

ICAN BRIEFING

These 35 States are Sabotaging the NPT

5 Nuclear States and 30 Enablers

19 April 2018 – Geneva

In April 2018, states will meet in Geneva for the Preparatory Committee of the Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). ICAN has prepared the following briefing on the state of nuclear disarmament

The five nuclear-weapons states parties to the NPT (China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, United States) are sabotaging the Treaty. They are not taking action to move towards nuclear disarmament, as agreed to under their Treaty obligations.

Instead, all the five NPT nuclear-armed states, along with the four nuclear-armed states outside the Treaty (India, Israel, North Korea, Pakistan), are investing in modernization and upgrade programmes of their nuclear arsenals, which are planned to last for decades. 30 non-nuclear states are enabling them to do this.

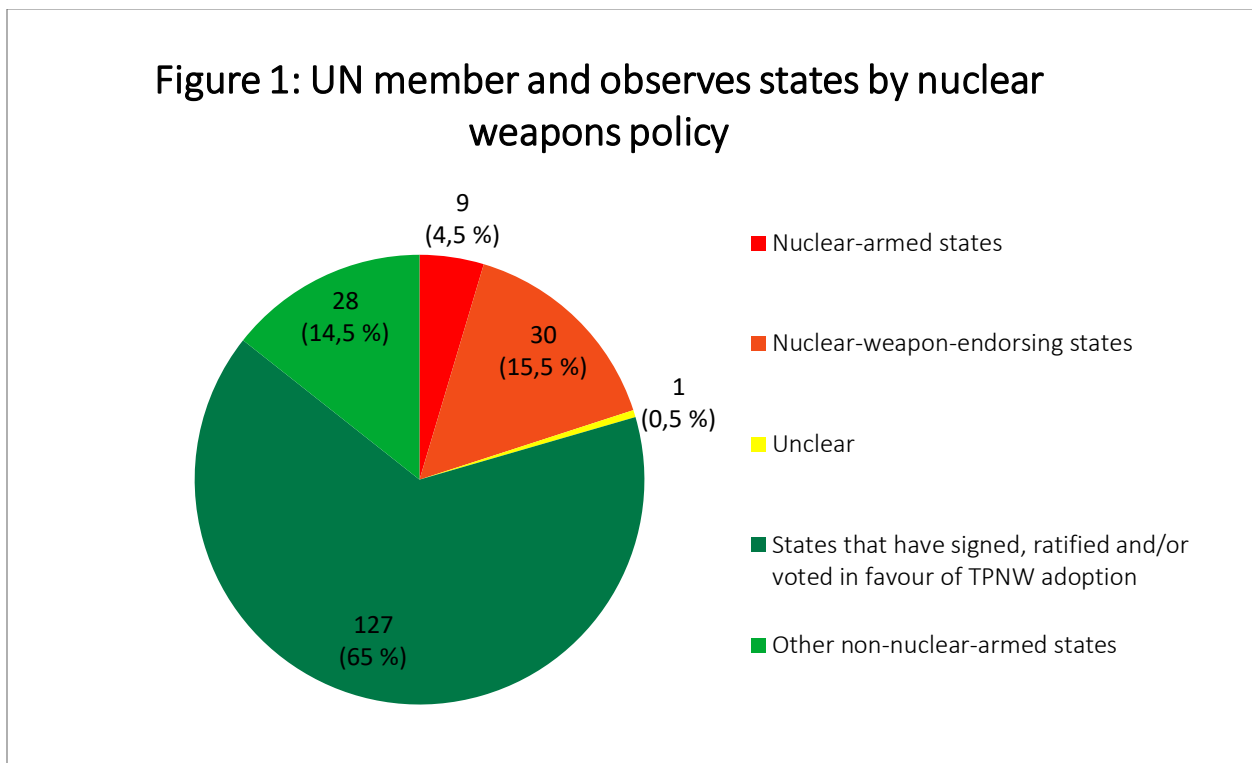
The majority of the world is rejecting nuclear weapons. 155, or four-fifths of the United Nation's 195 member and observer states (80%) have rejected nuclear weapons as an option in their military strategy. Nuclear-free security strategies are the norm, not the exception. However, a minority of 39 states explicitly base their military strategies on the potential use of nuclear weapons. Their policies and practices pose a threat to peace, security, health, and the environment.

