

END INFO

European
Nuclear
Disarmament

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END Info was launched in March 2019 to aid the work of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in response to the collapse of the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty and the attendant nuclear risks. The Russell Foundation and *END Info* played an important role in building the 'Nuke Free Europe' network (nukefreeeurope.eu), which brings together a range of peace organisations for a joint campaign to rid the continent of all nuclear weapons. In the following pages you will find a selection of articles from issues 26 and 27 of the newsletter. Issue 28 has just been published. To receive this and future issues, contact tomunterrainer@russfound.org.

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Human chain against nuclear arms in Büchel

Ludo De Brabander, Belgium

On Sunday 5 September, the European month of action against nuclear weapons in Europe kicked off in Büchel, Germany. 800 peace activists formed a human chain to protest against the US nuclear bombs stationed at the Fliegerhorst air base as part of NATO's nuclear sharing arrangements.

The action took place just weeks before the September 26 federal elections to call on Germany to join the UN nuclear weapons ban (TPNW), which has been in force since January 22, 2021. The peace movement has been campaigning against nuclear arms at the air base for 25 years. The human chain was organized by the campaign "Büchel is everywhere! Nuclear Weapon Free Now".

"The deadlock in nuclear disarmament must finally be broken. The incoming federal government can no longer ignore the nuclear weapons ban that came into effect in January and must finally join the treaty! The current government's arguments against this historic treaty are poor. That does not alter the fact that billions are being invested in nuclear armament," said Marion Küpker, spokeswoman for the campaign. "Despite railway strikes and the deteriorating corona situation, we were able to send out a strong message with 800 participants," Küpker continues.

At around 1 p.m., a mile-long human chain was formed. To respect corona distances, the protesters used peace ribbons and banners. The participants also included activists from other European countries. Several speeches were held afterwards. To emphasize the European dimension, there were also speakers from Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy.

“The European peace movement is working together to end NATO’s nuclear sharing. There is a need for a policy of détente, which means the extension of international cooperation on climate to security and peace,” said Angelika Claußen, President of IPPNW Europe and Co-President of IPPNW Germany. Her organization, the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985 for its efforts to highlight the medical and environmental consequences of nuclear war.

Büchel Air Base is the last remaining US nuclear weapons site in Germany (Pershing II and Cruise Missiles were also deployed in Germany in the 1980s). As in Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy and Turkey, the current nuclear bombs will soon be replaced by B61-12 nuclear bombs with a variable explosive power and a greater precision due to the digital guidance system. Germany has committed itself to expanding and modernizing the airbase, an investment for which EUR 256 million has been earmarked. In addition, it is also planned that new jets will be purchased to transport these nuclear bombs, which will cost billions. The German peace movement speaks of a ‘ridiculous expenditure’. Representative opinion polls show that a large majority of the population wants the withdrawal of nuclear weapons

(see page 13).

In the coming weeks, actions are also planned in Volkel (Netherlands, on September 25), Great Britain (in a dozen places on September 26) and in Italy. In Belgium, the Belgian Coalition against Nuclear Weapons calls on you to participate in the ‘Bikes not Bombs’ cycling tour on Sunday 26 September. That day has been declared by the UN as the International Day for the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons.

From END Info 26, Sept/Oct 2021.

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Peace, Power and Politics

Tom Unterrainer

The Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty (ANZUS), signed in 1951, extended Washington’s ‘nuclear umbrella’ to two key states in the Pacific Region. Billed as a ‘collective security’ agreement, ANZUS clearly exposed the centrality of nuclear weapons in the US approach to foreign relations. One New Zealand government website describes the situation as follows:

Nuclear weapons played a major part in the United States’ military arrangements, and the possible use of nuclear weapons

or nuclear-powered vessels was implicit in any United States response to an attack on New Zealand.¹

Despite long-term objections to nuclear testing in the region, expressed from the 1960s onwards, the ANZUS agreement meant concessions on the part of the New Zealand government with respect to US nuclear weapons, military and naval operations and related issues.

