

# EUROPE IN THE NATO STRATEGY

» *Challenges for Peace and Social Movements* «

**NATO's Nuclear Weapons Policy**

Critically observing NATO's nuclear weapon's policy, Arielle Denis calls for a nuclear weapons convention

» S. 7

**Too Big to Fail – Buying the Greek**

Christine Hoffmann throws light on the Greek weapon purchases in the fatal times of financial crisis

» S. 4

**NATO's Influence on Irish Neutrality**

Roger Cole points out how NATO policy is being imposed on a non-member due to its contractual EU obligations

» S. 4

**Stop EU and NATO Interventionism!**

Maite Mola is detecting old colonial strategies and is questioning the real intentions of global interventions

» S. 6

**Feminists against NATO**

Kristine Karch is struggling to integrate feminist analysis into the fight against war and militarization

» S. 5

NATO summit | May 2012 | Chicago USA

## Europe in NATO – Partner for War

By Reiner Braun

*In November 2010 at the NATO summit in Lisbon the military alliance decided upon a new Strategic Concept. In this concept Europe for the first time in the history of NATO is recognized as an independent but integrated pillar within NATO.*

Under item 32 of the new Strategic Concept of NATO it reads: „[...] the European Union is a unique and essential partner for NATO [...] We welcome the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, which provides a framework for strengthening the EU's capacities to address common security challenges.“ And then the military alliance admits openly that for this new Strategic Partnership the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty is essential.

Historically this is a new development. Up to that point especially the USA and also Great Britain abstained from declaring Europe as a military partner. The political and economic weakness of the USA and a new „burden sharing“ forces the Obama administration to acknowledge the reality of an own imperial European factor which is pegged into NATO but also acts independently. Fun-

damental for the behaviour of the states is the EU Lisbon Treaty. This treaty stipulates the military terms and plans of the EU. The treaty is also a document for NATO politics since the NATO Summit in Lisbon 2010, even though not all EU members are in NATO (e.g. Austria, Finnland, Ireland, Sweden).

This is still not in comparison with the armament and war politics of the USA but full of dangerous and militant conflicts and aspects that promote military interventions which are unfortunately already a reality as seen in Macedonia, Kosovo and Somalia.

### Europe as military power

The European Union is constituted as a military power which intervenes with armed forces under NATO leadership (or also without NATO support) all over the world even without a mandate of the UN Security Council and which establishes and expands the, for this purpose required, military capacities. Under Article 42, first Paragraph of the EU Lisbon Treaty it says that „the common security and defense policy shall provide the Union with an operational capacity drawing on

civilian and military assets“ on which the Union can resort to in case of „missions outside the Union for peace-keeping, conflict prevention and strengthening international security in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter“. A geographic limitation is not included. It is a matter of „missions outside the Union“, that to say everywhere around the world.

### Combat missions worldwide

Article 43, Paragraph 1 of the Lisbon Treaty is the legal core of militarization within the EU, it is the contractual fixation of authorization and disposition to combat-missions. It lists the „missions“ of the EU in „which the Union may use civilian and military means.“ The deployment of military in case of natural disasters could be part of these missions as well as securing resources and other economic and geopolitical interests of the Union, and the participation in aggressions and succeeding occupational regimes. All the enumerated aspects of Article 43 shall be permitted and if necessary required.

» continued on page 2



Peace is the basis for a sustainable world

## NATO Strategy and Europe after Lisbon

By Dave Webb

The European Union is regularly portrayed as a peaceful economic and political partnership between 27 member states. However, although the military strategies and forces of the EU states are supposedly independent of each other and of NATO, they are closely linked and are becoming more so. 21 of the EU member states are also members of NATO and 3 other NATO members are EU Applicants. The development of a Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) for the EU has its roots in the European Security and Defence Identity previously developed within NATO. The CSDP aims to develop integrated European security structures and has led to EU engagement in a number of civilian and military missions in Europe, Africa and Asia. In addition, in 2009 the European Parliament voted in favour of a Synchronised Armed Forces Europe (SAFE) as a step towards further synchronisation of European military forces.

These developments have been seen as a challenge to the EU's commitment to NATO but the 2010 Lisbon Summit underlined a determination to

improve the NATO-EU strategic partnership. NATO's new Strategic Concept, as adopted at Lisbon, commits the Alliance to working with the UN and the EU in military engagements to prevent crises, manage conflicts and stabilize post-conflict situations.

The EU currently has a limited mandate over defence issues, with a role to explore the issue of European defence agreed to in the Amsterdam Treaty, as well as oversight of the Helsinki Headline Goal Force Catalogue (the „European Rapid Reaction Force“) processes. However, some EU states may and do make multilateral agreements about defence issues outside of the EU structures.

The entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon triggered member states of the Western European Union (WEU) to scrap the organisation, which had largely become dormant, but they have kept the mutual defence clause of the Treaty of Brussels as a basis for a possible EU mutual defence arrangement.

» continued on page 2



In cooperation with



**No to War – No to NATO**

Nein zum Krieg – Nein zur NATO | Non à la Guerre – Non à L'OTAN





## Europe in NATO – Partner for War

• continued from page 1

„All these tasks“, therefore also military combat missions, „may contribute to the fight against terrorism“ even on the sovereign territory of third countries, therefore also of non-members of the Union.

