

Why States Renounce Nuclear Weapons



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TODAY'S PROMOTERS

Over 22,000 weapons + 9 nuclear-armed states PLUS proliferation incentives, drivers + nuclear terrorism risks



Peak arsenals (1986)

- 15,000 Mt
- 70,000 weapons

Current arsenals 2011

- **2,300 Mt**
- **22,400 weapons**

24 (actual or potential) nuclear weapon programmes that reversed course

Argentina

Australia

Belarus

Brazil

Canada

• Egypt

Germany

Greece

Indonesia

Iraq

Italy

Japan

Kazakhstan

Libya

Norway

Romania

S. Korea

S. Africa

Sweden

Switzerland

Taiwan

Turkey

Ukraine

Yugoslavia

South Africa, Brazil and Argentina: Importance of Internal Politics

- Internal political dynamics more important than external factors
- External events/factors used by policy advocates to advance their agenda (for or against)
- Threats can justify proliferation but absence of threats not required for renunciation
- Political priority and sustainability

from Harvard study, 2006

Factors encouraging nuclear restraint and renunciation

Domestic and Resources

political culture: e.g. rights, stability, democratic structures

social + humanitarian values determine economic priorities
reduced military influence on technology developments and industrial policy

Norms and Ideas

NW as inhumane, illegal, immoral/haram, unusable
(not highly valued deterrents or status symbols)

International institutions

effective international regimes
international law + IHL
progress on disarmament

Security

Threat perceptions reduced
Improved regional relations
Alliances/security assurances
human security over military interests

Traditional Explanations for Nuclear Restraint – Harvard University

Security

Absence of Threat
Superpower Rivalry
Security Guarantees
Superpower Pressure

Ideas

Anti-nuclear Norms

Resources

Lack of Money
Lack of Scientists
Denied Foreign Tech

Institutions

Democracy
Electoral Politics
Liberalizing Economies
Bureaucratic Politics
Regimes

Current Challenges

- India, Pakistan – 1998 nuclear tests, acquired 'NWS' status outside NPT
- Israel, outside NPT and only nuclear-armed state in Middle East (so far...)
- North Korea – withdrawal from NPT to become 'nuclear-armed'
- Iran – suspected nuclear 'options' programme under NPT with safeguards 'violations' in Middle East
- others hedging bets?
- NWS and nuclear deterrent doctrines as proliferation drivers

What impedes NW renunciation?

- Use of NW is 'legitimised' through deterrence doctrines, nuclear alliance and 'NWS' privileges in NPT
- NW perceived by certain governments and opinion-formers to have high value (deterrence, security, status, strategic stability)
- 'Not in my lifetime' – world without NW nice 'vision' but won't happen, so better be a 'have' than 'have not'
- Military-industrial and nuclear interests in nuclear-armed states and aspirant proliferators
- Voodoo beliefs in deterrence as the devil we know (despite lack of evidence and proof)
- Outdated worldview, loss/lack of confidence in regimes + UN system

Diminish incentives for NW acquisition, retention and proliferation

- Increase costs and penalties
- Diminish benefits and incentives
- Regional and global pressure
- Future trends: “...all States need to make special efforts to establish the necessary framework to achieve and maintain a world without nuclear weapons.” (NPT 2010)
- Stigmatize NW use as crime against humanity with heavy penalties for suppliers as well as perpetrators

Change strategic context and mindset that value and justify NW

- Move beyond arms control and nonproliferation
- Demonstrate national, regional and global costs, risks, consequences:

“The [NPT 2010] Conference expresses its deep concern at the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons....”

Humanitarian consequences: compelling reasons to reject NW

Costs + opportunity costs of nuclear dependency now, and if NW are used:

- > abrupt **climate disruption** and cooling
- > **radiation contamination** and sickness
- > agricultural contamination and **collapse**
- > regional (probably global) **famine**

THE LIVING WOULD ENVY THE DEAD

9 countries spend over \$100 billion on nuclear weapons in 2011

This is \$100 billion taken from human security needs, e.g. health, education, food, water, development....

