on its own, with the announcement that it will increase the upper threshold of its nuclear warhead stockpile against a long-term trend and commitment to overall reductions. What did Biden and his administration make of the UK's 'Integrated Review'? We should assume that its contents and direction were wholly endorsed by US policymakers and military leaders.

All of which paints a troubling picture. But this is no surprise. If the risks posed by nuclear weapons were not troubling, there would be no need for meetings like this and organisational efforts like Nuke Free Europe.

So let us turn our attention towards the pressing organisational and action opportunities that exist in Europe. We have had a successful month of action, where peace and disarmament organisations in Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, Italy, France, England and Scotland mounted activities to highlight the presence of nuclear weapons, to call for an end to nuclear sharing, an end to the arms race and for states to sign the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. Such joint activity is a big step forward.

Coming up next week is the COP climate change conference in Scotland, which will see thousands of activists gathering, discussing and planning to meet the challenge posed by impending climate catastrophe. It has been said that those of us in the peace and anti-nuclear movements see a situation where humanity is faced with two existential threats: climate change and its consequences that could become fatal within a generation and the nuclear threat, which could become fatal next year, maybe ... or next month, perhaps ... or maybe later this evening. Alertness to one of these risks surely opens the door for alertness to both: we should think carefully about building upon work already underway to work across

these issues. Perhaps Nuke Free Europe could send a message to those demonstrating at COP, spelling out the connections between our issues.

Then there is the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. Support for the Treaty grows and as we come to understand all the opportunities presented by the text, new opportunities for action will develop. The recent decision by Norway to attend the State Parties meeting in Vienna in March 2022 opens the prospect of other NATO member-states doing likewise. People will probably have seen NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg's comments that the Norwegian government will have to explain itself to NATO. Stoltenberg, a former Norwegian Prime Minister himself, should perhaps concentrate on explaining himself to the Norwegian people. However, NATO's reaction to the Norwegian decision demonstrated the enduring issues with that organisation with respect to prospects for nuclear disarmament.

For the peace movement, Vienna raises the prospect of joint action and joint activity. We should surely try to meet in Vienna, but can we do more? What parts of the TPNW might offer us opportunities for concrete action? One possibility is around the question of nuclear testing. The Treaty commits signatories to seek redress for the legacies of nuclear testing. What can Ireland and Austria – two EU member states and both ratifiers of the TPNW – do, with the support of the peace movements, to hold France to account over the legacies of nuclear testing in Algeria? What about the presence of the US bombs in Germany, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands? All these weapons are based on designs that have been tested at some point. Where were they tested? What impact did the tests have? What responsibilities might the 'nuclear sharing' countries have for hosting instruments of mass annihilation that have been tested at some point? Surely we should work together to find out.

What of the European Union, European Parliament and related bodies? In a recent report, *The EU's Arms Control Challenge: Bridging the nuclear divides* (April 2021), Clara Portela of the EU Institute for Security Studies argues that:

the EU could consider relaxing its opposition to the TPNW and developing a modus vivendi with it. Because of the dominance of NATO allies protected (sic) by the US nuclear 'umbrella' among EU members, its stance on disarmament appears closer to that of the European (Nuclear Weapon States) than to those states advocating the (TPNW). The prevalence of conservative views on disarmament accentuates the misalignment

between the EU and NPT membership.

She continues:

The EU can help bridge the cleavage between those who contest the compatibility of the Ban Treaty with the NPT – mostly NATO members – and those who defend it. With the TPNW already in force, the EU can highlight that it does not rival the NPT, as its signatories remain active members of the NPT process. The Council should acknowledge the legitimacy of the Ban Treaty as a reaction to the current disarmament stalemate, and help rebuild an agenda that engages with the entire NPT community.

This all sounds promising, and it should be hoped EU leaders take note of the arguments Portela sets out in this section of her report. Whilst it is clear that the EU is attempting to grapple with the TPNW beyond simple criticism, it seems likely that in the absence of peace movement initiatives it will attempt to reconcile the TPNW framework with a reconstruction of the accepted, 'gradual' and 'step-by-step' approach to disarmament that the Trump administration overturned. Reassembling a framework of arms control and non-proliferation would undo some of the damage inflicted by Trump but such a process should not be used to obscure or disrupt the abolitionist drives of the TPNW process.

The European peace movements should seek dialogue and cooperation with European Parliamentarians and their political groupings to

ensure that the a renewed EU approach to arms control does not undercut the thrust of the TPNW. This means meetings, conferences and appealing to our existing friends in the European Parliament – as well as the two EU states already signed up to the TPNW – for joint work and cooperation.

Nuke Free Europe has focussed efforts on demands for an end to the new nuclear arms race, an end to nuclear sharing and for European states to sign up to and ratify the TPNW. These are important demands that will endure. We should also take this opportunity to think more widely about prospects for establishing a European Nuclear-Weapons-Free Zone. What would such a zone look like? Who would or could take part? How would proposals for establishing such a zone be formulated? What political levers are in place for starting a serious discussion in the political sphere? Even the 'gradualist' wing of disarmament exemplified by the 'Stepping Stones Initiative' of 2020 calls for states "to support the establishment of Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones in all regions of the world". Similar wording was included in the 2010 NPT RevCon 'Action Plan'. If those states and international organisations that wish to focus upon the NPT process and a gradual, incremental move to multilateral disarmament wish to avoid another 'abolitionist wave' like the TPNW, then they should think carefully about turning words into actions. The combined efforts of the peace movements across Europe and beyond can play an indispensable role in focussing their attention.

LEFT, LEFT, LEFT

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of six protest campaigns
1945-1965



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NATO Nuclear Weapons Exercise Over Southern Europe



Hans Kristensen

The following article first appeared on the Federation of American Scientists website, October 20 2021. The original publication was made possible by generous support from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the New Land Foundation, the Ploughshares Fund, and the Prospect Hill Foundation. The statements made and views expressed are solely the responsibility of the author.

NATO announced on Monday, 18 October 2021, that it had started its annual nuclear exercise code-named Steadfast Noon. The week-long exercise is taking place over Southern Europe and involves aircraft and personnel from 14 NATO countries.

According to the NATO statement, "Steadfast Noon involves training flights with dual-capable fighter jets, as well as conventional jets, backed by surveillance and refuelling aircraft. No live weapons are used. This exercise helps to ensure that NATO's nuclear deterrent remains safe, secure and effective."

The nuclear bases in southern Europe have received several upgrades during the past few years. This includes adding additional security perimeters to strengthen protection of the nuclear weapons stored at the bases. Two of these bases – Aviano in northeast Italy and Incirlik in southern Turkey, were upgraded over the past five years.

The second nuclear base in Italy – Ghedi near Brescia – that might be part of Italy's hosting of this year's Steadfast Noon exercise, is currently undergoing several important nuclear weapons related modernizations that are intended to serve the NATO nuclear strike mission for years.

Of the 14 nations involved, Dutch F-16s and German Tornados are operating out of Ghedi AB alongside Italian Tornados, while U.S. and

Belgian F-16s and possibly Czech Gripen are operating out of Aviano AB.

The timing of the Steadfast Noon exercise coincides with the meeting of the NATO ministers of defense later this week, although it is unclear if the timing is coincidental. NATO has greatly reduced (as has Russia) the number of non-strategic nuclear weapons in Europe since the Cold War. The remaining weapons were probably headed for withdrawal had it not been for Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2014. And with claims that Russia is increasing its non-strategic nuclear arsenal, NATO has since reemphasized the importance of the U.S. tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. During the Steadfast Noon exercise at Volkel Air Base in 2020, for example, the NATO Secretary General showed up at the base for a photo-op.

Ghedi: Nuclear Base Profile

NATO announced the Steadfast Noon is taking place over southern Europe but did not identify the main operating base. Steadfast Noon exercises are hosted by a different country each year. Last year it was hosted by the Netherlands and centered at Volkel AB. The reference to southern Europe implies this year's Steadfast Noon is hosted by Italy and probably centered at Ghedi AB and Aviano AB is northern Italy (Aviano hosted in 2010 and 2013).