### European budget for armament – growth in permanence

To avoid problems in starting military „missions“ in time due to a lack in funding a „start-up fund“ was established in Article 41, Paragraph 3 of the Lisbon Treaty to guarantee „rapid access to appropriations in the Union budget for urgent financing of initiatives“ which are of military nature.

It is contractually laid down that EU states „shall [...] progressively [...] improve their military capabilities“. Such a commitment to armament in the contract law of the EU is – to put it mildly – unusual. This is not part of any of the constitutions of the member states. International law is a matter of disarmament and arms limitation, and not of armament. The main concern of the Lisbon Treaty is the enhanced armament of EU as a legal obligation.

### Implementation and instruments of the armament policies of EU

After the coming into force of the Treaty its implementation began right away:

- Creation of European Battlegroup aimed at 16,000 soldiers and officers
- establishment of an European Defense Agency with the functions of Defence Research and Technology as well as trade and export of arms

- coordination of European arms production (Airbus is a successful European example for aviation; the navy is supposed to follow a close German-French cooperation)
- establishment of military structures and task forces, e.g. a common Military Committee was created for EU-Europe and NATO
- establishment of a European Diplomatic Corps with corresponding defense attachés

### Decision on war and peace

The Treaty says that „the Council adopts decisions about missions“, including military action. The European Parliament and the national parliaments do not have to be informed, neither before nor after such a mission. A fundamental right of parliamentarism to decide upon a countries' war does not exist.

### Peace – Peace Force Europe

The Union is on a fatally wrong track under this kind of militarization. A track that signifies expensive armament and that leads to wars which are against international law and to military interventions all over the world. The European Union has to be reconstructed to a civil confederation of states which concentrates on contributions to peace, to international security and to overcoming international challenges with non-military, political, economic and cultural means.

**Reiner Braun, ICC – No to NATO, Executive Director International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA)**



**Bomb-shaped balloons** covered the German Reichstag to protest against armstrade

### EL – European Left

The European Left Party (EL) is an association of nearly 40 member and observer parties. The socialist, communist, red-green and other democratic left parties come from the member states of the European Union as well as from other European countries. The EL works for a social, democratic and peaceful Europe.

**www.european-left.org**

**www.ialana.net**

## NATO Strategy and Europe after Lisbon

• continued from page 1

At the Lisbon summit in 2010, NATO adopted a commitment to expand to include any country “in a position to undertake the commitments and obligations of membership” and as it expands, one commitment and obligation that is readily accepted and largely undebated, is NATO's focus on militarism and ultimately on nuclear bullying. NATO's membership has risen to 28. It has extended its presence in the Balkans and increased its influence beyond Europe by bombing Libya, threatening Syria and establishing bases in Afghanistan and on the borders of China and Iran. It clearly sees itself as a global military force. However, NATO is not only expanding its membership but it is

also extending its mandate. Its objectives now include a role to ensure the “energy security” of its members. Under its Article 5, NATO can come to the aid of any member whose energy sources are threatened. This “security of energy supply” is particularly worrying for energy producing states as it could readily be interpreted to mean that the cutting off of any energy supply to any NATO member may be defined as an act of war. Most NATO members do not possess significant energy sources and the Russian Federation supplies energy to many of the Eastern European members of NATO. Russia is understandably uneasy about this and has warned that NATO's eastward expansion has dramatically increased the chances of local conflicts escalating to an international scale and thus to a nuclear confrontation. In addition, despite the current financial climate and cuts in conventional forces,

NATO is determined to retain its nuclear weapons – and therefore will rely more heavily on the nuclear threat as a means of exerting influence.

This situation is being challenged by some NATO members. In 2010 the Netherlands, Germany, Norway and Luxembourg were reportedly calling for the removal of all US nuclear weapons from Europe and the German Bundestag adopted a cross-party motion on disarmament, calling for a reduced role for nuclear weapons in NATO's new Strategic Concept. At the NATO meeting in Lisbon, a mandate was agreed for a comprehensive review to address this. These were very positive steps forward but since then nuclear issues have receded into the background. This could be because the US is considering how it might deal with any new round of arms reduction negotiations. At the signing of “New START”, President Obama sta-

ted that further negotiations should include tactical nuclear weapons, which would inevitably include US nukes in Europe. So there may be no progress before the future for further talks becomes clear.

Russia however, is more concerned with US and NATO plans for missile defence in Europe and the positioning of key bases and installations on its borders. The cancelling of the Russia-NATO summit, planned for this May, is an indication of Russian anger. Obama's “phased adaptive approach” is being used to position land and sea based interceptor missiles across Europe and throughout the Pacific region. Russia and China are being surrounded by US-NATO installations and Russia believes that this drastically changes the effectiveness of its deterrent. If the disagreements continue they will inevitably result in a new spiral of mutual distrust and

rearmament, destroying the work of years of diplomacy and resulting in the trashing of New START. Any system that raises such uncertainties must be a concern to everyone. Russia is already seeking to form an ad-hoc coalition to counter the plans for US-NATO missile defence in Europe, describing it as a major threat to global stability. They see that the real purpose of the system is to continue NATO encroachment and to tip the strategic balance in favour of the West.

It is so important that we join together to work for true human security, for withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Europe, against US-NATO missile defence plans and against the expansion and militaristic methods of NATO – even against the very existence of NATO.

