

19th CASTIGLIONCELLO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS: NEW RISKS IN MEMORY OF PIETRO GRECO



THE EROSION OF THE NON-PROLIFERATION REGIME: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

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Papa Francesco and nuclear disarmament

"Nuclear weapons are a global problem that affects all nations and will impact future generations as well as the planet, which is our home. We need a global ethic if we want to reduce the nuclear threat and work towards nuclear disarmament" (Papa Francesco, Vienna 2014).

Non-Proliferation Treaty (1970)

TNP represents one of the fundamental components of nuclear governance since the Cold War. It counts 191 member states and the only countries that have not signed it are:

India

Israel

North Korea (withdrew in 2003)

Pakistan

South Sudan

1972: the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty ABM which restricted missile interceptors and the same time prohibited national missile defense.

1972: the first Strategic Arms Limitation Talks undertook to set limits on the growth of their strategic nuclear arsenals

1982: The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty

1987: The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces INF. It led to the elimination of 2.700 nuclear missiles based in Europe

1991: Start I thanks to it most of the nuclear weapons were eliminated

1992: Lisbon Protocol: Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine renounced the weapons inherited from Soviet Union

1992: Open Skies: to promote mutual control between the two nuclear powers, collapsed. These events gave Russia the excuse to act the same way and at the same time to modernize its nuclear arsenals.

1996: CTBT: Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty: never entered into force



NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREE ZONE - NWFZ

1961: The Antarctic Treaty

1967: Treaty of Tlatelolco (Latin America)

1985: Treaty of Rarotonga (South Pacific)

1992: Status of Mongolia

1995: Treaty of Bangkok (Southeast Asia)

1996: Treaty of Pelindaba (Africa)

2006: Treaty of Semipalatinsk (Central Asia)

With the rise to power of Vladimir Putin in 2000, the Russian Federation decided to implement a series of reforms in the military sector of both conventional and nuclear weapons where the doctrine "escalate-to de escalate" was adopted, which contemplates the possibility to allow the use of "low yield" nuclear weapons against limited strategic objectives (escalation), in order to contain the conflict or bring it to its conclusion. (Ball, 2022).

2001: G. W. Bush announced the US withdrawal from the ABM Treaty

2002: Strategic Offensive Reduction Treaty: it committed the United States and Russia to reducing their deployed strategic nuclear forces to 1,700-2,200 warheads apiece (Kimball,2022)

2007: Senator Obama and the republican Senator Hagel signed the Nuclear Weapons Threat Reduction S. 1977

2008: Georgia Conflict

2011: The New Start Treaty was signed in 2010 between the USA and Russia and it entered into force in 2011. It is considered of historical importance for the reduction of the arsenals of the respective countries. It allows for real-time information on the reciprocal strategic arsenals.

The Russian invasion of the Crimea region and the outbreak of the war in Donbass, (Ukraine) in 2014 represents a watershed in international politics with the dramatic and dangerous deterioration of relations between the two nuclear powers. (Adrianopoli, 2015)

The Obama administration launched a nuclear arsenal investment program worth 348 billion dollars for the period of 2015-2024.

EPAA program (European Phased Adaptive Approach)

The AEGIS system (American anti-missile system)

The erosion of non-proliferation architecture

2018: The US withdrawal from the INF Treaty : INF (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces) Treaty, signed in 1987 by Ronald Reagan and Michael Gorbachev in Washington led to the elimination of 2,700 nuclear missiles based in Europe. The treaty ceased to exist in February 2020.

2018: Trump announced the withdrawal of the United States from the Iranian Nuclear Agreement JCPOA, (Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action) which entered into force in 2016, an agreement reached by the five nuclear powers plus Germany.

2020: the United States withdrew from the Open Skies Treaty, followed by the Russian withdrawal in June 2021. Open Skies is a treaty of particular importance for disarmament, since the aim is to promote transparency on the military activities of Signatory countries, through mutual observation with the aim of avoiding any escalation caused by incorrect information or misunderstanding

NEW START, last bilateral treaty between the USA and Russia

To date, the New Start is the last bilateral treaty between the USA and Russia still in force, renewed by President Biden and President Putin two days after the deadline and officially extended until 2026.



Treaty of Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons

The TPNW entered into force in 2021 and became part of the international legal framework on disarmament together with the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). The TPNW prohibits all activities related to nuclear weapons, including the production, testing, transferring, stationing, use, receipt of nuclear weapons and assistance in their creation or the threat of their use. **FINALLY NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAVE BECOME ILLEGAL AND IMMORAL.**

51 states have ratified the Treaty and in EUROPE: Austria, Ireland, Malta, San Marino, Liechtenstein and the Vatican State.