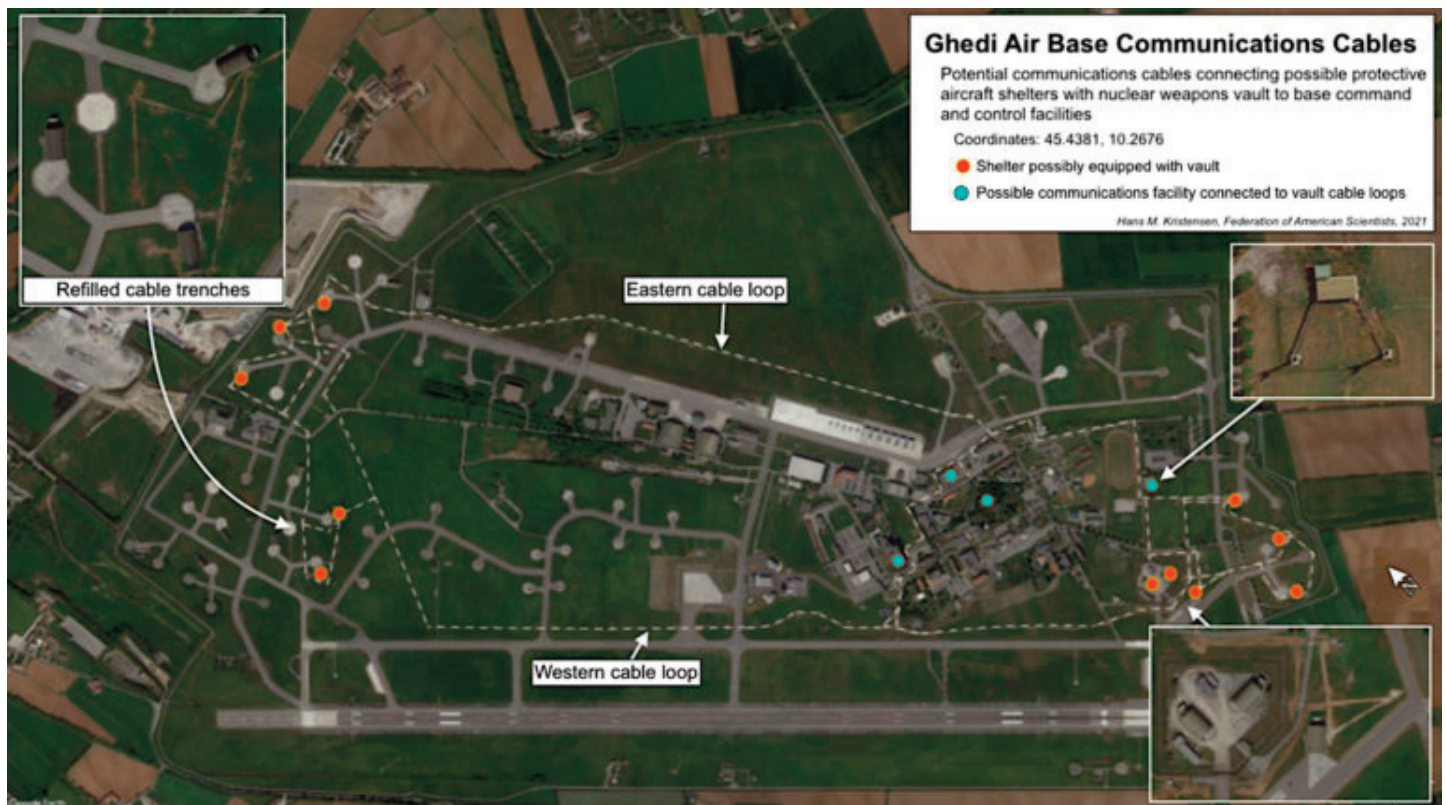
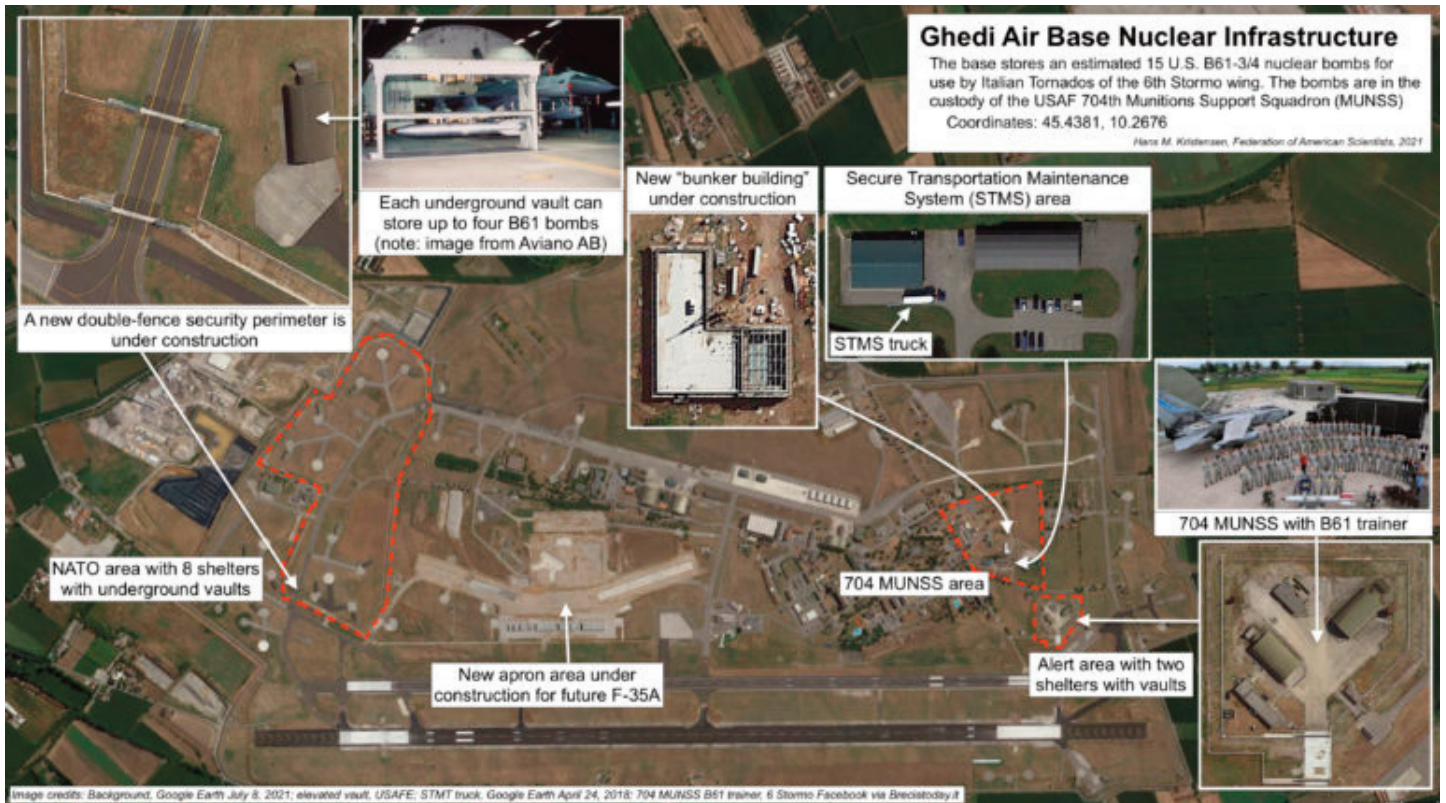
Ghedi AB is home to the Italian Air Force's 6th Stormo wing, which is tasked to employ U.S. B61 bombs with PA-200 Tornado of the 102nd and 154th fighter-bomber squadrons. There are an estimated 15 B61 bombs stored in underground vaults at the base. The bombs are in the custody of the USAF's 704th Munition Support Squadron (MUNSS), a 130-personnel strong security and maintenance unit embedded at the base.

Ghedi AB is currently undergoing significant upgrades to receive the new F-35A fighter-bomber next year, installing double-fence

security perimeters, and having recently completed modernizing the Weapon Storage and Security System (WS3) and Alarm Communication and Display (AC&D) system. The contract for the WS3/AC&D work, which was awarded in September 2016, provided for sustainment upgrades to the WS3 cryptographic system used to encrypt WS3 alarm data, and will perform an AC&D system upgrade by replacing obsolete components and the buried cable. These upgrades are clearly visible on satellite

images, as are a new “bunker building” under construction in the 704th MUNSS area along with the new Secure Transportation and Maintenance System (STMS) trucks (see images below).

The new double-fence security perimeters around eight protective aircraft shelters (left side of image) as well as the former nuclear alert area (lower right side) are similar to the security upgrades previously completed at two other bases in southern Europe: Aviano and Incirlik air



bases. The area inside the perimeters is commonly referred to as the NATO area, a reference to the NATO nuclear strike mission they support. In the 1990s, NATO installed a total of 11 underground vaults inside 11 protective aircraft shelters at Ghedi AB. Each vault can store up to four B61 bombs (normally only one or two bombs are present).

But there's a mystery: The new security perimeters only surround 10 of the 11 shelters. One possibility is that the remaining vault in the 11th shelter is a training vault, or that the number of active vaults has been reduced. But a satellite image from April 2018 might provide a hint. The image appears to show the markings from the burying of the new AC&D cables that connect the vaults in the shelters with the monitoring and communications facilities at the base. By retracing the cables markings, a pattern emerges: the cables appear to connect exactly 11 shelters, including seven inside the new security perimeter. Moreover, the cables appear to form two loops, possibly so that damage to a cable in one spot won't cut off communication with the vaults on the other side (see image below).

There is another mystery: Several shelters connected to the apparent AC&D cable grid are located outside the new security perimeters (right side of image), and several shelter that do not appear to be connect to the grid are inside the perimeter (left side of image). Since survivability was one of the justifications for building vaults instead of a central weapons

storage area, it would make sense that vaults would be scattered across the base. But the 11 vaults were completed at a time when there were many more nuclear bombs stored at Ghedi AB than today: over 40 bombs in 2000 compared with about 15 bombs today.

Perhaps the four vaults outside the perimeters are backup vaults that do not contain bombs under normal circumstances. All remaining weapons would be stored in the seven vaults inside the perimeters under normal circumstances. With a capability to store up to four B61 bombs each, even the five vaults inside the main security perimeter have more than enough capacity to store the 15 bombs currently estimated to be located at Ghedi AB.