**Dave Webb, Chair Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND)**  
**www.cnduk.org**

# The Illusion of the so-called „Civil Power Europe“

By Erhard Crome

One of the cautiously fostered illusions after the Cold War was the „civil power Europe“ in distinction from the „military force USA“. As a matter of fact both phenomena strongly go hand in hand. One of the peculiarities of the present capitalist world-system is that the long-term shift of the global economic focal point towards China – respectively Asia – continues. This capitalist world-system is, by its nature, dominated by the North Atlantic association of states and businesses, the „world of the white men“. Since the begin-

nings of modern age this world was created gradually. After the end of the Cold War the North Atlantic center's aspiration towards expansion leaped forward: Not only the former real-socialistic countries are open to this center (Eastern Europe afresh became periphery of the West), but all regions of the world under the signs of „free market“ are confronted with its pressure. However, it is in effect that whatever market liberalization the United States and the European Union are enforcing in the name of free world-trade, China, India and

other Asian countries who are shaping the „Workshop of the World“ of the 21st century are the beneficiaries.

Even today, the basic momentum of the world-system today is violence. The Chilean sociologist Tomás Moulian wrote that the Iraq Invasion shows „that the illusion created by globalization with its symbolic of equity of capital on the financial markets and equity of the goods with its virtual flow is utterly wrong. Negotiations on „free economy“ constantly illustrate quite plainly how the power of the rich dominates the middle-class and the poor. And when dialogue becomes impossible, meaning when a nest of resistance surfaces, then war-cries are resonating. What the market cannot do, weapons will do. Weapons that are disguised in the colors of „the good“. In this light we can also view the Western wars, respectively the wars of NATO, against Yugoslavia, Libya and Afghanistan. What happens with this world if an always increasing percentage of production of the world economy is carried out by China, India and other Asian countries? Observing this from a policy-of-peace perspective the question arises if with this tectonic shift a new threat of war is emerging, and what this could signify for the global development.

In other words: Will the USA and NATO respond to these changes with pressure and attempted extortion? Will they try to compensate their decreasing position in global economics in comparison with China with military pressure? China is equipped with independent nuclear strategic weapon sys-

tems and own capacities in space technology, which rules out the possibility of an immediate military extortion. In this respect military means as „compensation“ for economic weakness of the United States cease to apply.

Since the beginning of the 21st century „imperialism“ was listed as a positive term by the West. The underlying perception is that empires are embodying order against disorder and chaos. In Germany „imperial“ and „imperialistic“ politics are distinguished. In „imperial politics“ the interests of the center are the focal point and the periphery is of interest only to the extent of how it is of advantage for the center; in contrast „imperialistic politics“ detect their greatest challenges in the peripheries and not in the center itself (see Herfried Münkler). In this sense the European Union is an imperial center. The Union has to proportion itself to the militarily „superior USA“ and at the same time meet the challenges of its own environment. The goal is to hold its ground against the USA as a sub-center of the imperial space and on the other hand to concern itself with the unstable periphery of the East and South-East. To be effective militarily at the European periphery it is essential to have a common European foreign and security policy. It is not only about Southern Europe, but about an arch that stretches from Belarus and Ukraine over the Caucasus to the Near and Middle East and which reaches from there across the African Mediterranean coast up to Morocco. Because the expansion of the Union shall not be overstretched, the „imperial

mapping model“ offers itself as a mechanism to stabilize the European external borders, which are to be kept stable and elastic. This includes exertion of influence on the periphery.

At the same time the imperial structure is seen as a form of overcoming the nation state. In principle the whole process of the eastward expansion of the EU was an imperialistic process. The „European Neighbourhood Policy“ is a continuation of these imperial policies in the next concentric circle of graduated hierarchy from the center to the periphery, under which follows the „larger Europe“. Among it Algeria, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Moldavia, the Palestinian National Authority, Syria, Tunisia and Ukraine. „Therewith the conceivable members of the empire are named, the outer borders of Europe of the 21st century are marked-out“ (Alan Posener). Europe is an empire which is first and foremost a global force of trade. If it is perceived as necessary, military enforcement is employed, as seen in Libya. Here NATO is essential so that the United States can balance out Asia militarily. But in contrast to the USA, for the EU military means are only complementary. It is preferred to reign with means of trade policies and financial tools. But it is important to reign at all.