The 5 nuclear powers have not ratified the treaty (USA, Great Britain, France, China and Russia)

Italy has neither signed nor ratified the treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons.

The Consequences of Ukraine War

The Nuclear Posture Review is the US programmatic document released for the first time in 1994 and has the goal to describe the purpose and aim of the US nuclear program.

Biden declared in July 2021 the intention of publishing it in January, which did not happen and, at the moment, it remains an official document subject to secrecy.

On March 25, 2022, Biden's defense budget is about 813 billion dollars to strengthen US nuclear missile and naval capability.

30 June 2022: NATO approved its new Strategic Concept in Madrid: Russia is now unequivocally referred to as "the most significant and direct threat to the security of the Allies and to peace and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area".

In August 2022 the Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry denied the U.S. inspections of their arsenal, until then approved by the New Start

21-23 June 2022: First Conference of the States Parties to theTPNW

Germany, Holland and Belgium have already declared their presence as observer states, together with Australia and Norway, also members of NATO.

Italy is the only one of the four countries of the European Union which hosts NATO nuclear warheads on its territory that has decided not to participate in the First Conference of States Parties to the Treaty for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) which took place in Vienna from 21 to 23 June.

The choice not to participate in the Vienna Conference demonstrates a lack of courage on the part of Italian politicians.

12 August 2022: TNP Review Conference

«Pugwash notes with regret that the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) have not been able to achieve consensus on a Final Document at the Tenth Review Conference. The NPT is an important element of the multilateral disarmament and non-proliferation regime, and all Parties must continue to support it in the search for a world free of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. Full compliance with all commitments contained therein is vital for the achievement of this shared objective. Regretfully, work in this direction is made now more difficult by various tensions in some parts of the world. The gap between the expectations of the various parties should be carefully addressed, given the urgency of restoring a stronger consensus about the NPT, and of reducing tensions and consequent dangers.” (Pugwash Note on the Outcome of the 10th NPT Review Conference, 30 August 2022)

The fall of nuclear taboo

On February 27, 2022 President Vladimir Putin ordered Russian nuclear forces to move to a higher state of alert, including nuclear weapons in the conflict in Ukraine, breaking the taboos on the use of these weapons. The famous phrase "a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought", coined during the darkest days of the Cold War, today seems to have been canceled as well as the enormous efforts made behind the entry into force of the TPNW.

The consequence of the use of «tactical» nuclear weapons

According to the study of Princeton University a nuclear war would be able to cause about 90 million deaths.

Russian bombs could attack military "paying" targets in Italy, such as air and naval bases and NATO commands:

First in the sights would be the NATO bases:

Ghedi (Brescia) and Aviano (Pordenone) which together house about 40 nuclear warheads.

Additional targets could be represented by other NATO military bases and commands such as: Vicenza (Caserma del Din and Caserma Ederle)

Livorno (Camp Darby)

Gaeta

Naples (Naval Support Activity)

Taranto, Sigonella (Naval Air Station)

The consequence of the use of «tactical» nuclear weapons

According to the simulation, the Russian bombing would cause at least **55,000 deaths** and over **190,000 injuries**.

Most of the victims would derive from the bombing of targets near the cities:

Naples (about 21,000 dead and 109,000 wounded)

Vicenza (12,000 dead and 45,000 wounded)

Gaeta (12,000 dead and 5,000 wounded)

Taranto (7,500 dead and nearly 27,000 wounded).

To the human damage must be added the economic damage that the blocking of infrastructures and nerve centers would cause on the entire peninsula and the environmental damage caused by the nuclear fall-out and the persistence of radiation.

Future challenges

The JCPOA remains a key point for the non-proliferation architecture

The resumption of negotiations between the US and Russia on arms control is a necessary condition for the maintenance of world peace

The need to fully implement and universalize the NPT

The CTBT it is of crucial importance and its entry into force should be a top and imperative priority

Reinforce of safe-guards through the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) which represents the most important guarantee for global security

FUTURE HOPES

AN ACT OF BRAVERY FROM THOSE STATES OUT OF THE TNPW, ESPECIALLY THE NUCLEAR ONES, WOULD BE AUSPICABLE

NUCLEAR DETERRENCE CONCERN ALL HUMAN BEINGS; WE ALL COULD BE AFFECTED AND PAY THE CONSEQUENCES.

«REMEMBER YOUR HUMANITY AND FORGET THE REST»

THANK YOU