

Germany: 'Time for U.S. Nukes to go'

The leader of the German Social Democrats (SPD) in the Bundestag, Rolf Mützenich, has called for US nuclear weapons to be removed from the country. He told the *Tagesspiegel* newspaper (03/05/20) that: "Nuclear weapons on German territory do not heighten our security, just the opposite ... The time has come for Germany to rule out a future stationing."

Although the call is not shared universally within the SPD, co-leader Saskia Esken backed Mützenich, saying: "Whoever thinks that *glasnost* and *perestroika* were made possible by the West's nuclear deterrent missed something ... Atomic weaponry on German soil, on German airplanes, is neither an end to itself nor desirable".

The politics of these calls is inseparable from the fact that Chancellor Angela Merkel only remains in power thanks to a coalition with the SPD; that Merkel was widely

considered to be a spent force prior to the outbreak of Covid-19 and will not run again and that in such circumstances, politicians with an eye to the future are willing to make a stand on certain issues.

But it would be a mistake to simply dismiss these calls as political manoeuvring. Much more is going on here, not least the reality that the presence of US nuclear weapons on German territory has been an important and long-running issue for both German and European politics. Germany has been under the US's 'nuclear umbrella' since the 1950s and the debate about whether or not such an arrangement ensured greater security or constituted a security risk has been a live one. In the 1980s, when nuclear tensions were particularly high, US plans to station intermediate-range nuclear missiles on German territory sparked an

enormous movement of opposition both within Germany and across Europe. The European Nuclear Disarmament (END) campaign of the time was a vital instrument for building and coordinating the opposition.

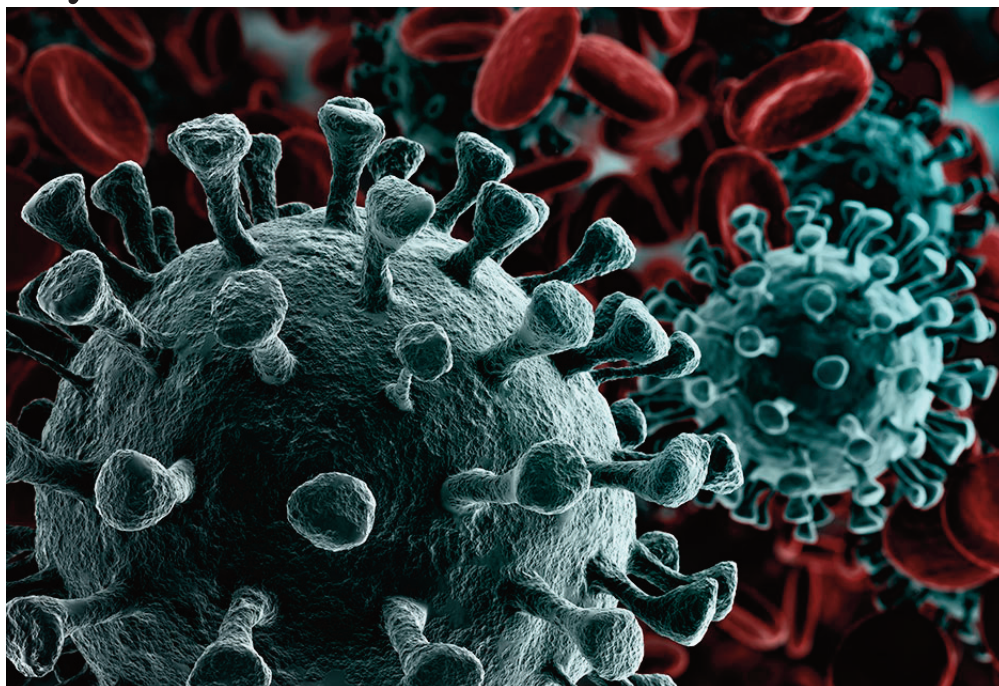
END called not only for US nuclear weapons to be removed from Germany but for a **European Nuclear-Weapons-Free Zone** (NWFZ) to be created. The force of this argument is once again obvious if we consider what is likely to happen if a future German government does tell the US that it's time for their nuclear weapons to go. Such a move seems unfeasible for as long as Merkel and her supporters maintain power in Germany, but a future government containing the SPD, Greens and the Left Party would almost certainly demand the removal of US weapons.