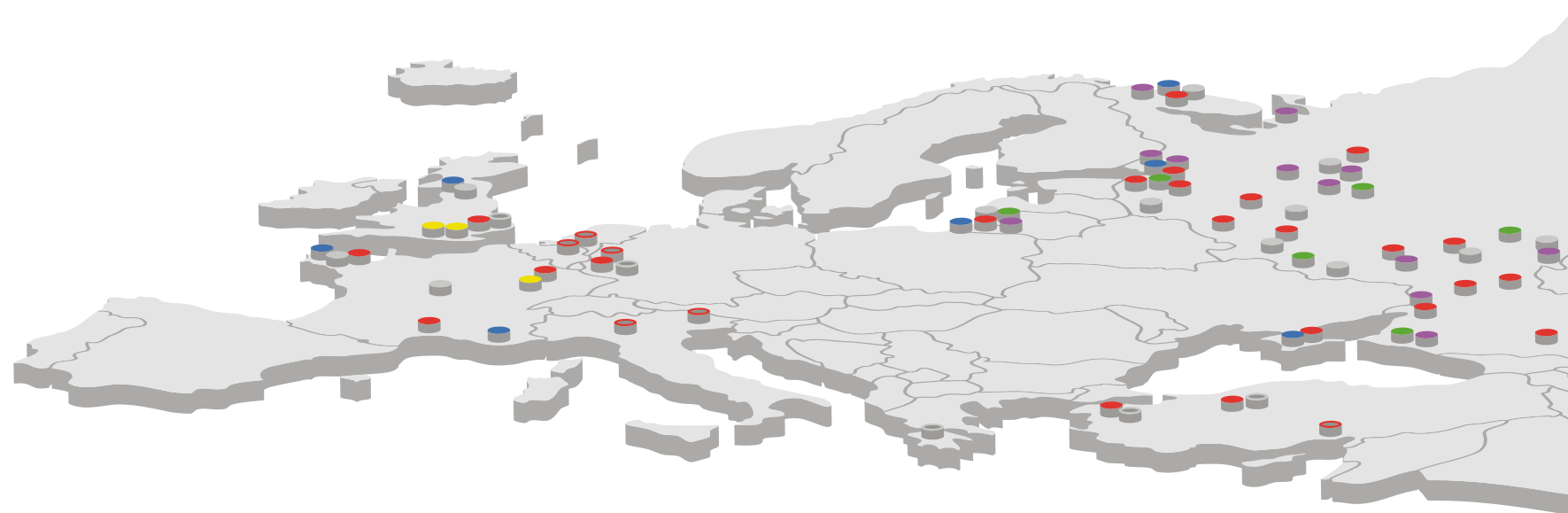
**Dr. Erhard Crome,**  
**Rosa-Luxemburg-Foundation**

**Tobias Pflüger,**  
**Die LINKE Germany**

**www.rosalux.de**

### Nuclear Weapons in Europe

- Airbase with nuclear-capable aircraft & nuclear bombs
- Naval base with nuclear-capable wessels
- Base with nuclear-capable missiles
- Base with nuclear-capable air/coastal defense missiles
- Storage facility for nuclear weapons\*
- Storage facility without nuclear weapons
- Warhead production/disassembly facility



\*It is possible, but not known, if nuclear weapons are present at the facility.

**Note:** Some markers may represent multiple sites. Locations are approximate.



## Too Big to Fail – Buying the Greek

By Christine Hoffmann

Greece is being forced to make massive savings to cope with the financial crisis. For the last months Greece has been endeavouring to come to arrangements with the „Troika“ – IMF, ECB and European Commission – about several tranches of bail-out loans needed to stave off a Greek exit from the Euro. In the meantime Greece remains committed to extravagant spending on armaments, making it the fourth-largest importer of arms in the world. And to make things worse, there was reportedly pressure placed on Greece to honour existing armament contracts and to commit to new ones by the dominant European leaders Angela Merkel and Nikolas Sarkozy.

As austerity measures are loaded upon the Greek people, creating a crisis situation that leaves only few Greeks apart from the wealthy elite untouched, the Greek government uses bail-out loans to purchase arms from Germany, the U.S. and France.

The German armament industry will continue to be a major beneficiary of Greek spending if Greece avoids exi-

ting the Eurozone. The military budget of Greece amounts to four billion Euros. German arms manufacturers delivered or plan to deliver tanks, submarines and Eurofighters to Greece. What does Greece need those weapons for? Is it to defend itself against Turkey? Turkey is, by the way, also receiving German weapons.

I cannot see that Germany is taking into account the economic capacity of Greece when exporting arms to this recipient country. But that is what the European Union agreed on in the Code of Conduct on arms trade. Portugal also counts to the reliable purchasers of German weapons and finds itself in a similar severe economic state as the Greek. To me the German policy of arms exports is breaking all ethic orientations and counteracts peace aspirations. Europe is the story that proofs: peace is possible. But arms trade has the potential to damage that story even without war - because peace is more than the absence of war.

**Christine Hoffmann**, General Secretary of Pax Christi Germany [www.paxchristi.de](http://www.paxchristi.de)

### ICC – No to War No to NATO

“No to War – No to NATO” is an international network of groups and organisations from a wide political spectrum united in their opposition to NATO, NATO’s war in Afghanistan, and NATO’s increasingly aggressive global role. The network is committed to only use non-violent means in its activities against NATO and is represented by an international coordinating committee (ICC).

To achieve our vision of a peaceful world, we reject military responses to global and regional crises – these are part of the problem, not part of the solution. We reject all attacks on international law and the sidelining of the United Nations. We refuse to live under the terror of nuclear weapons, and reject a new arms race. A drastic decrease of military expenditure and without nuclear weapons is necessary – directing resources instead to meeting human needs. We must close down all foreign military bases, and all military structures used for war and military intervention. We call for the abolition of NATO: it should be dissolved and dismantled. We must democratise and demilitarise the relations between peoples, push for conflict resolution and common security, and establish new forms of peaceful cooperation to build a more secure and just world.