Weapons And Capabilities

These upgrades at Ghedi AB are intended to support the NATO nuclear strike mission at the base for decades into the future. The F-35A, which will begin arriving at the base probably as early as in 2022, is significantly more capable than the Tornado aircraft it replaces.

Moreover, the B61-12 gravity bomb is about three times as accurate as the B61-3/-4 bombs current stored at the base. The increased accuracy is achieved with a new guided tail kit that will enable strike planners to hold at risk targets more effectively with the B61-12 than with the current B61 versions. Like the B61s currently at the base, the B61-12 is thought to have four selectable yield settings ranging from less than 1 kilotons to about 50 kilotons. But with the



increased accuracy, a strike planner would be able to select a lower yield option for the attack and therefore create less radioactive fallout, or attack targets that currently require a higher-yield strategic bomb from a B-2 bomber.

The combination of the F-35A and B61-12 represent a significant improvement of the military capability of the NATO dual-capable aircraft posture in Europe. Following the final drop test from an F-35A in a few weeks ago, for example, the chief of the U.S. Air Force Air Combat Command's strategic deterrence and nuclear integration division, Lt. Col Daniel

Jackson, said that "Having a 5th Generation DCA fighter aircraft with this capability brings an entirely new strategic-level capability." He explained further: "The B-2 bomber was the prominent nuclear capable stealth aircraft, but "Adding 'nuclear capable' to a 5th-Gen fighter that already brings several conventional-level capabilities to the table adds strategic-level implication to this jet."

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Drone Free Zone

The Spokesman 149

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(Re)imagine our world: the second World Peace Congress



The World Peace Congress organised by the International Peace Bureau (IPB) and the International Catalan Institute for Peace (ICIP) ended this Sunday in Barcelona after three days of conferences, workshops, and cultural events.

Under the title “(Re)imagine the world. Action for peace and justice”, more than 2,500 people took part in this hybrid congress, with activities in Barcelona. The events took place in the Centre of Contemporary Culture (CCCB) and the Blanquerna – Universitat Ramon Llull, and broadcast on the Internet.

1,000 people attended to the congress in person, while 1,500 attended online. Participants came from 126 countries. In Barcelona, activists from 75 countries including South Korea, the United States, Afghanistan, India and Mongolia, were also able to listen to the speeches covering issues such as nuclear disarmament, climate justice, racism and the rights of indigenous peoples.

As IPB Executive Director, Reiner Braun, explains, this is the biggest international peace event of this year. “The congress was a great success. We got a great support from the city of Barcelona and the president of the government of Catalonia. From my point of view, it was the right congress in this difficult political time and in the right place because we got a big support from the city. The IPB will definitely continue working on the way of more engagement for peace after the congress”.

Jordi Calvo, IPB Vice-President and member of the local committee, affirms: “At the congress we have seen that the peace movement is not alone. The large participation of feminist, anti-racist and global justice movements in the conferences and seminars shows that pacifism is more alive than ever, but that it needs to adapt to new narratives and generations. After this congress, the Catalan, Spanish, European and

global peace movement is stronger”.

The congress started on Friday 15 October with an event attended by the President of the Generalitat Pere Aragonés and the Mayor of Barcelona, Ada Colau. The opening session was attended by prominent names such as British politician Jeremy Corbyn and ICAN Executive Director Beatrice Fihn. The open plenary can be accessed here.

Sean MacBride Award

Each year, IPB gives the Sean MacBride Peace Prize to an individual or organisation that has done outstanding work for peace, disarmament and/or human rights. This year the award was awarded to Black Lives Matter for the movement’s dedication and work to create a world where the lives of black people can thrive.

On the second day of the World Peace Congress in Barcelona, Rev Karlene Griffiths Sekou, community minister, academic and activist, and director of Healing Justice and International Organizing received the award on behalf of the social movement.

“Our movement is not a moment in time, it is a constant reminder to eradicate white supremacy, change racist policies and overthrow oppressive systems”.

“We thank the International Peace Bureau for their recognition and thank the community leaders, local activists and ancestors, who fuel the relentless will of our movement and inspire us to re-imagine a world for our children and for future black generations,” she added.

The World Peace Congress issued a number of documents and declarations at the conclusion of events. We re-publish Appeal issued by the Congress. Further documents can be found here: <https://trello.com/b/MPBI8oQZ/wpc2021>

Appeal From Barcelona To The World, To all Peace Movements and Shapers of The Future

(Re)imagine our world - Action for peace, justice and the climate

The world stands at a historically unique crossroads - either the abyss of nuclear, ecological, and social disaster or a common, just, demilitarized and environmentally sustainable future.

14,000 nuclear weapons threaten humanities existence and with heightening tensions between big powers, the danger of their actual use is increasing, while \$2 trillion in weapons spending kills each day. With their massive daily death toll, small arms are weapons of mass destruction

The warming of the planet endangers life for untold millions; the environment - the foundation of all life - is being destroyed, burned, poisoned, and exterminated. Civilization is in danger

Hundreds of millions of people are starving. Masses languish in poverty with little hope for the future in massive slums, billions struggle to survive without work, and the social catastrophes reinforced by greed, racism, and sexism are devastating.

We cannot tolerate or be complicit in these deadly realities!

RE-IMAGINE OUR WORLD AND ITS FUTURE

Re- Remember and honor the Russell-Einstein Manifesto of 1955: "We appeal, as human beings, to human beings: Remember your humanity, and forget the rest. If you can do so, the way lies open to a new Paradise; if you cannot, there lies before you the risk of universal death."

We are not helpless. We can save the planet and create a life-affirming future. It is in our hands, - those of people of everywhere! We face a stark choice: whether we seek to achieve peace by the threat or use of nuclear weapons and arms races or by establishing a world without nuclear weapons and with disarmament -- It is our responsibility to make the right choice. The recent entry into force of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons is our significant achievement. And we are witnessing great mobilization, above all of young people, across the world to save the planet from climate crisis. They are the greatest source of our hope for the future.

Wars are not a natural phenomenon. They are planned and inflicted by humans. Humans can end all wars, abolish the institution of war, and eliminate all nuclear weapons. This is our responsibility.

The fundamental principle of solving international conflicts through peaceful means, based on the U.N. Charter and international law, should be strictly observed.

Profit, greed, and our daily disregard for the environment are destroying the world's beauty and life-giving potential. We can overcome the profit system and together and create ecologically just societies. Economies must serve only the people. Another, better world is possible: People living happier lives, more frugal in the use of resources, and in harmony with nature. **This is our responsibility.**

Social justice is the ancient hope and right of humankind, it can be realized. Also as our indigenous sisters and brothers teach us, if fairly distributed, there is enough for all. Destructive competition and the thoughtless brutality of the privileged and powerful is unacceptable. Living in solidarity with each other across all differences and borders, spells justice for all. **It is our responsibility.**

Let us re-imagine – as John Lennon and Yoko Ono sang in their anthem: **Imagine!**

Peace in the world, global justice, and a life-supporting environment are possible. We can bring them into being.

The world we need and deserve will not fall as mana from Heaven.

We must work and organize for our future, countless times, together, across all borders - and in solidarity. Participatory democracy is the breath of justice and transformation. Thus we resolutely reject all forms of authoritarianism and right-wing repressive radicalism.

We rise to this challenge by:

Strengthening the worldwide peace movement and commit again to envisioning and organizing great common actions for a world without nuclear weapons, war, injustice and a poisoned planet.

We will act together in unity with social movements, trade unions religious Communities, which are powerful forces for change, of creation, and survival.

We appeal to the world's politicians - everywhere: give up old patterns of thinking and dependencies. Act now, with urgency and more comprehensively than before for peace, disarmament, justice, and the climate

We will build pressure! Our actions will be decisive.

Re imagine our future!

Barcelona, 2021, October 17th.

Security and the Left in Europe

Katerina Anastasiou (transform! europe) and
Axel Ruppert (Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brussels Office)

The following text is from the preface to the transform! europe report *Security and the Left in Europe: Towards a New Left Concept of Security*. The full report can be accessed at www.transform-network.net.

The drafting and development of a new comprehensive Leftist concept on security is long overdue, though unambiguously possible and feasible as the 2020 workshop series *Towards A New Concept of Security*, organised by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brussels Office and transform! europe, has clearly illustrated: Leftist movements, political parties, grassroots collectives, NGOs and activists across Europe and beyond are set to further expand collaboration and coordination across borders, backgrounds and political affiliations. They share common grounds, perceptions and goals regarding an alternative concept on security, featuring a human-centred and non-militarised understanding of security.

The COVID-19 pandemic and the emergencies caused by it highlight the need for a concept of security that caters for the actual security needs of everyday life in contrast to those focused on military spending and action, policing, oppression and surveillance. Predominant security policies, deriving from a Cold War logic, focus on military reactions to threats while neglecting environmental degradation, large-scale environmental or infrastructure disasters, pandemics, food security and social security, among others. This deficiency has become all too apparent during the pandemic. Years of austerity have hollowed out public infrastructure, resulting in inadequate health and social welfare structures that were not able to secure the lives of millions of

Europeans.