Continued on Page 8 ...

U.S. Blocks U.N. Security Council Global Ceasefire Resolution

The U.S. blocked moves to secure a vote on the U.N. Security Council resolution calling for a Global Ceasefire during the Covid-19 Pandemic (see *END Info 14*). The U.S. 'objected' to indirect reference to the World Health Organisation, from which the U.S. has withdrawn, within the text of the Resolution.

Whilst the U.S. was likely to be looking for any excuse to block the Resolution, their stated reasons for doing so demonstrate once more the Trump administration's reckless and dangerous approach to international agreements and its willingness to put 'America First' rather than human life. We will return to the Global Ceasefire in *END Info 16*.



Ken Fleet 1932-2020: END Pioneer

Ken Fleet, who has died aged 87 from Covid-19, directed the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation for more than 50 years. He also became secretary of the Institute for Workers' Control on its founding in 1968. As that eventful decade drew to a close, Ken brought his skills as a chartered accountant to the service of international peace and the Labour movement.

He was born in Chertsey and later moved with his parents to Buckinghamshire where he attended grammar school. National service took him to Chilwell near Nottingham, where he eventually put down roots, marrying Mary Watson in 1959. He trained as an accountant and moved into industry, becoming senior accountant at the textile company Courtaulds.

In the mid-1960s, Ken enrolled in a class at the Nottingham Workers' Educational Association taught by the activist and writer Ken Coates and a long and productive relationship between the two Kens began. As a young accountant, Ken had discovered the books of Bertrand Russell, so he was well disposed when Coates asked him to put the Russell Foundation, which had been set up in London in 1963, on a more secure footing in Nottingham. Ken took over as secretary in 1969, and also became a publisher as the foundation's Spokesman Books imprint developed its list of publications on peace, nuclear disarmament, human rights and social justice.

In the early 1980s, Ken was instrumental in establishing the European Nuclear Disarmament campaign. The END appeal, drafted by EP Thompson, Coates and others, had a return address at Bertrand Russell House, and Ken struggled to cope with the huge mailbags arriving daily; it was at this time that I joined the foundation. Ken helped organise the annual END conventions which met throughout the 1980s.

Ken's friendliness and comradeship sustained the Institute for Workers' Control through its existence from 1968 to the early 1980s. He organised conferences, arranged workshops and lined up speakers.

He was particularly pleased that Ron Todd, who was to become general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, came to the IWC "What Went Wrong" conference at Nottingham in 1980 when, following Labour's 1979 general election defeat, Tony Benn was preparing to challenge Denis Healey for the deputy leadership of the Labour party, which Michael Foot was by then leading. As a former marine, Ron also shared the Russell Foundation's commitment to getting rid of nuclear weapons, and he and the TGWU sent big delegations to END conventions.

In 1989, Coates was elected to the European parliament and Ken became his parliamentary assistant, remaining in the role until Coates's defeat in 1999, a year after his expulsion from the Labour party.

Ken continued as secretary of the Russell Foundation until his death. He was an everyman; like Russell, he had the common touch enlivened by a good sense of humour.