### The international coordinating committee No to War – No to NATO consists of:

Reiner Braun (IALANA, Germany), Claire Chastain (Collectif national unitaire OTAN-Afghanistan, France), Petros Constantinou (Stop the War, Greece), Ludo De Brabander (Vrede, Belgium), Arielle Denis (Mouvement de la Paix, France), Joseph Gerson (American Friends Service Committee, USA), Jana Glivick (No Bases Network, Czech Republic), Luis Gutierrez-Esparza (Latin American Circle of International Studies, Mexico), Kate Hudson (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, UK), Hans Lammerant (vredesactie, Belgium), Judith Leblanc (Peace Action, USA), Victor Lima (PAGAN, Portugal), Kevin Martin (Peace Action, USA), Annie McStravick (Collectif national unitaire OTAN-Afghanistan, France), Agneta Norberg (Swedish Peace Council, Sweden), Tobias Pflüger (Info-stelle Militarisation, Germany), Claudine Polet (Comité Surveillance OTAN, Belgium), Elsa Rassbach (Code Pink, USA), John Rees (Stop the War, UK), Ricardo Robles (Portugal), Michael Youton (Campaign for a Social Europe, Ireland)

Further information:  
[www.no-to-nato.org](http://www.no-to-nato.org)



**Mairead Maguire** (Northern Ireland)

*The Womens Gate at the Aldermaston Blockade against nuclear weapons  
February 15, 2010*

## NATO’s Influence on Irish Neutrality

By Roger Cole

Irish values traditionally consist of Independence, Democracy and Neutrality. Ireland remained neutral in World War II and did not join the NATO. However since its accession to the European Union in 1973 Ireland experiences a loss of national sovereignty and a loss of its positive neutrality due to the participation in NATO influenced and imperialist EU politics. The voice of the Irish people voting against the referendums on Nice and Lisbon was disregarded by the government, forcing the people to vote again until they gave the “right” answer.

We understand the Lisbon Treaty as an intent to institutionalise the militarisation of the EU. This militarisation was linked to the NATO structures since almost all EU members are in NATO. The Treaty gave the EU an independent legal status which is superior to the legal status of the nation-state. It legalized the European Defence Agency and the EU Battlegroups and an obligation for member states to increase their military capabilities. It expanded the military tasks of EU and ensured that the EU Common Security and Defense Policy was compatible with

NATO's. At its Lisbon Summit in 2010 NATO described the EU as a strategic partner. The current Irish government continues to support the NATO imperialism. The role of the Peace & Neutrality Alliance (PANA) since its foundation in 1996 and the role of Sinn Féin and the United Left Alliance has been to oppose this growth in imperialist values and restore those of an Independent Irish Republic.

**Roger Cole**, Chair of the National Executive Committee of the Peace & Neutrality Alliance (PANA) – [www.pana.ie](http://www.pana.ie)

## Feminists against NATO

By Kristine Karch

Women around the world are fighting for equal rights, against violence, suppression and exclusion. In the analysis of the causes of war feminists identify the patriarchy - the dominance of masculine values within society – along with the power structures of capitalism, racism and militarism as the driving forces. Male values which are close-knitted to hierarchy, rivalry and competition result in consequential violence. So-called female values like concern and reconciliation are not considered. The attribution of values is not justified biologically, but is generated through society. If we want to battle war and militarism we have to analyze these power structures and gender relations as a whole in their complexity and with their dependencies and we are obliged to unveiling the inherent violence that starts with domestic violence, continues on the streets, does not spare nature and ends in wars under which all humankind suffers.

With its new strategy NATO as a military and war alliance supports EU militarism and reproduces patriarchal structures of power. The implementation of the UN Resolution 1325 (to women, peace and security) does not change anything about it because NATO does not tackle the causes of violence, militarism and patriarchy but ties in women into their war activities. The images of Abu Grahیب demonstrate the harmful influence these structures have on women. If NATO would be seriously interested in women's rights, in peace and security they would have to abolish NATO immediately. As the war in Afghanistan shows women's rights cannot be „bombed“ into a country. War enforces patriarchal power structures and leads to a loss of already fought-for women's rights.

**Kristine Karch**, No to War – No to NATO women's network, INES [www.no-to-nato.org](http://www.no-to-nato.org)

### Rosa Luxemburg Foundation

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is part of the network of German political foundations funded by the German federal government. It is an international non-profit institution for civic education. Active since 1990, the foundation represents the central current of democratic socialism with a firmly international focus. It is committed to a radical perspective of social processes and developments and works within the traditions of the labour and women's movements as well as anti-racism and anti-fascism. Also it is committed to the analysis of social processes and developments worldwide. In cooperation with many organizations around the globe, it works on democratic and social participation, empowerment of disadvantaged groups, alternatives for economic and social development, conflict prevention and peaceful conflict resolution. Its international activities aim to provide civic education by means of academic analyses, public programs and projects conducted together with partner institutions. In order to be able to mentor and coordinate the various international projects, the foundation has established 16 regional offices in different parts of the world. [www.rosalux.de](http://www.rosalux.de)

### Disarmament for Sustainable Development

#### An international appeal to the 2012 Rio+20 conference

The appeal is initiated by International Network of Engineers and Scientists for Global Responsibility (INES), the International Peace Bureau (IPB), Foreign Policy in Focus (FPF), and the World Future Council (WFC).