	2011 in \$ billions
US	61.3
Russia	14.9
UK	5.5
France	6.0
China	7.6
Israel	1.9
India	4.9
Pakistan	2.2
DPRK	0.7
TOTALS	104.9

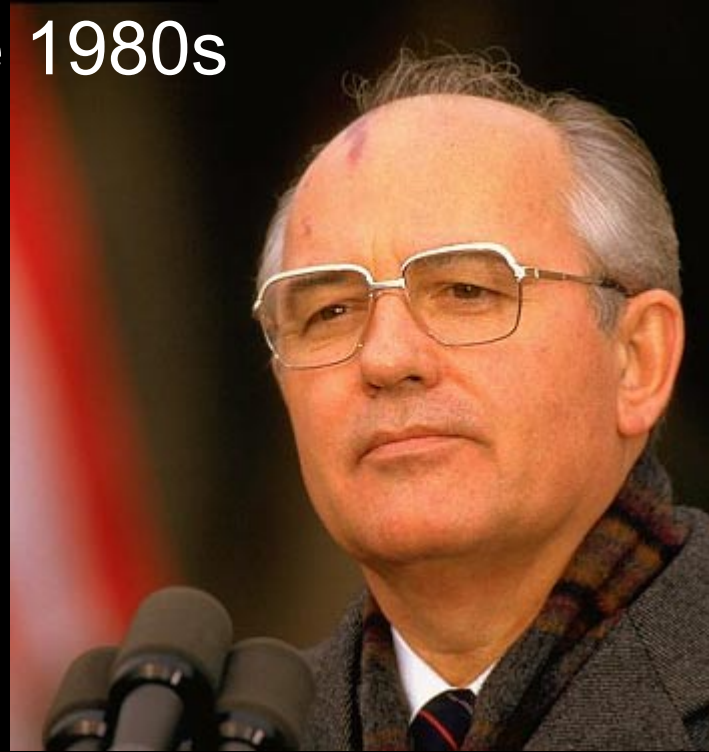


Hiroshima 1945: Incentive or Deterrent?



Reversing course in the 1980s

- Civil society demonstrations in Europe
- Joint US-Russian NGO research initiatives
- Humanitarian not military security arguments
- Nuclear winter scenarios



"Perhaps there was an emotional side to it... I knew the report on 'nuclear winter'... Models made by Russian and American scientists showed that a nuclear war would result in a nuclear winter that would be extremely destructive to all life on Earth; the knowledge of that was a great stimulus to us, to people of honor and morality, to act in that situation."

Former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, 1994 interview

New research on environmental and climate effects of nuclear explosions

Atmos. Chem. Phys. Discuss., 6, 11745–11816, 2006
www.atmos-chem-phys-discuss.net/6/11745/2006/
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Atmospheric
Chemistry
and Physics
Discussions

Atmospheric effects and societal consequences of regional scale nuclear conflicts and acts of individual nuclear terrorism

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RESEARCH ON LIMITED NUCLEAR USE

Evaluated effects of 100 'small' nuclear explosions (15 kt, Hiroshima size) on urban centres:

- This is just 0.4% of nuclear weapons and 0.07% of explosive yield in current arsenals

- **Up to 17 million immediate deaths**

- Multiple small nuclear warheads produce FAR MORE radioactive debris, smoke and deaths per kt than high yield weapons

- Lofting, circulation and persistence of smoke/dust clouds for ~ 10 years

- Substantial and long lasting climatic effects likely to cause widespread global famine