By the early 1980s and following a determined campaign by nuclear disarmers, majority opinion in New Zealand was set firmly against the presence of US nuclear arms and nuclear powered ships in the country. The opposition Labour Party entered the 1984 election with the clear aim of introducing a 'Nuclear Free New Zealand Bill', campaigning throughout the election against nuclear weapons and propulsion but not against ANZUS itself.

Labour swept to victory and the new Prime Minister, David Lange, made clear that the electoral promise of a Nuclear Free NZ would be acted upon. The new government faced immediate problems. The US policy of 'neither confirm nor deny' with respect to nuclear weapons put a significant question mark over the future of ANZUS, which allowed for the presence of US Navy vessels in New Zealand harbours. How could the country be both nuclear free and

tied to US military operations?

Lange's attempts to renegotiate ANZUS were met with hostility. Writing of the reaction some years later, Lange pointed out that:

Far from developing an irresponsible national policy on the subject, as most of our Western allies found it expedient to insinuate, New Zealand was in fact acting in a rational and calculated way, in the name of the traditional concept of strengthening national security. We were, simply, safer without nuclear weapons in our defence than with them ... (T)he policy as expressed in law stands as a statement of the political will to eliminate nuclear weapons and a rejection of the doctrine of nuclear deterrence.²

Robert Green describes the international reaction to New Zealand's move towards nuclear free status:

With the US fearing that the 'Kiwi disease' might spread to other allies such as Japan, Australia, the Philippines and Denmark, New Zealand was demoted from US ally to 'friend'; military co-operation under ANZUS was curtailed; the US and UK threatened trade; and New Zealand officials were ostracised from the Western group in the UN. Yet the government held firm,

bolstered by massive mobilisation of public support by the peace movement in New Zealand and the US ...³

These moves against New Zealand by the US and allies would be more than your average political leader would be capable of withstanding. It is to David Lange's enormous credit that he stuck to the policy. It is also to his enormous credit that he respected and acted in tandem with the majority opinion of his own party, the international peace movements and, vitally, the majority of New Zealanders. Politicians who are willing to stand up to the US are an all-too-uncommon species.

In 1985 the US attempted to stage a provocation against Lange's government, in an attempt to test resolve. The previously cited government website takes up the story:

Following confidential discussions over the selection of an acceptable ship, in late 1984 the United States requested that the ageing guided-missile destroyer USS Buchanan visit New Zealand. The Americans hoped that a perception that it was not nuclear-armed would be enough for it to slip under the political radar, and believed they had Lange's agreement. But on 4 February 1985 the government said no. 'Near-uncertainty was not now enough for us,' Lange

later explained. 'Whatever the truth of its armaments, its arrival in New Zealand would be seen as a surrender by the government.' In response, Washington severed visible intelligence and military ties with New Zealand and downgraded political and diplomatic exchanges.⁴

The US Secretary of State at the time quickly confirmed that the security arrangements of ANZUS would no longer be maintained. This was the effective end of the Treaty. By 1987 New Zealand passed the 'New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone, Disarmament, and Arms Control Act 1987', legislation that is still in place and legislation accepted as the 'norm'. The country signed and ratified the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and the current prime minister is an important voice for nuclear disarmament.

What are the lessons of New Zealand's approach to nuclear disarmament for those in Europe who wish to achieve the same? There are surely thousands of lessons and we should aim to absorb, learn and act on them but the following examples seem clear enough:

1. Military and 'security' agreements with the United States like ANZUS and NATO have nuclear weapons at their core. The US expects total adherence to the nuclear dogma in exchange for 'security'

assurances. It is unlikely that Europe will become nuclear free as long as European states adhere to NATO.

2. Independent, courageous and consistent political support is essential. More than that, this support must endure when political power is attained. Positive sentiments should not be taken at face value. Enduring commitment is key.

3. The peace movements play an essential role in sparking, building and sustaining both political and wider public support for nuclear disarmament. Without strong, coordinated peace movements our aim of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Europe will not arise.

If more European states are to sign up to the TPNW, if the 'nuclear-sharing' states are to send the nuclear weapons back to the US and if we are to make progress towards a nuclear-free zone, then the points above will serve us well.