The measures introduced by European governments to contain the pandemic have had a sobering effect on our private lives and the cultural and educational sectors. State repression has manifested in the restriction of fundamental rights and the use of disproportionate police violence, while the expansion of existing and creation of new tools of surveillance in cooperation with private tech giants has occurred in varying degrees across Europe. Although the vast majority of epidemiologists advised the temporary closure of production facilities and factories, European governments have opted for the past year to secure capital interests rather than workers' health. This highlighted the distorted understanding of actual health security needs of people living in Europe and diverted attention away from measures to tackle the pandemic that would have been more painful for capital. As this report is being written, one of the supposedly richest parts of the world now mourns hundreds of thousands of lives and the pandemic has not ended yet.

In today's world, security has been commodified. This commodification has made security a tradeable service, thus transforming a basic need into a lucrative market. The profiteers of the dominant security discourse are those who are trading on this market, namely the actors of the military-industrial complex. The paradox of today in a nutshell is that those who create the instruments of repression and war—the arms industry—are the very ones that promise to reinstate security through their merchandise. To be able to continue doing so, and to constantly increase their profit margins, these actors expend substantial amounts of money and effort on shaping the political discourse that serves their



interests.

Current debates on security are mostly hegemonised by the political Right, while repressive and discriminating policies are justified in the name of security. This ranges from foreign policy decisions to law and order practices within the European Union (EU). The term "security" is closely tied to nationalism and often framed in terms of protecting the nation against the "other". Referring to security can be toxic and thus requires careful attention about when and how to address it.

At the same time, security is a basic need and an urgent necessity for those affected by war, violent conflict, police brutality, hate crimes or domestic violence. Providing security also means preventing the devastation caused by the climate crisis and offering protection from its consequences, ensuring access to quality food, water, housing, healthcare, education, etc. and enabling prospects for a liveable future. The United Nations "human security" concept is also working in this direction, yet with a silk glove towards the systemic causes rooted in capitalist modes of production.

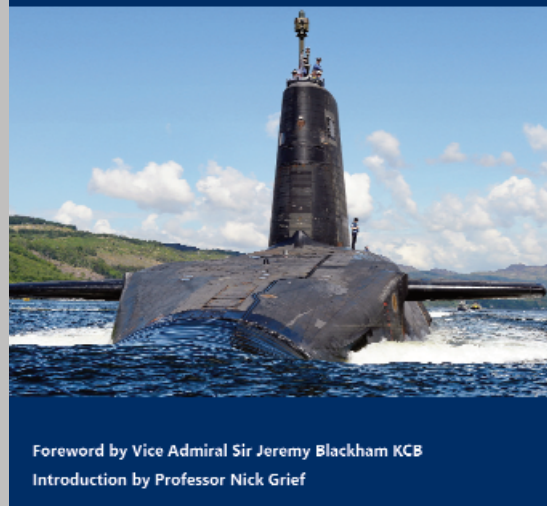
The EU's leadership has been advancing the militarisation and securitisation of the bloc, based on the notion that the Security and the Left in Europe 3 European project is under threat and that a "stronger and autonomous Europe" is needed on the global stage (Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy, 2016). The development of joint military capabilities is fostered, commitments to increase military spending are being made and calls for the EU to make use of its military weight are getting louder. As further social or economic EU integration is rejected or blocked by Member States, the aim of this strategy seems to be to demonstrate the EU's ability to act, to integrate right-wing populist actors and thus to forge a new consensus for Europe. These ongoing developments appear as an attempt to counter the ongoing disintegration crisis facing the Union and force a European identity into existence by "uniting in arms against the common enemy". However, the discursive, structural and financial shift to military priorities will neither ensure peace nor be able to contain the structural causes of the conflicts to be fought, which have been and will continue to be fuelled not least by the exploitative economy of a neoliberal EU.

This is why a security concept developed by Europe's Left and progressive forces is greatly needed, in order to address the root causes of insecurity and safeguard peace: a political strategy that is innovative, intersectional and unapologetically anti-capitalist.

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Vice Admiral Sir Jeremy Blackham

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Common security for a New World Order

Alexey Gromyko, Russian Academy of Sciences

Alexey Gromyko is the Director of the Moscow-based Institute of Europe of the Russian Academy of Sciences. He delivered the following talk at the second plenary of the International Peace Bureau's Second World Peace Congress, (Re)Imagine our World: Action for Peace and Justice, held in Barcelona from 15 to 17 October, 2021.

Earlier this year I was honoured to be invited and become a member of the High-Level Advisory Commission for Common Security 2022. The Commission is a part of a project launched by the Olof Palme International Centre, the International Trade Union Confederation, and the International Peace Bureau with the support of SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute). I am grateful to Reiner Brown and Anna Sundstrom for involving me in this cooperation.

Next year we mark the 40th anniversary of the Report of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues under the Chairmanship of Olof Palme. The Report introduced the concept of Common Security and contributed to the end of the Cold War. However, these days the ideas behind Common Security are almost forgotten in spite of the fact that we again live in extremely perilous times.

The pandemic has affected each and every significant aspect of life – global health, global economics and politics, humanitarian and social issues. The pandemic, with all its human drama and tragedy, could and should have brought the world together. Instead political divisions have become only deeper.

The relative levels of poverty and social inequalities across the planet were going up before the pandemic. Covid has enhanced these negative trends. 1% of the world population owns more than 80% of global

wealth. The global debt today is about 250 trillion USD (322% of the world GDP). The Euro-Atlantic area has a debt to GDP ratio of 380%; China's ratio is 310%. Russia is luckier – its national debt is less than 21% of the GDP.

The neoliberal model, originating from Reaganomics and Thatcherism, still dominates the world. Today there are few countries, which can boast of welfare states and social contracts, of a system where the social rights of a human being are protected from cradle to grave. In 'better days' the concepts of the Third Way, a stakeholder society, communitarianism and others were put forward. Amitai Etzioni and John Galbraith, Robert Putnam and David Marquand, Will Hutton and John Plender and many others made important contributions to these efforts. Politicians like Jeremy Corbyn made efforts to defend the Welfare State from attack and continue to work for social justice, peace and disarmament.

Despite the Great Recession, neoliberalism continues to dominate the international economy. The global financial oligarchy continues to rule the world. Even the middle class has suffered a lot, which resulted in the rise of a New Populism. To offer just one telling example: while in the 1960s the CEO of a major US company would be paid, on the average, 20 times the wages of a regular employee, today the ratio is roughly 300:1.

Competition between the leading centres of power in the world accelerates and intensifies. The states involved resort to political, economic, ideological, military and information instruments of domination and coercion. Even the work on COVID vaccines has exacerbated tensions between states.

Differences between the United States and China are becoming one of the fundamental elements in this competition. Some experts

**COMMON
SECURITY**
A PROGRAMME FOR DISARMAMENT
The Report of the Independent
Commission on Disarmament
and Security Issues under the
Chairmanship of Olof Palme



believe that confrontation between the US and China will result in a new edition of bipolarity. Others maintain that the rivalry between the world's two leading economies is a bilateral conflict and cannot evolve into a bipolar world order similar to that of the Cold War. In any case, US-China military tensions are a major risk. These tensions are a time bomb. There is a real risk of a dangerous escalation over Taiwan.

International mechanisms are working less and less effectively. Instead, nations tend to rely on regional projects, regional cooperation, localisation. We observe not only strategic decoupling between the United States and its European allies. In addition, Washington now wants to decouple itself economically and technologically from China. Multilateral institutions are stagnant or in crisis. Having just marked 75 years since its creation, the United Nations, this universally recognised organisation, is struggling with all the negative effects of confrontation among its members.

The entire architecture of international security is almost destroyed. Environmental issues and climate change deserve massive attention and action. But the threats of militarisation, a new arms race, risks of an unintentional military conflict between nuclear powers are disproportionately neglected. Many expectations, connected to the end of the Cold War, were dashed. The bitter fact is that the world since then has not become a safer place. Some people say that now it is a more dangerous place than in the 70s and 80s. Russia experienced the first external shock in the 90s, when NATO took a decision to expand. The second shock came with the bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999. The third shock was the invasion of Iraq in 2003.

Still there is hope. The United Nations has survived. The climate change and green agenda are reverberating across the planet. There are more and more people realising that arms control and disarmament are not less important. Let me say that perhaps it is more important because it deals with immediate existential threats.

Today, in 2021, it is so important to look around and to think about what big ideas can help. One of them is the concept of Common Security. Initially it was elaborated in the Olof Palme Commission Report back in 1982. Nowadays the task is to preserve the essence of the Palme commission Report on Common Security and to build upon it. The core of its philosophy should be kept intact while a range of recommendations should be modernised to carry forward the Commission's mission.

Common Security is a comprehensive phenomenon which embraces in equal manner the spheres of economy, social life and security as such. Security should be treated as equal and indivisible common good. Security at the expense of others is not achievable. Common security is one of the most important strategies, responsible for the well-being of humankind. The basis of Common Security rests on the fundamental right to life. Therefore it should be treated as a responsibility not a privilege of governments to act in the interests of Common Security.