**Limited regional
nuclear war with
low yield
weapons:
1 billion dead
from starvation
alone?**

*International Physicians
for the Prevention of Nuclear War*



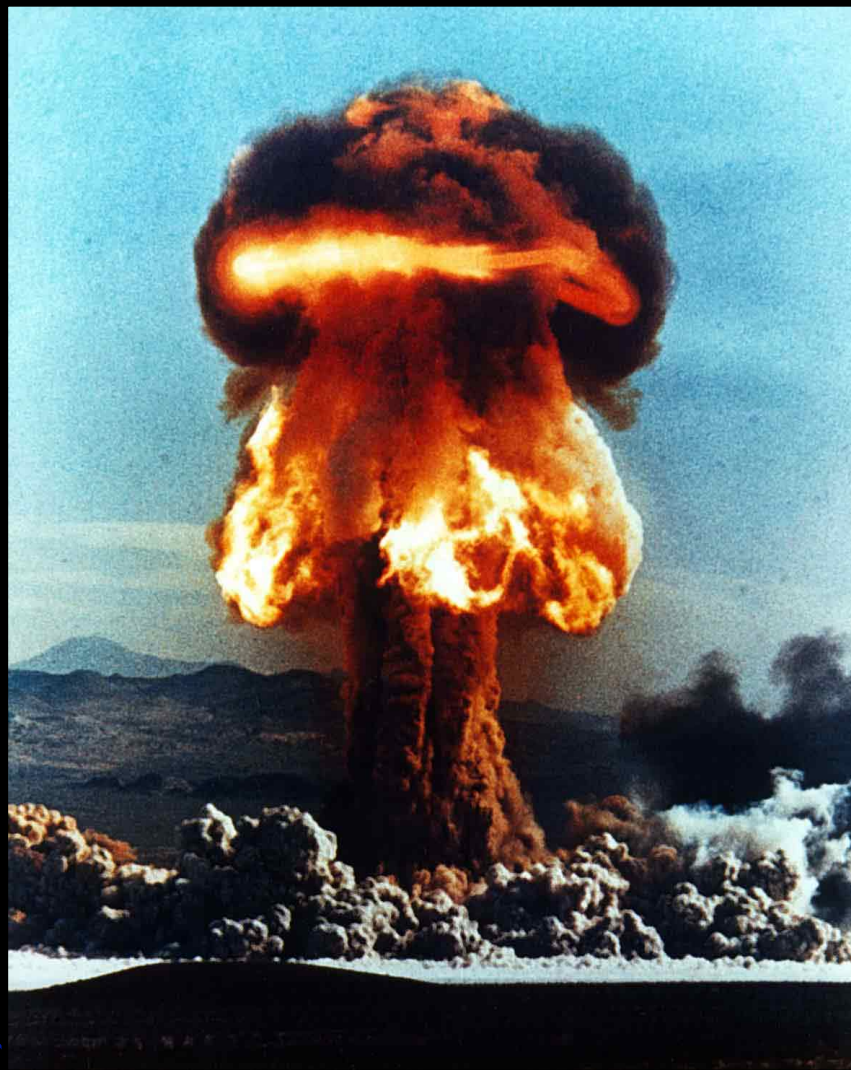
Epidemic Disease

- Cholera, other diarrhoeal disease
- Plague
- Malaria
- Typhus



Desperation, Conflict and Further wars

- Food riots
- Disruption of trade
- Hoarding
- Intra-state 'civil' wars
- Wars between nations...



...further use of nuclear weapons?

*International Physicians
for the Prevention of Nuclear War*



New incentives to renounce NW



EN
CD/11/R1
Original: English
adopted

**COUNCIL OF DELEGATES
OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS
AND RED CRESCENT MOVEMENT**

Geneva, Switzerland
26 November 2011

Working towards the elimination of nuclear weapons

Resolution

Document prepared by

**The International Committee of the Red Cross in consultation
with the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
and National Societies**

**In Nov 2011 the Red Cross
passed a new resolution on
NW – first since 1982**

RED CROSS RESOLUTION

- to ensure that nuclear weapons are never again used...
- to pursue in good faith and conclude with urgency and determination negotiations to prohibit the use of and completely eliminate nuclear weapons through a legally binding international agreement, based on existing commitments and international obligations....

From Humanitarian Imperative to Disarmament

Stigmatizing weapons as inhumane reduces acquisition incentives and paves the way for banning whole classes of armaments:

- **asphyxiating chemicals**
 - 1925 Geneva Protocol (use) → 1993 CWC (all aspects)
- **biological and toxin weapons**
 - 1925 Geneva Protocol (use) → 1972 BTWC
- **antipersonnel landmines**
 - 1997 Mine Ban Convention (use, stockpiling, production and transfer...)
- **cluster munitions**
 - 2008 Convention on Cluster Munitions (CCM prohibits use, production, stockpiling and transfer...)

Sustainable nonproliferation means pursuing comprehensive disarmament

- Delegitimize and devalue nuclear weapons
 - inhumane and useless
 - debunk deterrence, denuclearize alliances
 - affirm nuclear weapon use as crime against humanity and war crime
- Reinforce International Law and IHL
- Revive and strengthen tools for national and regional security without nuclear deterrence
- Continue with much deeper cuts in existing arsenals, implementation of existing treaties etc

Governments will refrain and abstain if NW reframed as problem not asset

- Irrelevant for 21st century security threats
- Indiscriminate, transboundary, terrorist
- Prioritise real and global security above national state 'defences'
- Human security must take precedence over military notions of security – environmental/ climate, health, water, food....
- Nuclear weapons make us insecure and vulnerable
- NW divert resources from building real security
- **Everyone has to abstain, ban, eliminate NW**