Tony Simpson

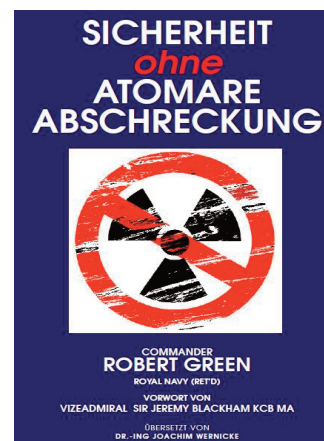
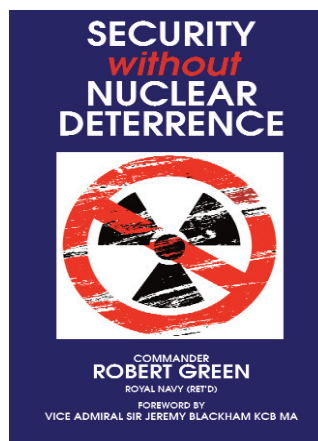


Security *without* Nuclear Deterrence

by Commander Robert Green RN (Ret'd)

Foreword by Vice Admiral Jeremy Blackham

German translation by Joachim Wernicke



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Covid-19 & Nuclear Dangers

There is only one place to start when discussing global threats: the current Covid-19 pandemic. The scale and magnitude of the pandemic, and the way in which governments across the world have been exposed as ill-prepared and in some cases unwilling to respond quickly to preserve human life has been widely covered. The cases of the United States and United Kingdom governments stand out as particularly appalling. How does the pandemic link to the other pressing danger with which *END Info* concerns itself?

On Thursday 30 April, President Trump claimed the following: *"We're going to see where it [Covid-19] comes from ... We have people looking at it very, very strongly. Scientific people, intelligence people, and others. We're going to put it all together. I think we will have a very good answer eventually. And China might even tell us."*

What was Mr Trump talking about? It's sometimes difficult to know, but not this time. Trump claims to have seen evidence that Covid-19 originated at the Wuhan Institute of Virology, in the Chinese province where the outbreak emerged. Despite the absence of public, verifiable evidence and a great degree of caution on the part of US intelligence agencies, Trump's claims were repeated by US Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo, on television news.

Pompeo told ABC news that: *"There is enormous evidence that that's where this began ... I can tell you that there's a significant amount of evidence that this thing came from a laboratory in Wuhan."*

What's going on here? What are Trump and Pompeo attempting to do by pointing the finger of blame at China? Part of what's going on is that the Trump administration is making China into a scapegoat to cover for its own mishandling, and patent inability to handle, the pandemic. Every reactionary government looks for someone or something to blame other than itself. Neither Trump nor Pompeo care that their repeated attacks on

China have resulted in an increase in racist assaults against Chinese people in the West. This is because they are pursuing a deliberately racist policy. But scapegoating China for the Pandemic is only part of the story.

In mid-April, as the Pandemic was in full development, the US State Department claimed that China 'may have' secretly conducted a low-yield underground nuclear test. No conclusive proof was offered for this claim, only satellite photographs that suggested some earthworks at a dormant test site. In response, China has robustly rejected the claims and has warned of the dangers associated with making them.

Both the US and China signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in 1996, but neither of them have ratified it. As such, the US and China are not bound by Treaty on this question. However, China's policy is committed to adhering to the CTBT and the US has been observing a moratorium on testing. Despite neither nuclear armed state being a signatory, there is a mass of international pressure to adhere to the provisions. There would undoubtedly be a major public outcry if any of the 'core' nuclear armed states conducted a nuclear test.

If we quickly examine the Trump administrations attitude to other international nuclear treaties and agreements, we will see a clear direction of travel. He sabotaged the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty (NPT), withdrew from the Iran Deal and looks likely to scupper attempts to renew New START, which limits numbers of nuclear warheads. *END Info* and others have argued that Trump has engaged in a systematic sabotage of such treaties and agreements: a 'Bonfire of Treaties'.

Why, then, is the US behaving in this way? For much of the 1990s and 2000s, the US was the predominant global power. The repeated wars and military interventions carried out by the US alone, under the auspices of NATO or with a 'coalition of the

willing' were designed to secure US economic and political power on a world scale. There was 'one pole' of global power in the world and, unchecked, it ran amok. The situation is no longer the same. The world has moved from a unipolar to a multipolar order. The failure of US strategy in Iraq and the wider Middle-East, combined with the economic shocks of 2008, stripped the US of its sole superpower status but its military strength remains considerably greater than other states.