Sign the appeal online at:  
[www.inesglobal.com/campaigns.phtml](http://www.inesglobal.com/campaigns.phtml)

**Signatories include:** Prof. Dr. Ana Maria Cetto, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Noam Chomsky, Institute Professor, MIT, USA, Prof. Dr. Johan Galtung, Right Livelihood Laureate 1987, Norway, Prof. Dr. Walter Kohn, Nobel Prize Laureate in Chemistry 1998, USA, Sir Harold Kroto, Nobel Laureate Chemistry, UK, Mairead Corrigan Maguire, Peace Nobel Laureate, GB (Northern Ireland), Dr. Vandana Shiva, Philosopher, environmentalist and writer. Awarded the Right Livelihood Award in 1993, India, Archbishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate 1984, South Africa, Shirin Ebadi (Nobel Peace Prize Laureate 2003, Iran), Prof. Dr. Roger Kornberg (Nobel Prize Laureate in Chemistry 2006, USA), Prof. Dr. Jack Steinberger (Nobel Prize Laureate in Physics 1988, Switzerland), Jody Williams (Nobel Peace Prize Laureate 1997, USA), Adolfo Peres Esquivel (Nobel Peace Prize Laureate 1980, Argentina), Prof. Dr. Dudley R. Herschbach (Nobel Prize Laureate in Chemistry 1986, USA), Prof. Dr. Jean Marie Lehn (Nobel Prize Laureate in Chemistry 1987, France)

## NATO’s Acting in Scandinavia

By Agneta Norberg

Traditionally, Sweden is a neutral country. Europe's largest overland military test range is called North European Aerospace Testrange (NEAT) and is situated in the north of Sweden. The area, that covers 24 000 square kilometers, is used for testing missiles, combat aircrafts and unmanned aerial vehicles. In 2011 the U.S. Air Forces in Europe used the base to practice bomb dropping, and in 2010 NATO Response Force used the area for NATO's largest air exercise that year.

NATO's usage of the Swedish Air Base is not the only collaboration of Scandinavian,

non-member states of NATO with the military organization. Recently, in March 2012 Swedish and Finnish Air Force participated in a joint NATO airspace policing exercise in Baltic skies. Aim of the exercise is to practice establishing contact with airplanes that appear to lack communications and escorting such aircraft from sovereign airspace into NATO's area of responsibility, midair transfer of escort procedures and coordination between air traffic control centers.

The collaboration of NATO with non-member states was institutionalized in 1994 with

the Partnership for Peace Program. This program aims at adapting and assimilating military forces to NATO procedures in order to enable and improve joint combat.

**Agneta Norberg**, Swedish Peace Council – [www.frednu.se](http://www.frednu.se)



# Stop EU and NATO Interventionism!

By Maite Mola



The vision of a nuclear free world

## Modernization of Nuclear Weapons

With the US life extension program of nuclear weapons Obama held his promise not to build new nuclear warheads. Nevertheless, this program curtails other improvements concerning the quality and capability of nuclear weapons and thus the broader range of deployment of them. The life extension of nuclear weapons in reality is the building of a new nuclear weapon with new qualities and capabilities and the old nuclear warhead. But not just the US modernizes nuclear weapons. All the nuclear weapon states, including the five that have signed the NPT, continue to modernize their nuclear forces with no declared or apparent end in sight. Thus we are facing – quite the opposite of the vision of a nuclear weapons free world – a worldwide arms race for new capabilities of nuclear weapons:

### NATO's new nuclear capabilities

- Development of a new nuclear bomb by combining three tactical (B61-3/4/10) and one strategic (B61-7) versions into one (B61-12): First „smart“ nuclear bomb with guided tail kit to increase accuracy. Can hold more targets at risk and reduce radioactive fallout (more useable weapon). Delivery from 2019.

- Equip F-35 Joint Strike Fighter with nuclear capability: First stealthy fighter-bomber with increased capability to strike undetected. Delivery to Italy, Netherlands and, Turkey and US. Air Force. B61-12 will be more accurate than the B61-3/4 currently in Europe F-35 will carry two B61-12 bombs internally and be harder to detect.

- Although the B61-12 will use the smallest nuclear warhead from the tactical B61-4, the increased accuracy from the tail kit will give it a target kill capability similar to the B61-7; the B61-12 will be a strategic bomb with less fallout.

### Worldwide nuclear weapons modernization

- United States:** Trident II D5LE SLBM production; New SSBN(X), bomber and ICBM development, warhead life-extension programs (W76-1, W61-12, W78/W88 common warhead, other warheads later), warhead pit (plutonium core) production, F-35 fighter-bomber development, cruise missile development, production complex modernization, command and control modernization, war plan upgrades

- Russia:** Borey-class SSBN production, Bulava/Sineva/Liner SLBM production, SS-27/RS-24 ICBM production, new “heavy” ICBM development, bomber upgrades, new cruise missile production, warship/submarine production, warhead production, Su-35 fighter-bomber deployment, tactical missile deployment, command and control modernization, war plan upgrades

- France:** M51 SLBM deployment, ASMPA cruise missile deployment, Rafale fighter-bomber deployment, TNO warhead production, production complex modernization, command and control modernization, war plan upgrades

- Britain:** New SSBN development, W76-1/Mk4A warhead upgrade, war plan upgrades

- India:** New SSBN development, Agni-2/3/5 MRBM/ICBM development, Sagatika/K15 SLBM development, Dhanush SSM development, command and control modernization, war plan upgrades

- Pakistan:** Shaheen-1A and -2 MRBM development, Abdali and NASR SRBM development, Babur and Ra'ad cruise missile development, warhead production, production complex modernization, command and control modernization, war plan upgrades

War and military interventions are becoming the first choice in dealing with conflicts. European Mainstream Media are questioning politician's moral integrity if they speak out against military interventions as for example in the case of Libya, Syria or Iran. It is no new strategy to blame those who are promoting peaceful strategies to deal with a crisis to be in league with a dictator. But the interventionist policy of NATO and the European Union has revived the importance of military options and therefore also the importance to discredit a policy of peace.