International and interstate relations will never be free from competition and even rivalry. Therefore, Common Security should be underpinned by strong and viable international mechanisms, in the centre of which should stay the United Nations. Any enforcement in international relations, including military enforcement, should be strictly guided by Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Goodwill and confidence-building measures are indispensable elements of Common Security.

Arms control and disarmament policy are crucial components of Common Security. Robust support should be given to the Gorbachev-Reagan statement of 1985 and the Putin-Biden statement of 2021 that a nuclear war cannot be won and should never be fought (see box 1). To fight a nuclear war is suicidal and just crazy. One day nuclear deterrence should be replaced by the concept of Common Security.

The politics of nuclear deterrence will last for quite a while. Nevertheless, Common Security to a large extent can be achieved already in the age of nuclear deterrence. The concept and practice of Common Security will play a substantial role in phasing out the policy of nuclear deterrence. Meanwhile the extension of New Start Treaty for 5 years, as well as negotiations of all P5 states on the future of strategic stability, should be fully supported. A multilateral and verifiable moratorium on the deployment of Intermediate Nuclear Forces in Europe should also be supported.

Common Security means enhancing stability by increasing transparency, avoiding dangerous military activities, and providing dedicated political and military-to-military communication channels that would avoid escalation of incidents that might occur.

All nations should exert their efforts to achieve ratification of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and to make it judicially enforceable. The development and deployment of weapons in outer space or weapons directed against objects in outer space should be prohibited. The

Non-Proliferation Treaty is further jeopardised by the intention of the US and the UK to transfer nuclear technologies to Australia for military purposes.

My grandfather, Andrey Gromyko, told us – children and youngsters – 40 years ago: “When I was negotiating, my brothers – killed in the WWII – whispered in my ears, ‘Andrey, don’t give away what we died for’.” And millions of other Russians who survived the war, could tell the same.

I do not know, how many people these days know that Andrey Gromyko was a sincere supporter of the abolition of nuclear weapons. He was a true supporter of the United Nations, which he helped so much to design and launch. His father fought in two wars, the Russia-Japanese War and then in WWII. The grandmother of my wife, as a girl, saw how her mother was killed by fascists. And millions of other people in Russia experienced similar horrors.

My father was an active member of the famous Pugwash movement and of the Dartmouth meetings. For many years he stood as a scientist for the abolition of apartheid in South Africa. And there were hundreds and thousands in the Soviet Union like him.

Russia was destroyed in 1917, it barely survived in 1941, and then again it collapsed in 1991. Why I am recalling all this? Because I want to say that Russia has suffered a lot in the 20th century. And we have exceeded all quotas for wars, revolutions and counter-revolutions.

In new times Russia is routinely accused of all possible and impossible sins. Russia is a complicated country. But it was Russia which urged the US not to abandon the ABM Treaty in 2002, it urged NATO to ratify the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, again it urged the US not to leave the Intermediate Nuclear Forces in Europe Treaty in 2018 and recently it urged them not to abandon the Open Skies Treaty.

Russian scientists continue to exert efforts to re-establish arms control agenda and to stop brinkmanship in Europe. For more than a year now the Institute of Europe and the Institute for the US and Canadian Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences have been working with the European Leadership Network and many other colleagues from Europe and the United States on de-escalation of relations between Russia and NATO (see box 2). Last December we published a report on Military Risk Reduction in Europe. It was signed even by two former secretary-generals of NATO.

Common Security remains an indispensable condition for the salvation of humanity from extinction.

Box 1

U.S.-Russia Presidential Joint Statement on Strategic Stability

JUNE 16, 2021

We, President of the United States of America Joseph R. Biden and President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin, note the United States and Russia have demonstrated that, even in periods of tension, they are able to make progress on our shared goals of ensuring predictability in the strategic sphere, reducing the risk of armed conflicts and the threat of nuclear war.

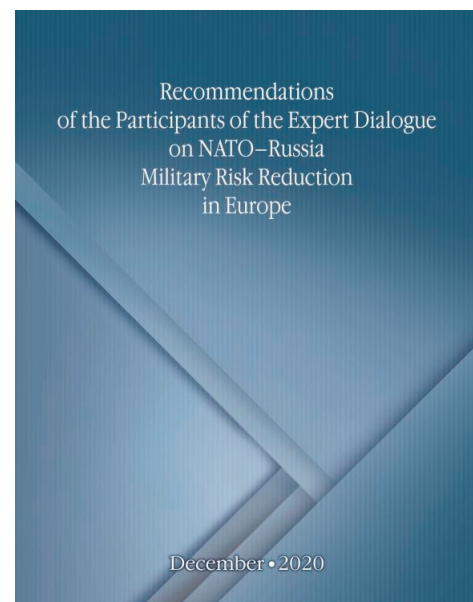
The recent extension of the New START Treaty exemplifies our commitment to nuclear arms control. Today, **we reaffirm the principle that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.**

Consistent with these goals, the United States and Russia will embark together on an integrated bilateral Strategic Stability Dialogue in the near future that will be deliberate and robust. Through this Dialogue, we seek to lay the groundwork for future arms control and risk reduction measures.

Box 2

Recommendations of the Participants of the Expert Dialogue on NATO-Russia Military Risk Reduction in Europe

DECEMBER 2020



Bertrand Russell and the problem of 'deterrence'

Ken Coates

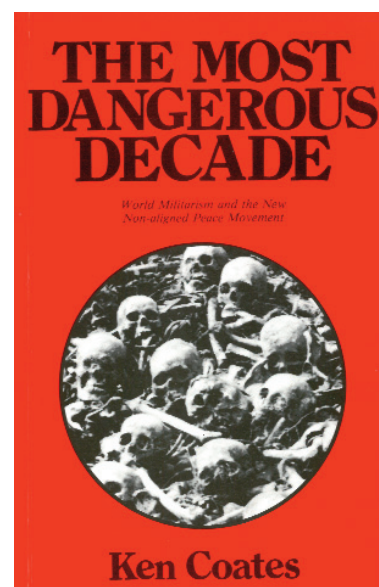
'Bertrand Russell and the problem of deterrence' is an abridged version of the first chapter of Ken Coates' collection of essays and working papers titled The Most Dangerous Decade. Published by Spokesman in 1984, the collection is subtitled: World Militarism and the New Non-aligned Peace Movement. The book is available to buy from spokesmanbooks.org.

* * *

The new movement for nuclear disarmament in Europe, which has swept across the continent in the first years of the present decade, offers many similarities to the earlier peace movement, remembered now by people entering middle age.

In the late 50s and early 60s, however, life was rather simpler than it is today. The differences between the peace movements of then and now are perhaps as important as their similarities. So, too, are the differences in the contexts in which they seek to act. In 1955, Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein published the famous manifesto which launched the Pugwash movement, so named because the first international meeting of scientists which it called into being met at Cyrus Eaton's estate in Pugwash, Nova Scotia.

This document ..sets out the classic statement of the perils of nuclear war, which, its authors established, might quite possibly put an end to the human race. Their judgement has lost none of its validity. But the political disputes which divide the world have changed significantly since Russell and Einstein agreed their text. "The world is full of conflicts", they wrote, "and, overshadowing all minor conflicts, the titanic struggle between communism and anti-communism". Two-and-a-half decades on, this



"titanic struggle" has radically changed its form.

Even in 1955, anti-communism had many exponents, from quasi-feudal despots, to the directors of great capitalist corporations, to social democrats or libertarian socialists. Those opposing communism in 1980 represent a no less incompatible spectrum than before, although the shades of opinion included in it are now perhaps more finely delineated. On the other side, those supporting communism have fragmented into a dizzying variety of schools ... Doctrinal disagreements follow these national and regional cleavages, and also, to some degree, overlay them ...

Not a whit less divided is the capitalist world. Whilst multinational companies establish a new globalism, serious divisions of economic interest separate the United States from the most potent European nations, and there are widening breaches between both of these power centres and their dynamic competitors in Japan. If conventional socialist doctrines on imperialism are true, then the real world conflict is as likely to follow intercapitalist fractures as it is to remain contained in the ideological rupture of the cold war. At the same time realistic "western" analysis can show that ideological quarrels have relatively easily become exchanges of shot and shell between "communist" states, whilst the basic East-West divide has remained frozen in an uneasy peace ...

All this has made the maintenance of peace immeasurably more difficult, since the complex of shifting affinities involves risk that where one dispute between two contenders might be negotiated to a settlement, the actions of a third party may serve to reopen old divisions on a new plane, or create new conflicts immediately after the resolution of existing ones. That more than one of the potential contenders phrase their

communiqués in the language of Marxism, with quotations from the same scriptures, by no means ameliorates this difficulty.

The fragmentation of interests within the blocs makes the old concept of detente infinitely more difficult to pursue. Even if all the statesmen in all the powers were firmly bent on avoiding war at all costs, they would require consummate expertise and skill to do so. However, it seems rather plain that peace is not exactly the first priority for all of them, so that the avoidance of war requires other advocates, with firmer commitments, if it is to be adequately promoted.