Substantial economic growth in China meant that it was able to assist to avert the worst consequences of the 2008 crash and has built economic, diplomatic and developmental relationships across the world. The US is aggressively asserting itself in an attempt to preserve influence and to 'remake' what it can of the old order. This is a very dangerous strategy.

It is especially dangerous given the complex mix of technological development, global economic shifts and international political developments. The US has forged a 'global tinderbox' where one mistake, one misapprehension, one error, could engulf the world in violence.

This is why Trump's claims about China and the Pandemic are not only deeply racist, but incredibly dangerous. Is the US preparing to use its false claims about China testing nuclear warheads as a pretext for staging tests of its own? Will Trump's ever-hardening line against China simply accelerate the destruction of Treaties and agreements? It seems likely. How will Trump's anti-China stance play out in NATO member states, like the UK for example, which are seeking to sign trade deals and other such agreements? It seems likely that Trump will seek to pull them closer to the US than is already the case.

Whilst Trump and company threaten China, the peace movements must resist the threats and seek to learn as much as we can about that country.

Continuously At Sea: A Dialogue

In *END 14* (April 2020), we reported on an open letter sent to every elected politician in the United Kingdom which called into question the deployment of the Trident nuclear weapon system. Several politicians responded, including Jeremy Quinn the UK Minister of State for Defence Procurement. The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation responded on behalf of the signatories to the initial letter, in terms that we hope will prompt a further response. We publish both letters here.



Ministry of Defence

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Telephone 020 7218 9000 (Switchboard)

Our ref: D/Min(DP)/JQ MC2020/04308e

24 April 2020

Dear Tom,

Thank you for your email, dated 1 April 2020, in which you and your co-signatories raise concerns that the money being spent to maintain and renew the United Kingdom's (UK's) nuclear deterrent is not appropriate, particularly given the current coronavirus pandemic and its possible effects on the health and morale of our submariners. I understand that a similar email was also sent to the Secretary of State for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy. I am responding on behalf of the Government because of my Ministerial responsibility for Defence nuclear matters.

I should like to start by assuring you that the Government is committed to putting the necessary resources into tackling COVID-19. However, this does not mean diverting all resources from other areas which are also essential to maintain. The UK's nuclear deterrent exists to deter the most extreme threats from other states to our national security and way of life, which have not gone away because of COVID-19, and the nuclear deterrent will remain essential for as long as the global security situation demands.

The Government recognises that the cost of maintaining and renewing the nuclear deterrent is substantial and it is understandable that the public wishes to be assured that this is money well spent. The Government has been clear that the safety and security of the UK is a long-term issue: immediate economic pressures are not sufficient rationale for taking risks with the security of the nation and the British public far into the future. Let me also assure you that the cost has been, and will continue to be, subjected to cross-Government scrutiny.

I should also like to address some of the specific points you made in support of your argument that the Government should not be investing in the UK's ultimate guarantee of its security and sovereignty as a necessary insurance in an uncertain world. While it is correct that our Trident missiles have not been targeted at any state since 1994, and that our submarines are at several days' notice to fire, these measures do not make our nuclear deterrent less relevant or successful. The Government considers that any sudden unexpected nuclear attack against the UK by another state would be highly unlikely, as any event would be preceded by a period of mounting tensions, during which time the UK's defence posture would be adjusted as appropriate.

While we do not comment on the details of submarine availability and programming, the UK operates a fleet of four nuclear-armed submarines and ensures at least one is on patrol at all times, taking into account the cycle of deployments, training and maintenance; thus maintaining our continuous at sea deterrence posture, in accordance with current UK policy.

Finally, I should like to assure you that the Government recognises the dedication of our submariners, past and present, and the contributions and sacrifices made by them and their families in support of the continuous at sea nuclear deterrent.

Yours sincerely,

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation Ltd.