Notes

1. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/nuclear-free-nz>
2. Quoted from Green, Robert (2018) *Security without Nuclear Deterrence*, Spokesman
3. *Ibid*
4. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/nuclear-free-nz>

From END Info 26, Sept/Oct 2021.

Europe's Turn

Angelika Claußen, Germany

Speech made by Angelika Claußen, IPPNW Chairperson and European Vice-President at Büchel military base, 05.09.2021.

From a peace and security policy perspective, the year 2021 has been particularly marked by two events in particular:

1. The entry into force of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in January 2021 and
2. The defeat of the USA as a world power in Afghanistan.

The entry into force of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons is a huge success story for the worldwide peace movement! The peace movement is a real success story. We, global civil society, in alliance with the countries of the global South and courageous, outstanding politicians from countries in Europe, from Austria and from Ireland, have achieved a nuclear ban. We expected resistance from the nuclear weapons states, as the TPNW is diametrically opposed to their interests!

Now it's Europe's turn! Nuclear sharing must end in Europe: in Germany, in Belgium, in the Netherlands and in Italy. We can

also achieve this goal together if we are clever in our approach.

The first step is to call NATO's nuclear dogma, the dogma of nuclear deterrence, into question.

And this is where the second major 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 the arms race, whether nuclear or non-nuclear, are completely unsuitable as means to meet the humanity's challenges in times of climate crisis. The military itself is a climate killer.

Instead, we need a civil security and peace policy that implements the important steps towards a socio-ecological transformation in cooperation with other countries. Détente and cooperative security policies require drastic disarmament steps for climate justice.

The European peace movement is therefore putting nuclear disarmament in NATO on the agenda. Why does NATO need to use nuclear weapons at all?

Now is the time for nuclear sharing countries to take concrete steps together. "Nuclear free Europe" is the name of our joint campaign to create a dialogue between the peace movement and politicians on what a roadmap to end nuclear sharing in Europe could look like.

We are in the process of building our network in Western and Eastern

Europe including Russia. Many NGOs and some willing politicians from European nuclear weapon states and non-nuclear weapon states are involved; ICAN, IPPNW, the IPB and the trade unions are also members.

Our deadline for ending nuclear sharing is in five years. That is the time that the START treaty between the US and Russia has been extended. Talks have begun between experts from the two states with the aim of reducing military-related nuclear risks. But this is not enough for us.

Let's build the campaign for a nuclear weapons-free Europe together in all of our countries! A campaign for a new policy of détente in Europe that explicitly includes Russia.

Let us jointly expand the cooperative relations that have long since begun in the area of climate policy to the area of security and peace! Let us look to our strengths, to our successes.

A world free of nuclear weapons, stemming the climate crisis including climate justice and our right to life and health - all these goals belong together! That is what we are working for together here in Büchel!

From END Info 26, Sept/Oct 2021.

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

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

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

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

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From END Info 27, Nov/Dec 2021.

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

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.

Key to 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

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

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 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

From END Info 26, Nov/Dec 2021.

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 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

expanse 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 WWI. 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.

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A breach of international law

Hold UK to account on nuclear warheads

In response to the UK Government's 'Intended Review' Lord McDonald of Bradford – former chief scientist in the Foreign Office – wrote an article as follows:

"Taking the cap on our strategic nuclear warheads from 225 to 260 is a breach of our continuous disarmament pledge, unless we are able to show that we can limit the number of warheads above both legal limits, fully armed, but that does not increase the number in it, expenses and international obligations under the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. In 1996, the nuclear weapons states agreed that, as their permanent status in the world has changed, the timing of this..."

... continued on page 2

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September 2021 month of action

Nuke Free Europe



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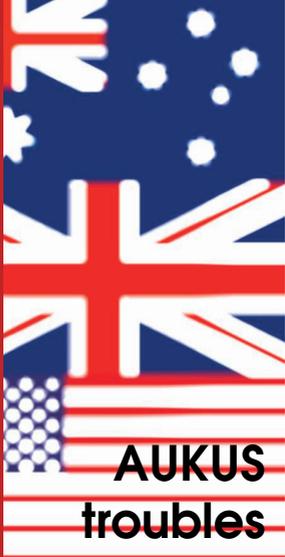
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