All this would have been a warning to heed even if each of the worlds of Russell and Einstein had simply subdivided: but in fact both parts of their world have also entered other profound crises. Fission has followed crisis, and aggravated it in the process. Apparent economic stability in the West has given way to deep slump, mass unemployment, and aggravated civil disorder in many countries. The once monolithic political conformity of the East has also broken into serial problems, promoting apathy, withdrawal and even non-co-operation on a wide scale. Strident dissidence has become evident among certain minorities. In both halves of this cold peace, troubles now come, not in single spies, but in whole battalions.

However complex the evolution of affairs since they wrote their manifesto, Russell and Einstein were right to pinpoint what has remained the unresolved problem of our time, to which we may find no simple solution in any scriptures, secular or other. In a prophetic moment more than a hundred years earlier, the authors of the Communist Manifesto had spoken of the class struggle (which they clearly saw as a democratic process in the fullest sense of the words), as ending "either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large or in the common ruin of the contending classes".

That "common ruin" now looms over us. It is no longer a question of socialism or barbarism, but of survival or the end of our species. Although this dilemma has confronted us since the Hiroshima explosion in August 1945, we have neither adequately understood it, nor have we yet resolved it. It will be more extensively discussed below.

Yet the existence of this dilemma does not at all annul the other lesser social tensions which demand real change in the structures of our societies, East and West alike. The inhibition of such change itself intensifies the threat of war, while the threat of war is used to reinforce that inhibition.

In his attempt to focus these prospects more

than (60) years ago, Bertrand Russell drew three rather evident conclusions: first, that any future large-scale war would bring disaster "not only to belligerents, but to mankind"; second, that little wars would always henceforward contain the risk of becoming great, and that the more of them there were, the more likely it would be that one or another of them might grow to encompass our general destruction; and third, that even were existing nuclear weapons all by agreement to be destroyed, the outbreak of any future major war would ensure that replacements would be used as soon as they could be manufactured.¹ So far more than a hundred "little" wars have raged since 1945, and two of them, those in Korea and Indo-China, involved the use of a firepower more horrendously devastating than the totality of that available during the Second World War. To this matter, too, we shall return below. In one sense, this fact does not contradict what Russell said: war in Afghanistan, or in Iran, or in Eritrea, or in Namibia, or in the Lebanon, or who knows where next, does indeed carry the most fearful prospect of escalation, drawing in both active external sponsors and passive bystanders. In another sense, those who have preached the conventional doctrine of deterrence can be yielded (for what it is worth), their claim that ever-enlarging nuclear arsenals in both superpowers have up to now kept them apart from direct engagement one with another, and schooled them in exploring the delicate risks of proxy conflicts. The proxies will take no comfort from this.

This doctrine of deterrence has not stood still, however. Until recently, one of its most loyal British proponents has been Mr Denis Healey, who informed us in the early 1950s that the best guide to the true state of the world was Thomas Hobbes, who understood power politics. For Hobbes, fear was an indispensable component of the impulse to statehood, upon which depended the public peace and the containment of the "war of each against all", which otherwise raged in the society of natural man. But if this doctrine had been true, Hiroshima would surely have generated sufficient fear to force us all to accept the need for a genuinely international polity. It did not. Instead, it became an obstacle to such a polity. Deterrence theory, founded in one kind of technology, and within a given geo-political balance, has reiterated various rather primitively Hobbesian prescriptions to all who would listen, while both technologies and political realities have been borne along beneath it in a heaving flux of change. Hobbes himself would have been infinitely wiser than his

modern epigones. He would never have ignored corporeal being because of a web of words. Order may once have been based on fear, but today fear has reached a point at which it imminently threatens to destroy what it has left of "order".

When Bertrand Russell sought to explain the confrontation of the nuclear superpowers, back in 1959, he offered a famous analogy:

"Since the nuclear stalemate became apparent, the Governments of East and West have adopted the policy which Mr Dulles calls 'brinkmanship'. This is a policy adapted from a sport which, I am told, is practised by the sons of very rich Americans. This sport is called 'Chicken!' It is played by choosing a long straight road with a white line down the middle and starting two very fast cars towards each other from opposite ends. Each car is expected to keep the wheels of one side on the white line. As they approach each other, mutual destruction becomes more and more imminent. If one of them swerves from the white line before the other, the other, as he passes, shouts 'Chicken!', and the one who has swerved becomes an object of contempt. As played by youthful plutocrats, this game is considered decadent and immoral, although only the lives of the players are risked. But when the game is played by eminent statesmen, who risk not only 'their own lives but those of many hundreds of millions of human beings, it is thought on both sides that the statesmen on the other side are reprehensible. This, of course, is absurd. Both are to blame for playing such an incredibly dangerous game. The game may be played without misfortune a few times, but sooner or later it will come to be felt that loss of face is more dreadful than nuclear annihilation. The moment will come when neither side can face the derisive cry of 'Chicken!' from the other side. When that moment is come, the statesmen of both sides will plunge the world into destruction."²

I do not cite this passage out of piety. Russell's parable is no longer adequate. As we have seen, various things have changed since 1959. Some were beginning to change, at any rate in minds like Mr Henry Kissinger's, even before that time.

Some changes were rather evident to ordinary people, more or less instantly. Others were not. Within the game of "chicken" itself, we had the Cuba crisis of 1962. We shall discuss this later, but for our present purposes it is enough to note that Mr Krushchev swerved. This persuaded certain shallow advocates of the game that deterrence actually worked. But rather more significantly, it also persuaded the more faithful Hobbesians

among Mr Krushchev's colleagues that considerably greater effort should be lavished on the perfection of a swerve-proof war machine. Consequently, the nuclear armament balance shifted, if not in the dramatic manner announced by Washington alarmists, at any rate in the direction of something closer to effective parity.

In addition to this, proliferation of nuclear weaponry continued. This is discussed below, and all that we need to say about it here is that it has complicated the rules of the game rather considerably. The French allowed if they did not actually encourage public speculation about the thought that their deterrent was more than unidirectional, if their putative defenders ever showed undue reluctance to perform, in time of need, the allotted role. The arrival of the Chinese as a potential nuclear force produced a new prospect of a three-way "chicken" game, with both main camps holding out at least a possibility that, in appropriate circumstances, they might "play the China card". But here the metaphor is mixing itself. Staying within the rules Russell advanced, we would have to express it like this: the Chinese "deterrent" could, at least in theory, be set to intervene against either of the other participants in the joust, unpredictably, from any one of a bewildering number of side-entries to the main collision course.

As if this were not problem enough, the war-technology has itself evolved, so that:

- a. military costs have escalated to the point where nuclear powers are quite apparently increasingly impotent if they are barred from using what has now become by far their most expensive weaponry; and
- b. nuclear weapons technique aspires to (although it may very well fail to meet) infinitely greater precision in attack. This brings nearer the possibility of pre-emptive war, which is a perfectly possible abrupt reversal of standard deterrence presumptions.

To these facts we must add another, of powerful moment:

- c. the stability of the world political economy, which seemed effectively unchallengeable in 1959, has been fatally undermined by the collapse of the Keynesian world order, deep slump in the advanced capitalist countries, and growing social tension within the nations of the Soviet sphere of influence, who have not for the most part been able to evolve those democratic and consensual forms of

administration which could resolve their political tensions in an orderly and rational manner.

In the interaction of these developments, we have seen the consolidation, amongst other delinquencies, of the doctrine of "limited" nuclear war. We can only reduce this veritable mutation in strategy to Russell's exemplary folk-tale if we imagine that each participant car in the game enfolds smaller subordinate vehicles, which can be launched down the white line at even greater speed than the velocity of approach of the main challengers. These lesser combatants can, it is apparently believed, be set loose on one another in order that their anticipated crashes may permit time for the principals to decide whether it might be wise themselves to swerve or not. Any desire of the small fry to change course is already taken care of, because they are already steered by remote control. Of course, the assumption is that those involved in the "lesser" combat will necessarily be destroyed. Maybe their destruction can save their mother vehicles from perishing, although careful analysts think it very much more likely not.

Stated in this way, the game has become even more whimsical than it was in Russell's original model. But stiffened up with precise and actual designations, it loses all traces of whimsy. The lesser vehicles in the developing game of "limited" war are all of Europe's nations. Whether or not their sacrifice makes free enterprise safer in New York, or allows Mr Brezhnev's successors time to build full communism (and we may well be agnostic on both scores) what is securely certain is that after it Europe will be entirely and poisonously dead, and that the civilisations of Leonardo and Galileo, Bacon and Hobbes, Spinoza and Descartes and, yes, Karl Marx, will have evaporated without trace.

Before we consider the project for limited nuclear war in a little more detail, it is necessary to unravel the conventional doctrine of deterrence somewhat further. Advocates of this schema will often repudiate the fable of the chicken game. "It is a malicious travesty", they will tell us. The vogue question which is then very commonly posed by such people is this: "you complain about the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: but would these events have taken place, if Japan then had the benefit of a possible nuclear response?" Let us worry this problem a little. First, some obvious points. Did the Japanese in this speculative argument possess an equivalence of weaponry or not? If they were nuclear-armed, but with a smaller number of war-heads, or inadequate delivery systems, it is

possible that their retaliatory capacity could be evaluated and discounted, in which case the American attack would presumably have gone ahead. If, on the other hand, the American Government perceived that it might not avoid parity of destruction or worse, it would in all likelihood have drawn back. It might even have hesitated for fear of less than equal devastation. "Aha!" say the deterrent philosophers: "you have conceded our case". Well, hardly. We must first pursue it for a few steps, but not before pointing out that it has already become completely hypothetical, and already travesties many other known facts about the real Japanese war prospects in August 1945, quite apart from the then existing, real disposition of nuclear weapons. (There are some strong grounds for the assumption that the Japanese would actually have been brought to a very quick surrender if the nuclear bombardment had never taken place, or indeed, even had it not been possible). But for the sake of argument, we are temporarily conceding this special case of the deterrent argument.