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Jeremy Quin MP
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06/05/2020

Dear Minister,

Thank you for your reply dated 24 April.

In the absence of a threat of a 'bolt from the blue' attack and observing, as you say, that there would be sufficient time to bring the Trident weapon system to a higher state of alert should circumstances warrant, then keeping a submarine continually at sea on deterrence (CASD) patrol would seem an unnecessary precaution and cost when the nation's finances are so badly affected. This is particularly so as only two submarines are currently available to maintain that continuity.

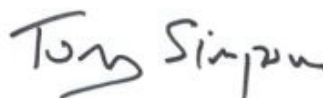
Any nuclear-armed enemy wanting to attack the UK -- which surely excludes DPRK and China, so this principally means Russia -- would neither need to threaten nuclear weapon use nor want to anyway, because such a threat would simply not be credible as it would irreparably destroy and contaminate the very territory and assets it covets. Furthermore, such an attack would be catastrophic in its effects on neighbouring countries -- and even upon the perpetrator itself -- through uncontrollable radiation. There are many and more effective asymmetric means of paralysing the UK, ranging from computer virus attacks through biological attacks, the effects of which can be remedied in a much shorter period than the near limitless time span of nuclear radiation -- viz Chernobyl as one example.

At present, the weakness of our military forces renders the UK nuclear threshold so low as to be totally incredible and so unusable. Instead of proceeding with the Trident replacement as a nuclear weapon platform, would it not be better to 'keep the UK safe' by strengthening the graduated conventional deterrence capability of the military in general and, in the case of the Navy, build some more SSNs, more Frigates, and perhaps convert two Dreadnought class submarines to an SSG role?

Yours sincerely,



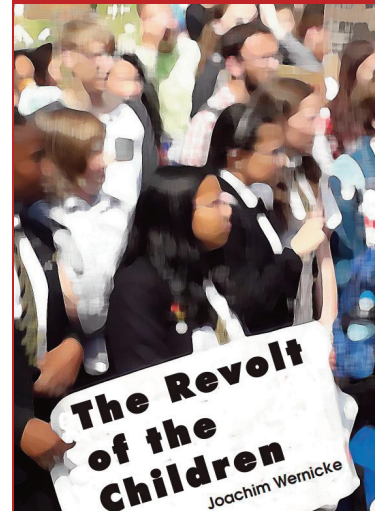
Tom Unterrainer
Directors, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation



Tony Simpson

The Revolt of the Children

by Joachim Wernicke



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The Revolt of the Children was first published in German in 2019 as *Der Aufstand der Kinder*. The author, Joachim Wernicke, published a small A6 edition for free distribution at Student Climate Strike protests in an effort to make the link between climate change and nuclear weapons. The original edition can be downloaded at <https://docdro.id/TdB25Zv>.

Dr.-Ing. Joachim Wernicke lives in Berlin. He is a physicist interested in renewable energy and military technology. In opposition to the stationing of US nuclear weapons in the Federal Republic of Germany during the 1980s, he began critical research into Western military and economic policies.

Dr. Wernicke prepared the German translation of Commander Robert Green's *Security without Nuclear Deterrence* and is the author of *END Papers 3 - After the INF Treaty: What Next?*

The Defence Diversification deb

The Covid-19 pandemic and the failure of many governments to prepare for such an eventuality once again posed the question: why is so much invested in machines of destruction rather socially useful products? Countries that are armed to the teeth, but which have failed to provide needed medical equipment have pressing questions to answer. These questions are not new. Here we re-print an excerpt from Mike Cooley's essay *The Search for Alternatives*, which first appeared in a Labour CND pamphlet in the 1970s. The full version of this article, along with other essays by this pioneer for defence diversification and socially useful production, is available in a recently published 'Mike Cooley Reader' which takes its name from this essay. See the next page for further information.

