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

No First Use as a step towards nuclear disarmament Carlo Trezza

USPID APPEAL IN FAVOR OF THE ADOPTION OF THE CONCEPT OF NO FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS (November 10 2021)

"The Union of Scientists for Disarmament (USPID) believes that among the great threats facing humanity none would be more catastrophic and more immediate than the outbreak of a nuclear war. This risk has grown over the last decade as important USRussia and NATO-Russia agreements aimed at averting this danger have collapsed, with significant global repercussions.

The only exceptions to this trend are the recent extension of the already existing bilateral New Start treaty between the United States and Russia on strategic weapons and the entry into force of a multilateral TPNW treaty prohibiting everyone from possessing nuclear weapons:

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While waiting for the conditions allowing all states to adhere to a total ban on nuclear weapons, the international community cannot sit idly. It must try every possible path to achieve a world free of nuclear weapons.

One of the options currently subject to particular attention is the commitment by nuclear weapons states to declare their intention not to use nuclear weapons first: No First Use (NFU).

We would not start from scratch since two nuclear states, China and India have already individually committed not to use nuclear weapons first. Even the Soviet Union, at the time of the Cold War, had adopted this concept.

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The ground has recently become more fertile as the Biden administration and the US Congress are examining the possibility of getting closer to this concept within the framework of the US Nuclear Posture Review.

At the same time, civil society is mobilizing for the adoption of the NFU concept by the international community.

USPID invites the Presidents of the competent parliamentary committees of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate to include in their agendas the issue of NO FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPON and to examine the possibility of government action in favor of the adoption of this concept by countries that possess atomic weapons."

RULES OF THE GAME on the use of force

UN Charter art 2.4." All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

Article 51:Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

No reference to the use of NW in the UN Charter.

RULES OF THE GAME on the use of nuclear weapons

UN General Assembly Resolution number 1 1946:Elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction;

UN Security Council RESOLUTION 984 (1995) **Negative Security Assurances** (NSA) by Nuclear Weapons States (N5) not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States that are party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

RULES OF THE GAME on the use of nuclear weapons

US, Soviet Union, France and UK specified that they could still use NWs if attacked with conventional weapons by a NNWS in association or alliance with a NWS.

Nuclear Weapons Free Zones (Latin America, Africa, South East Asia, Asia Pacific, Central Asia).

NPT 2010 Action Plan 2010 "catastrophic humanitarian consequences of the use of nuclear weapons."

TPNW 2021 total prohibition of NW including use and threat of use.

NATIONAL and collective **DOCTRINES** on the Use of Nuclear weapons

US

"The United States will not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapons states that are party to the NPT and in compliance with their nuclear non-proliferation obligations" (1995).

US nuclear posture Review March 2022:"As long as nuclear weapons exist the **fundamental role** of US nuclear weapons is to deter nuclear attack on the US, their allies and partners". The US would only consider the use of nuclear weapons in extreme circumstances to defend the **vital interests** of the US, its allies and partners.

NATIONAL and collective **DOCTRINES** on the Use of Nuclear weapons

RUSSIA

The Russian Federation **reserves the right** to utilize nuclear weapons in response to the utilization of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction against it and (or) its allies ,and also in the event **of aggression against** the Russian Federation involving the use of conventional weapons when the **very existence of the state** is under threat.

CHINA

China udertakes not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapons States or nuclear weapons free zones at any time and under any circumstances.

NATIONAL and collective **DOCTRINES** on the Use of Nuclear weapons

NATO

The fundamental purpose of NATO's nuclear capability is to preserve peace, prevent coercion and deter aggression. Nuclear weapons are unique. The circumstances in which NATO might have to use nuclear weapons are extremely remote.

EUROPEAN UNION

The European Union has no nuclear doctrine and does not speak with a single voice in NATO and has difficulty in reaching consensus on nuclear disarmament issues.

THE UKRAINE WAR

Budapest Memorandum 1994:

The Russian Federation, the UK and the US reaffirm their obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of Ukraine, and that none of their weapons will ever be used against Ukraine except in self-defence or otherwise in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Russia/Ukraine:

Putin February 24 "Whoever tries to interfere with us should know that Russia's response will be immediate and will lead you to such consequences **that you have never experienced in your history,"** On February 27 Russia's "deterrence forces" were put on "special combat readiness. "Since then references to the use nuclear weapons in the Ukranian context was frequently mentioned by Russian authorities, in particular Medvedev and Peskov mentioned Russia's "**right**" to use nuclear weapons. Territories recently annexed are under Russian nuclear protection.

NFU

In 1964 China unilaterally adopted the **concept of no-first use** and in 1994 formally submitted a draft "Treaty on the Mutual Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons" to the other four nuclear-armed states, and also sought to reach such an agreement on bilateral bases.

In1994 China and Russia **reciprocally** declared that they would not use nuclear weapons first or target each other with those weapons.

NFU

In 1998,India **unilaterally** declared a policy of prohibiting the first use of atomic weapons.

No First Use Global was launched in 2021 to promote the NFU concept. Over 1200 political, military and religious leaders, legislators, academics and scientists endorsed an Open Letter sent to Presidents Biden and Putin promoting NFU

Despite the lack of agreement at the **August 2022 NPT Review Conference**, much was accomplished on nuclear risk reduction and on the call for adoption of the no-first-use concept which for the first time ever was included in the draft final document up until the final few days.