Let us then see what happens when we apply it further. In 1967, the Indian Government exploded a "peaceful" nuclear device. Subsequently Pakistan set in train the necessary work of preparation for an answering technology. Since partition, India and Pakistan have more than once been at war. There remain serious territorial claims at issue between them. The secession of Bangladesh inflicted serious humiliation on the Pakistan Government. What possible argument can be advanced against a Pakistan deterrent? We shall instantly be told that the present military rulers of that country are unsavoury to a remarkable degree, that they butchered their last constitutionally elected Prime Minister, and that they maintain a repressive and decidedly unpleasant administration. It is difficult, if not unfortunately impossible, to disagree with these complaints, all of which are founded in reason and justice. But as co-opted theorists of deterrence, we must dismiss them. Our adopted argument is, that if India and Pakistan are to be held apart from their next war, the deterrent is necessary to both sides. Their respective moral shortcomings, if any, or indeed, if all that have ever been alleged, have nothing to do with the case.

Late in April 1981, Mr F.W. De Klerk, the mineral and energy affairs minister of South Africa, publicly admitted that his country was producing a quantity of 45 per cent enriched uranium, which announcement signified that South Africa had the capacity to manufacture its own nuclear armament. This news was scarcely

electrifying, since a nuclear device had already apparently been detonated in the South Atlantic during the previous year, and it had therefore been assumed, almost universally, that the South African bomb already existed. What should the black African "front-line States" then do? Deterrence positively requires that Angola, Zimbabwe and Mozambique should instantly start work on procuring their opposing bombs. After all, South African troops have regularly been in action outside their own frontiers, and the very vulnerability of the Apartheid State makes it perfectly possible that serious military contests could break out over the whole contiguous zone. To prevent such war, the Angolan or Zimbabwean bomb represents a prudent and uncontentious investment.

We can say the same thing about the States of the Middle East. To them we might add those of Central America. Would Cuba have been invaded during the Bay of Pigs episode, if she had deployed nuclear weapons? To cap it all, what about Japan? Her experience, surely, would seem to be the most convincing argument for developing an extensive arsenal of thermo-nuclear war-heads. Strangely, these arguments are not heard in Japan. President Mugabe has not voiced them either. Japan's people have not escaped the customary scissions which are part of advanced industrial society, but if one thing binds them together, it is a virtually unanimous revulsion against nuclear weapons. African States repeatedly insist that they seek protection, not by deterrence, but by the creation of a nuclear-free zone. Clearly they have not yet learnt the lessons which are so monotonously preached in the Establishment newspapers of the allegedly advanced nations.

If we were to admit that all nation States had an intrinsic right to defend their institutions and interests by all the means available to any, then nuclear proliferation would not merely be unavoidable, but unimpeachable within the deterrent model. And it is this incontrovertible fact which reduces it to absurdity; and argues that Russell was in fact right to pose the question as he did. Very soon the chicken game will not only have a cluster of three nuclear States at one end of the white line, and a single super-State at the other, with the Chinese already able to intervene from a random number of side routes: but it will shortly have from 12 to 20 other possible contenders liable to dash, quite possibly unannounced, across the previously single axis of collision.

For those who still believe that this dreadful evolution will be prevented by the treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, we must

offer three warning notes. First, the treaty's Review Conference of August 1980, held in Geneva, failed to agree any "certificate of good health" for its operation, because the nuclear powers had flouted all their solemn promises to scale down their own nuclear stocks. Critics of the treaty said from the beginning that its weakness derived from the fact that under it the nuclear weapons-holding States were assuming the right to police the rest. This could only acquire moral validity if they began themselves to behave according to the same rules which they sought to impose on others. At Geneva, the Review Conference demonstrated that no such behaviour had materialised. Secondly, visible evidence of the collapse of the treaty's framework has come from the military relationship between the USA and Pakistan since the invasion of Afghanistan by the USSR. Vast conventional weapons shipments to Pakistan have already taken place, and vaster ones are contemplated, in spite of the previous US policy which had withheld arms supplies of all kinds from any State suspected of breaching the non-proliferation treaty. If breaches are now condoned by superpowers wherever their own perceived interests at stake, then the treaty is not merely dead, but rotting away. Thirdly, as an augury, we have the Israeli bombardment of Iraq, which shows what we must expect now that proliferation is effectively uncontrolled. It was, coincidentally, Mr Ismat Kitani of Iraq who presided over the Geneva Review Conference, and who warned that "the failure of the talks would damage world peace".

Deterrence, in short, was in the beginning, a bipolar game, and it cannot be played in a multi-polar world. It is therefore collapsing, but the danger is that this collapse will result in universal destruction if alternative approaches are not speedily accepted. This danger arises because deterrence is a doctrine, a hitherto partially shared mythology, a mental scarecrow which may well lose all credibility before the material war potential which gave rise to it has even begun to be dismantled.

There was always, of course, a much simpler rebuttal of the doctrine. It is, was, and has always been, utterly immoral. Unfortunately, this argument, which is unanswerable, is not usually given even the slightest consideration in the world's war rooms, although there is a fair deal of evidence that the people who staff these sometimes find it difficult to avoid traumatic neuroses about the effects of all their devilish labours.

However, the "lateral" proliferation of nuclear weapons to ever larger numbers of States, is by

no means the most drastic process by which such weapons are multiplied. Lateral proliferation will provide more and more problems for the peace of the world, but the "vertical" proliferation of superpower arsenals is fearsome on an infinitely more dreadful scale. And it is the evolution of nuclear war-fighting doctrine and the preparation for limited nuclear war which provides unquestionably the most serious threat we face in the 1980s, disturbed though rational men and women are bound to be by the prospects of the spawning of autonomously controlled atomic war-heads from one troubled region to the next. The 'limited' nuclear exchange in Europe is likely to take place before one can be prepared on the Indian subcontinent, or yet in Africa. It is also scheduled to deploy as large a proportion of the firepower of the two great arsenals as may be needed.

How did we arrive at this mutation in strategic policy, which has begun to generate weapons designed to fight war rather than to "deter" it?

At the time when Bertrand Russell was campaigning for nuclear disarmament in Britain, there was an imbalance in the nuclear explosive stockpiles, although thermo-nuclear weapons already amply guaranteed the destruction of both superpowers, if they were to venture into war. According to Herbert York, the United States then had between 20 and 40 million kilotons of explosives, "or the energy equivalent of some 10,000 World War II's".

"We had reached" wrote York, "a level of supersaturation that some writer characterised by the word 'overkill', an understatement in my opinion. *Moreover, we possessed two different but reinforcing types of overkill. First, by 1960 we had many more bombs than they had urban targets, and second, with a very few exceptions such as Greater Moscow and Greater New York, the area of destruction and intense lethality that a single bomb could produce was very much larger than the area of the targets.* Since all, or practically all, strategic weapons were by then thermo-nuclear, it is safe to assume that those Soviet or Chinese cities which were equivalent in size and importance to Hiroshima and Nagasaki were, by that time, targets for weapons from 100 to 1,000 times as big as the bombs used in history's only two real demonstrations of what actually happens when large numbers of human beings and their works are hit by nuclear weapons."³

However, overkill has its limitations: bombs in the megaton class, York tells us, do not become proportionately more lethal as they get bigger.

The size of the bombs "outruns the size of the target". This inevitably wastes much explosive power on "sparsely populated areas". Nonetheless, if the murderous effect of fallout is considered even in the early '60s both superpowers could easily render the entirety of each other's territories intensely radioactive, and still have many unexpended bombs to spare.

The military doctrine which accompanied the perfection of this technology was one of the "massive retaliation", in words of Secretary Dulles, or later, "Mutual Assured Destruction" as Defence Secretary McNamara styled it. Although its advocates always insisted that this was a deterrent doctrine designed to prevent war, it did nonetheless, bear an undeniable relationship to Russell's game of "chicken", whenever conflict between the two powers entered the stage of open confrontation. But during McNamara's own period, the seeds of the new doctrine of "flexible response" were already maturing. The assumption out of which this notion was to codify itself was that different levels of nuclear escalation could be defined, permitting an American President a power to move through a spectrum of lesser types of nuclear strike before all-out mutual destruction became unavoidable. In 1964, Mr McNamara specifically mentioned the need for "flexible capability" in nuclear forces. In 1969, Defence Secretary Clark Clifford called for weapons which could be "used effectively in a limited and controlled retaliation as well as for 'Assured Destruction'."⁴

To be fair, this transition was accompanied by much lobbying from European statesmen. Henry Kissinger records some of it in his memoirs; and seeks to place much of the responsibility at the door of his European allies:

"A similar problem existed with respect to tactical nuclear weapons. One might have thought that if our strategic forces tended toward parity with the USSR and if at the same time we were inferior in conventional military strength, greater emphasis would be placed on tactical nuclear forces. This indeed was NATO's proclaimed strategy of 'flexible response'. But there was little enthusiasm for this concept within our government. Civilian officials in the State Department and the Pentagon, especially systems analysis experts, were eager to create a clear 'firebreak' between conventional and nuclear weapons and to delay the decision to resort to any nuclear weapons as long as possible. They were reluctant, therefore, to rely on tactical nuclear weapons, which they thought would tend to erode all distinctions between nuclear and conventional strategy.