The Search for Alternatives

For as long as I can recall, defence cuts have been part of the policies of the Labour left and large sections of the trade union movement. The argument in support of this has been that defence cuts would release capital, which could then be used in the social services. It is of course then grudgingly admitted that there would be the residual problem of unemployment.

That this should be so reveals the extent to which we have been conditioned by the criteria of the market economy. Thus we see the freeing of capital as an asset, and the freeing of people as a liability. In doing this we ignore our most precious asset – people, with their skill, ingenuity and creativity.

In the defence and aerospace industries, we have some of the most highly skilled and talented workers in this country. Yet, like the ruling class, we have thought of capital first and people second, and ignored the incredible contribution which these people's skill and ability could make to the economy as a whole and the well-being of the people of this country.

Capital is merely paper money. You can't eat a pound note, you can't drive round in one, you can't live in one. It

only has its meaning if people like you and I go into factories day in, day out and create the real wealth that money represents. It is this real wealth which is important to the nation...

In the absence of any concrete proposals for alternative work, defence and aerospace workers have repeatedly found themselves in the position of either demanding that military projects be continued or facing the dole queue. I do not accept that this is the choice, any more than I accept that the choice recently facing the Chrysler workers was between the dole queue and producing rubbishy Chrysler cars. We in Lucas Aerospace have attempted to demonstrate, with our corporate plan, that there are other real alternatives if we seriously address ourselves to the problem.

At present Lucas Aerospace is heavily dependent on military work: 43% of its business is military aircraft projects, and a further 7% is other defence work. It will be heavily involved in the new Tornado multi-role combat aircraft, which is likely to cost Britain at least £4,000 million.

The corporate plan, detailing alternatives to this dependence on military work, was produced by the Lucas Aerospace Combine Shop Stewards Committee. This body is unique in the British trade union movement, in that it represents all 14,000 workers in the 17 British sites of Lucas Aerospace. More importantly, it organises everybody from the highest level technologist to the semi-skilled worker. Thus it brings together on the one hand the analytical power of the technologist but on the other, and perhaps more importantly, the class understanding of those on the shop floor.

It is only possible to generate a corporate plan and have the power to fight for it when one has established a strong and powerful organisation at the point of production, as we have in Lucas Aerospace. The Combine Committee grew up in the late 1960s to resist the sackings which were the direct consequence of Wilson's white heat of technological change, which we found simply to be burning up jobs. The

Combine Committee is now well enough organised to prevent the company engaging in any direct sackings, but we have not succeeded in preventing the company running down sectors of the workforce by so-called natural wastage.

There are of course many contradictions which demonstrate the absurdities of our so-called technologically advanced society. Two of them were particularly important in stimulating our members to consider the corporate plan. First, there is the enormous gap between that which technology could provide and that which it does provide. We have a level of technology which can produce Concorde, yet at the same time old age pensioners are dying of hypothermia through lack of simple urban heating systems – I understand that something like 980 died in the winter of 1975/6 in the London area alone. In the automotive industry we have senior design engineers who optimise the body configuration of cars such that they are aerodynamically stable at 100 miles per hour. Yet the average velocity of cars through New York is 6.2 mph. In fact at the turn of the century, when they were horse-drawn, it was something like 11 mph. The same kind of absurd situation is beginning to develop in cities in this country.

Secondly, we have a dole queue of about 1.25 million, and if one took into account women workers and those who wish to work part time, this figure is really more like 1.8 million. Amongst these are thousands of highly skilled engineers when we urgently need cheap urban transport systems. Thousands of electricians are in the dole queue, when we need cheap, effective heating systems. And there are thousands of building workers in the dole queue, when seven million people live in semi-slums in this country, and there is a tragic need for more hospitals and schools.

Taking both these contradictions together, the workforce in Lucas Aerospace has put forward in its corporate plan a demand for the right to use our skill and ability on socially useful products. We are demanding not

ate: then and now

merely the right to work, but the right to work on products which will be in the interest of the community as a whole...