The war against Yugoslavia (the so called Kosovo war) set the precedent. Without even a UN mandate, on the basis of classical wartime deception and with the aim of creating a new regional power structure, NATO attacked civilian and military structures alike. Instead of creating an alternative political framework, the European Union is concentrating its efforts on creating a military union which either assists NATO (like in Afghanistan, Iraq or Libya) or acts as an independent military actor as in Congo, Chad, in the Balkans

or by waging an Anti-Piracy War on and around the Somali coastline. A flagrant disregard for international law shapes the NATO's and EU's policy. Although their politicians claim to act within a lawful framework, their actions are governed by the pursuit of their interests (access to vital resources, control of markets, sea lanes and geostrategically important regions).

EU's military strategy concentrates especially on Africa. By this the member states restore former colonial spheres of interest and traditions. The European Union for example is not only deploying its own troops into the different African battlefields but is also systematically creating African auxiliary forces to give the EU military policy an „African face“. European military advisors and instructors are building up, training and equipping a Somali Force in Uganda to „stabilize“ the Somali Interim Government. As this government is only recognized by very few Somalis the EU is effectively fueling the civil war. EU and NATO aim at control and are literally and figuratively pulling the countries they allegedly want to help into a mili-

tary dead end. The real problems of countries like Somalia are of economical and political nature so their solution also can only be economical and political. The politics of EU and NATO often have contributed to the present crisis, by their colonial and postcolonial policies, by not stopping the climate change, by the policies of the IMF and the World Bank but also by the practice of delivering weapons and ammunition into nearly every corner of the world. The policy of „divide and conquer“ during the colonial period is still the basis of some of the problems of developing countries in the present – it is therefore totally irresponsible to revive this mechanism in the framework of the European Common Foreign Policy. The real responsibility of the EU and NATO states therefore is definitely not laying in military interventions. No, real responsibility means an end to military policies, an end to arms export and an end to exploiting the resources of the developing countries.

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- China:** New Jin-class SSBN deployment, JL-2 SLBM development, DF-31/31A ICBM deployment, DF-21 MRBM deployment, DH-10 cruise missile deployment, command and control modernization, war plan updates

- Israel:** Jericho-3 MRBM development, possible cruise missile development for Dolphin-class submarines, command and control modernization, war plan upgrades

### Costs of modernization: \$ 700 billion over the next 10 years

Overview of the US Nuclear Weapon Modernisation Program				
Department of Defense Programmes				

System	Modernisation Plan	Costs	Length of Deployment	Additional Information
Minuteman III ICBM	Modernisation and replacement programme	\$ 7,000,000,000	through 2020 and possibly 2050	Modernises the propellant, guidance systems, propulsion system, targeting system, re-entry vehicles and continues work on the rocket motors.
Next ICBM	ICBM follow-on study.	\$ 26,000,000 for the fiscal year 2012-2014		Analysis of Alternatives will be completed in 2014, at which point the Air Force will determine if it will go forward with the programme.
B-2 Bomber	Modernisation Programme	\$ 9,500,000,000 (FY 2000-2014)	2050s	Improves radar and high frequency satellite communications capabilities for nuclear command and control.
B-52H Bomber	On-going modifications		2040s	Incorporates global positioning systems, updates computers and modernizes heavy stores adapter beams, and a full array of advance weapons.
Long Range Penetrating Bomber	R&D phase	\$ 40-60 billion (estimate)		The exact specifications of the LRPB are yet to be determined.
Long Range Standoff Cruise Missile	Replacement for the ALCM	\$ 1.3 billion (estimate)		Air Force is completing the Analysis of Alternatives. If they choose to go forward, production is estimated to begin in 2025.
SSBNX	New ballistic missile submarine	\$ 96-101,000,000,000	2029-2080	Replacement for the existing Ohio-class SSBN submarines
Trident II D5 SLBM LEP	Modernisation and life extension		2042	



Peace-flags at a rally against the war in Afghanistan, Bonn December 2011

# NATO's Nuclear Weapons Policy: Too controversial, too expensive, and useless!

By Arielle Denis

Since the end of the cold war, illustrating Churchill's assertion that the most stupid attitude in politics is keeping the same policy whatever changes are occurring, NATO's nuclear policy has not moved much. The new push in favour of a world free of nuclear weapons is now shaking the old alliance showing growing divisions among the 28 members. Can the Chicago Summit deliver some fresh air?



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the Alliance „to a goal of creating the conditions for a world free of nuclear weapons [...]“. This schizophrenia is irritating people's intelligence and also many governments from states that agreed through the Non Proliferation Treaty to never acquire nuclear weapons. According to ICAN's recent study, 146 States have declared their will to sign a Nuclear Weapons Convention to completely ban and eliminate these genocidal weapons.

NATO's Defence and Deterrence Posture Review (DDPR) which is to be redefined at the Chicago Summit perfectly illustrates these contradictions and raises many questions. Why does NATO need nuclear weapons? Because „as long as there are nuclear weapons in the world, NATO will remain a nuclear alliance“. So let's get rid of them! Does NATO seriously think to use them? It means that the US will risk „New York to save Gdansk?“ Seriously? Does NATO need nuclear weapons to fulfil its missions? The answer again is: No! Nuclear weapons are not useful to fight – unpopular – wars in Afghanistan or in Libya, or any other NATO mission.