A passage from a study on NATO's military

options reflected this state of mind. This particular study was unable to find *any* use for nuclear weapons in NATO even though our stockpile there numbered in the thousands: The primary role of our nuclear forces in Europe, the study argued, is to raise the Soviet estimate of the expected costs of aggression and add great uncertainty to their calculations. Nuclear forces do not necessarily have a decisive impact on the likelihood or form of aggression, the study concluded. This was an astonishing statement from a country that had preserved the peace in Europe for over twenty years by relying on its nuclear preponderance. Nor was it clear how forces thought not to have a decisive impact could affect the calculations of a potential aggressor. It was a counsel of defeat to abjure both strategic and tactical nuclear forces, for no NATO country – including ours – was prepared to undertake the massive buildup in conventional forces that was the sole alternative.

To confuse matters further, while American civilian analysts deprecated the use of nuclear weapons as ineffective and involving a dangerous risk of escalation, our allies pressed a course contradicting the prevailing theory in Washington. They urged both a guaranteed early resort to tactical nuclear weapons and immunity of their territories from their use. Inevitably, discussions that had been going on since 1968 in the NATO Nuclear Planning Group began to produce serious differences of opinion.

This group had been set up by Secretary McNamara as a device by which our allies could participate in nuclear decisions without acquiring nuclear weapons themselves. Denis Healey, then British Minister of Defence, had explained his government's view when Nixon visited London in February 1969. In Healey's judgment NATO's conventional forces would be able to resist for only a matter of days; hence early use of nuclear weapons was essential. Healey stressed the crucial importance of making the Soviets understand that the West would prefer to escalate to a strategic exchange rather than surrender. On the other hand, NATO should seek to reduce devastation to a minimum. The Nuclear Planning Group was working on solving this riddle; its 'solution' was the use of a very small number of tactical weapons as a warning that matters were getting out of hand.

What Britain, supported by West Germany, was urging came to be called the 'demonstrative use' of nuclear weapons. This meant setting off a nuclear weapon in some remote location, which did not involve many casualties – in the air over the Mediterranean, for example – as a signal of more drastic use if the warning failed. I never had much use for this concept. I believed that the Soviet Union would not attack Western Europe without

anticipating a nuclear response. A reaction that was designed to be of no military relevance would show more hesitation than determination; it would thus be more likely to spur the attack than deter it. If nuclear weapons were to be used, we needed a concept by which they could stop an attack on the ground. A hesitant or ineffective response ran the risk of leaving us with no choices other than surrender or holocaust.

But what was an 'effective' response? Given the political impossibility of raising adequate conventional forces, the Europeans saw nuclear weapons as the most effective deterrent. But they feared the use of them on their territories; what seemed 'limited' to us could be catastrophic for them. The real goal of our allies – underlining the dilemma of tactical nuclear weapons – has been to commit the United States to the early use of *strategic* nuclear weapons, which meant a US-Soviet nuclear war fought over their heads. This was precisely what was unacceptable to American planners. Our strategy – then and now – must envisage the ultimate use of strategic nuclear weapons if Europe can be defended in no other way. But it must also seek to develop other options, both to increase the credibility of the deterrent and to permit a flexible application of our power should deterrence fail."⁵

It was in March 1974 that the new Defence Secretary, James Schlesinger, announced a comprehensive justification for limited nuclear war. Since then, although United States spokesmen, including President Carter himself, have havered backwards and forwards on this question, "flexible targetting" has apparently gone remorselessly ahead, and the concomitant doctrines of limited war have become military orthodoxy. It is this fact which rendered the revelation, in August 1980, of the contents of Presidential Directive 59 so unsurprising to the specialists. It is also this fact which had previously provoked British military leaders and scientific planners, like Lord Mountbatten and Lord Zuckerman, to unrestrained protest.⁶

Of course, military doctrine is an arcane science, and while specialists debated these issues they were accorded a respectful if distant, albeit widespread, apathy. But, as the practical conclusions of their debates became plain, public moods began to change. First, the project for an enhanced radiation (or "neutron") bomb brought home to a wide audience the apparent truth that warfighting, as opposed to "deterrent" weapons were far advanced in preparation. Then, the Soviet installation of SS-20 missiles, which could strike European or Chinese targets, but not American ones, aroused concern not

only among Governments. And finally, the NATO decision to “modernise” theatre nuclear forces in Western Europe, by installing Pershing II missiles and land-based cruise missiles throughout Europe, brought forth a storm of objections, and the beginning of a new approach to European disarmament.

Neither the Soviet, nor the American “modernisations” were uniquely responsible for this profound movement of opinion. Europeans had begun to perceive their intended role as victims: limited war in Europe meant that schedules were being evolved which made them prime targets. If any of them, on either side, were over-run, they could anticipate a double jeopardy: nuclear bombardment from the “enemy” while they were themselves a nuclear threat, followed by nuclear bombardment by their “allies” if anyone was left to hit. In this growing realisation, Europe began to generate a continental Resistance, from Scandinavia to Sicily, from Poland to Portugal. This epic movement is still in its infancy, but already it demands attention.

Already there have been two major gatherings of its supporters, at the Brussels Convention for Nuclear Disarmament held in July

1982, and at a second, larger, meeting which was held in Berlin from 9 May-15 1983. In 1984, a third Convention has been scheduled for Perugia, in July. There can be little doubt that Russell’s ghost will draw encouragement from this widening response to the dangers against which he warned so cogently, and with such prescience.

Footnotes

Parts of this text appear in Heresies (Spokesman, 1982). Other parts were included in the Introduction to Alva Myrdal: The Dynamics of European Nuclear Disarmament, (Spokesman, 1981).

1. Bertrand Russell: *Commonsense and Nuclear Warfare*, London, Allen and Unwin, 1959, p.29.
2. *Ibid.*, p.39.
3. Herbert York: *Race to Oblivion - A Participant’s View of the Arms Race*, New York, Simon and Schuster, p.42.
4. See Jerry Elmer: *Presidential Directive 59 - America’s Counterforce Strategy*, Philadelphia, American Friends Service Committee, 1981.
5. *The White House Years*, Weidenfeld and Nicholson & Michael Joseph, pp.218-9.
6. *Apocalypse Now?* Spokesman, 1980.

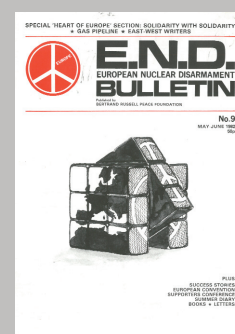
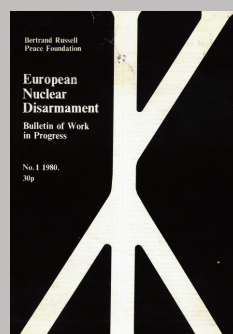
END Archives

The European Nuclear Disarmament initiative of the 1980s produced a number of significant debates, discussion and analyses of nuclear threats, nuclear disarmament and political developments. Many of these can be found in the publications of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation at the time.

European Nuclear Disarmament: Bulletin of Work in Progress

Published by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. 12 issues from 1980 to 1983.

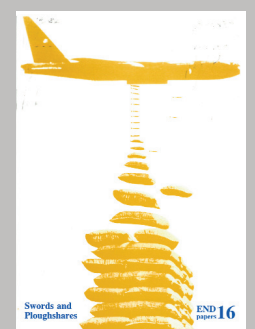
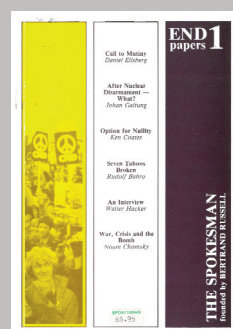
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AUKUS and other troubles
Editorial comments ... 2

AUKUS - Catalyst for a Nuclear Arms Race
Steve Bell ... 3

Unite for a Climate of Peace
Nuke Free Europe ... 6

Protests against US nuclear weapons in Germany: Nuclear Sharing Must END!
Marion K pker ... 8

The struggle for a Nuclear Weapons Free World
Tom Unterrainer ... 13

NATO Nuclear Weapons Exercise Over Southern Europe
Hans Kristensen ... 16

(Re)imagine our world
International Peace Bureau ... 20

Barcelona Appeal ... 21

Security and the Left in Europe
Katerina Anastasiou and Acel Ruppert ... 23

Common security for a New World Order
Alexey Gromyko ... 25

Bertrand Russell and the Problem of 'deterrence'
Ken Coates ... 28

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