These kinds of ideas have long been spoken about in the labour and trade union movement. Now we are presenting to that movement at large our corporate plan. It is a concrete proposal; it is not merely an aspiration or moral assertion. It is a feasible proposal backed by six volumes, each of 200 pages, of closely argued technical and economic data. We sincerely hope that the labour and trade union movement will now take this proposal up, and that similar proposals will be pursued at other plants up and down the country.

In presenting this document to the labour movement, we will watch very closely to see if those who have spoken about this kind of thing for so long are now willing to demonstrate their support for it by their actions inside the House of Commons, outside the House of Commons, and in factories up and down the country.

The following article was published in the May 2020 edition of *Campaign*, the magazine of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Here Sam Mason, Policy Officer for the Public and Commercial Services (PCS) Union, in the UK explains why it's possible – and vital – to start producing essential public goods rather than nuclear weapons.

Let's make things we need

PCS is proudly opposed to nuclear weapons and nuclear energy, which are intrinsically linked. In this new world of the coronavirus pandemic, it begs the question even more of continued support for weapons or energy sources that can cause widescale human and environmental destruction. If we are failing to cope with this pandemic, we will fail even more with a nuclear fall-out or the increasing impacts of climate change.

It is an obsession with both the nuclear defence system and other military projects that has in part led to the chronic underfunding of our health

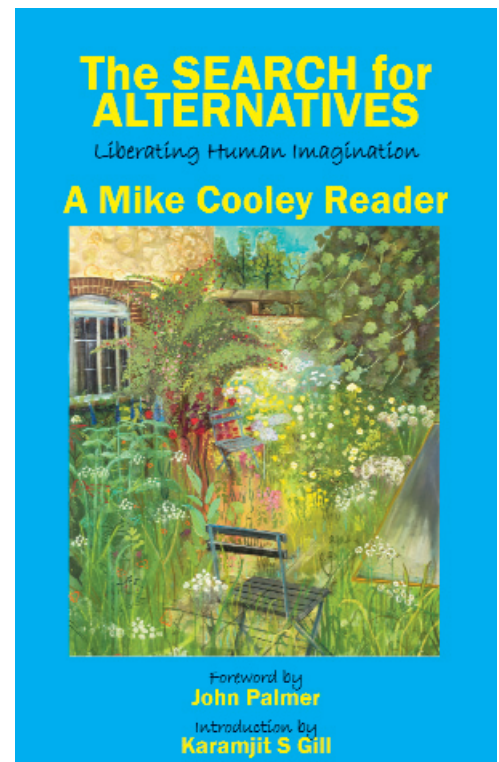
and social care systems. Likewise, it has detracted from developing the manufacturing capability to produce things society needs, such as personal protective equipment or investing in the transition to renewable energy.

The nuclear budget has been protected whilst years of austerity cuts to NHS funding and other public services has seen these vital services struggle to cope in this crisis, and despite the government being aware of a tier one pandemic threat. As trade unionists, we cannot continue a position that argues to keep one set of jobs in the defence sector whilst campaigning against public sector cuts which sees many other vital jobs lost in another.

Nuclear weapons have been called the currency of power, but they are useless in defeating what has been termed the 'hidden enemy' of this pandemic.

In 2017, TUC Congress passed a motion calling on the Labour Party to establish a shadow Defence Diversification Agency. The point of such an agency would be to see defence diversification as part of a wider industrial plan that redirects resources towards things we need.