## Withdraw NATO bombs from Europe!

Another range of questions concerns the renewal of the B61 nuclear bombs based in

European countries. These bombs and their delivery procedures are a relic of the Cold War and are unanimously considered as obsolete. But most of the countries where they are based, Germany first, are calling for their withdrawal. IKV Pax Christi's research „Withdrawal issue“ shows that „allied support for continuing the current deployment situation is extremely low“. Half of the Alliance admits they are actively searching for an end of the TNW deployment. Ten more wouldn't object. Only three States (France, Lithuania, Hungary) would object, with only one – France – willing to invest political capital to try to block processes leading to withdrawal.

If courage and lucidity would enlighten the Chicago Summit, NATO members would understand that they have a special leadership role to play in support of global efforts to reduce reliance on nuclear weapons, to prevent their spread into dangerous hands, and ultimately to end them as a threat to the world, as Sam Nunn and Helmut Schmidt call them. The best option to make this happen is to grow people's demand for a treaty to eliminate nuclear weapons.

**Arielle Denis**, Senior Campaigner at International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) [www.icanw.org](http://www.icanw.org)



# Disband NATO – Stop the Killing and start talking!



Mairead Maguire

Today faced with increasing economic and political crisis Europe is at a crossroads. In spite of the recession, the European military industrial complex continues to spend billions of people's tax money on weapons of mass destruction. NATO continues to fight

aggressive wars in Libya and Afghanistan, and has become a force of illegal intervention and occupation in order to secure resources. Citizens concerned that there are nuclear bombs in six European countries under the command of the US/NATO are calling for an end to NATO

and militarism. A disarmed and demilitarized Europe and the money from such arms and weapons spent on providing real sustainable human security, would give economic and political justice and equity for all. We can all work to bring about change for real human

security. Stopping the arms trade, ending the “War on Terror” (which is often a war on women and children) and setting up fair and equal trading with the developing world in order to promote peace not war, will secure our future.

## Collective Imperialism



Samir Amin

US systematic intervention is based on 3 principles: Brutal replacement of UN with NATO as the means of managing the international order, alignment of Europe with Washington's strategic objectives and adoption of military methods reinforcing American hegemony.

The NATO, which has cast itself as representative of the “international community” and thus marginalized the UN, demands a „right to intervene“ to promote democracy and uphold human rights. The tool of military alliance reflects the existence of a collective strategy

through which the real objectives of this new form of “collective imperialism” are expressed: to remain dominant and therefore preserve access to natural resources for their exclusive profit. This is a system that by definition will not move towards disarmament.

*Any military intervention of the US and NATO in the affairs of the Southern countries must be prohibited no matter its pretext, even seemingly benign “humanitarian” intervention. Imperialism seeks to permit neither democracy nor social progress to those countries.*

## Win the Fight for Life



Rigoberta Menchú Tum

The world is confronted with inevitable dilemmas. Ecological problems, the exhaustion of non-renewable resources, extreme poverty and armed conflicts give pressure to the political debate of the world development for the future. We have to seek a coherent, ethical

and moral answer to this development. The globalization and the concomitant competition in production are not satisfying the needs of the majority. Confronted with economic crisis there are less governmental investments in human needs while governments are

spending the people's money on weapons and irrational productions. The outcry of the people has to echo through the halls of the political and economic centres of power. Sustainable development has to be a fair and democratic, a gradual and dynamic process that con-

siders the needs of the people and not the needs of political forces, military alliances and economic institutions.

## Why is there NATO?



Noam Chomsky

After World War II, US plans for global hegemony assigned each world-region its “function”. NATO was established to defend the most important region, Europe, from threats of the East. Europe has gone along with US demands, even while strongly disagreeing

with Washington's positions. 20 years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, USA has missile defense systems in Eastern Europe and NATO troops are fighting in Afghanistan, which has great geostrategic importance due to its location in the heartland of the energy-rich

regions. Former NATO-head de Hoop Scheffer confirms that “NATO troops have to guard pipelines that transport oil and gas that is directed for the West,” to protect sea routes and other “crucial infrastructure” of the energy system. So the rational conclusion why exists

NATO is not to defend Europe against imminent danger (like the USSR, or Iran today) but to ensure that Europe is subject to US interests. To put it short, NATO is an international intervention force under US command.

## Peace – Now!



Bianca Jagger

We are at a critical juncture in history, we are facing various tipping points and many hard choices lay before our leaders, with serious consequences if they make the wrong decisions. The strategy of defending the manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear weapons, as an effective

deterrent to others, is now recognised as a flawed argument. If they were once justified, as a means of American-Soviet deterrence, they are no longer. Nuclear weapons were considered essential to maintaining international security during the cold war, but that is no longer the case.

## NATO's Immaturity



Johan Galtung

NATO is an exercise in intellectual, emotional and political immaturity. Instead of searching for solutions to the many conflicts in which the West is involved – by bridging the legitimate goals of the parties involved – NATO is always about winning, through sanc-

tions, deterrence or military victory, at enormous costs in lives and values; not about finding solutions that could bring the world forward. NATO members have some good points, but so do others. High time for NATO to grow up instead of living in the past.



Ingeborg Breines

Seriously concerned by the strong on-going militarization of the world with continued growth in military spending (more than 1.7 trillion \$ per year) whilst 10 – 20 % would be enough to meet the basic needs of people as agreed in the Millennium Development Goals, it is necessary “to speak truth to power”. No country should be allowed to feel pride any more in being military strong. The world cannot afford to continue with the misuse of human and natural resources. In the future the strong countries are those who manage to create security by non-military means and use their resources to build human security and a true culture of peace. NATO is obsolete.