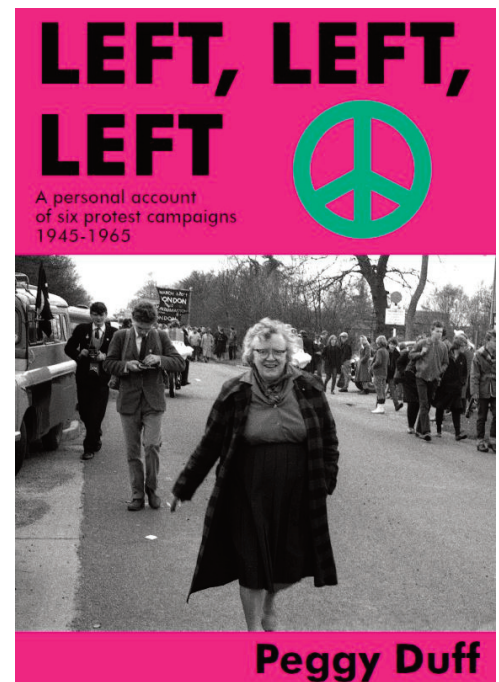
Working with trade unions it would enable a process to discuss their members' needs and capabilities and to listen to the ideas of workers for practical alternative plans. It would likewise provide a transition programme to protect skills, employment, pay and pensions, to enable redeploy - ment into new jobs, including the social care sector. Initiatives such as the VentilatorChallengeUK Consortium involving defence sector companies like Babcock have shown that production lines can be repurposed when needed for alternative forms of production. This is a temporary measure that needs to become permanent at a national level. With the economic and social crisis ahead, this is a moment for workers to use their organisation as a currency of power to make what is necessary possible: a new zero-carbon economy built on the premise of peace and security for all.



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Continued from Page 1 ...

In such a situation, it is likely that the US will move its weapons to another, more amenable, NATO member state. The most obvious candidate for an alternative host is Poland, though others may well welcome the opportunity. Such a move, closer to Russia, would only heighten nuclear tensions further and must be energetically opposed. A NWFZ seems like the obvious response. It is worth noting, then, that Mützenich did not alight on this solution when railing against US nuclear weapons.

It's all the more worthy of note because his comment that "Nuclear weapons on German territory do not heighten our security, just the opposite" could be a direct quote from the arguments laid out in *Common Security* - an idea championed by Swedish Social Democrat Olof Palme and supported by Willy Brandt, a giant of SPD history. NWFZ's play a central role in their conception of how to ensure a system of *Common Security* and common peace between the nations of Europe.

According to Matthew Karnitschnig, writing on the *Politico* website, "The timing of Mützenich's intervention was no accident. Germany is in the process of phasing out its aging fleet of Tornado fighter jets, the planes it relies on to fulfill its nuclear sharing obligations with the U.S. Under the deal, Germany has agreed to deliver warheads supplied by the U.S. in the event of a nuclear war.

The pact has been a pillar of NATO's nuclear deterrence strategy for decades

... What appears to have triggered Mützenich's demand was an announcement two weeks ago by German Defence Minister Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer that she supports purchasing U.S.-made F-18 aircraft to replace the Tornados in order to ensure that Germany could continue to meet its alliance obligations." (*Politico*, 03/05/20)

Is Mützenich calling for a break with NATO? This seems to be the logical end-point for his comments and their timing. Such a call would be very welcome indeed. Is there concern about Germany's agreement with nuclear armed France (the Treaty of Aachen, see *END Info* 9) which commits them to mutual defence "by all means"? Such concern and a call for the repudiation of the Treaty of Aachen would be very welcome indeed.

These questions are important because if the call for US nuclear weapons to be removed from Germany boils down to expressing distrust that Trump will actually 'come to Germany's defence' rather than a sincere call for a security arrangement in Germany and Europe that promotes peace, then the outcome will be no less dangerous in the longer term.

This is why it's essential that European peace movements take this opportunity to promote and discuss the idea of a European Nuclear-Weapons-Free zone and why it's important that we take politicians, trade unionists and the widest possible coalition of forces with us as we forge real security, *Common Security*.

END Papers 3

European Nuclear Disarmament

The Case Against Trident

Commander Robert Forsyth RN (Ret'd)



Produced by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation

END Papers

European Nuclear Disarmament

In addition to the monthly *END Info*, we have started a series of *END Papers* which seek to explore and analyse issues in greater depth. The first two editions of *END Papers* are available for download. Please read and circulate to your networks and please consider submitting your own ideas for future editions.

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