Key Findings

- Contradicting the objectives of the NPT and in direct violation of several commitments made by all states through the NPT review conferences, all five nuclear-weapon states parties to the NPT are modernising and upgrading their weapons of mass destruction.
 - 30 more states *enable* nuclear arms races and threats by explicitly basing their national defence partly on the potential use of nuclear weapons by allies (see Table 1). They are undermining the NPT.
 - 5 of the 30 states referred to above host the nuclear weapons of another state on their territories (see Table 4).
 - In addition, a number of private companies, including some with headquarters in non-nuclear-armed states such as Italy and the Netherlands, are involved in the design and production of nuclear weapons.
- One nuclear-armed state, North Korea, continues to test nuclear weapons, and a number of states are building new nuclear missiles, submarines, or bombers.
- Since last year's NPT PrepCom, 127 states have already either signed, ratified or voted in favour of the adoption of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW), implementing Article VI of the NPT.

- The nuclear-armed states and their allies have worked to undermine and discredit the historic 2017 Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, dissuading allies and partners from signing the treaty and implementing Article VI of the NPT.
- Nuclear-armed and nuclear umbrella states' continued and increased reliance on nuclear weapons contradicts the commitments made under the NPT, in particular Action 5 in the 2010 NPT Action Plan, which commits states to “further diminish the role and significance of nuclear weapons in all military and security concepts, doctrines and policies”.
- A number of states allied to the United States and Russia – Kazakhstan, Thailand, the Philippines, and New Zealand – have made it clear they accept no role for nuclear weapons in international affairs; they do not want nuclear weapons to be used on their behalf.

Nuclear Weapons in 2018



155 states, or four-fifths of all UN member and observers states, have rejected any role for nuclear weapons in their military postures. Nuclear-free security strategies are the norm, not the exception. 127 states have already either signed, ratified or voted in favour of the adoption of the TPNW. However, 39 states, or one in five of the world's states, explicitly base their military strategies on the potential use of nuclear weapons. Their policies and practices pose a threat to peace, security, health, and the environment.

Nine of these states possess their own nuclear weapons: China, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK), France, India, Israel, Pakistan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. According to the Federation of American Scientists, these nine nuclear-armed states possessed more than 14,000 nuclear warheads between them in 2018. 30 states have opted not to develop nuclear weapons themselves, but to rely instead on the potential use of weapons of mass destruction on their behalf by one or more allies.

The total number of nuclear weapons in the world has fallen considerably since the estimated peak of more than 75,000 warheads in 1986. Bilateral arms control agreements such as the 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) and the 2010 New START have contributed to a significant reduction of the number of deployed nuclear weapons. But other trends point in a more worrying direction: Since the end of the Cold War, three more states have acquired nuclear weapons. All nuclear-armed states have continued to develop new delivery platforms or warheads. Disarmament agreements concluded at NPT Review Conferences – such as the “13 Steps” to implement Article VI adopted in 2000 and the “Action Plan” concluded in 2010 – have not been honoured. All nuclear-armed states are currently engaged in large nuclear modernisation projects, and the last few years have seen a spike in overt nuclear threat-making. After decades at the top of the disarmament community’s to-do list, negotiations on a Fissile Material (Cutoff) Treaty have not even begun. The nuclear-armed states possess large quantities of fissile material that may be used to produce more weapons.

There are still more than enough nuclear weapons in the world to cause a disastrous nuclear winter. Scientists estimate that even a “limited” nuclear war between India and Pakistan, a conflict in which 100–200 Hiroshima-sized nuclear warheads were detonated in quick succession, could cause significant climatic disturbances resulting in a dramatic and protracted decline in staple food production. According to a report by Physicians for Social Responsibility and International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, such a conflict could leave two billion people at risk of starvation.

Table 1: UN member and observer states by nuclear policy	
Category	States
Nuclear-armed states (9 states)	China, DPRK, France, India, Israel, Pakistan, Russia, United Kingdom, United States.
Nuclear-weapon-endorsing states (30 states)	Albania, Australia, Belarus, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Montenegro, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Turkey.
Unclear (1 state)	Armenia.
States that have signed, ratified and/or voted in favour of TPNW	Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cabo Verde, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia,

adoption (127 states)	Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Holy See, Honduras, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kiribati, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Liechtenstein, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Palau, Palestine, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Moldova, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, San Marino, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Solomon Islands, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Timor-Leste, Togo, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Tuvalu, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zimbabwe.
Other non-nuclear-armed states (28)	Andorra, Barbados, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cameroon, Dominica, Finland, Georgia, Guinea, Kyrgyzstan, Maldives, Mali, Micronesia, Monaco, Nauru, Niger, Rwanda, Serbia, Singapore, Somalia, South Sudan, Swaziland, Syria, Tajikistan, The FYR of Macedonia, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Zambia.

Nuclear arsenals

The United States and Russia together possess about 92 per cent of the world's approximately 14,200 nuclear warheads. But the number of nuclear weapons in the world (or in a single state's possession) is only one dimension of the "arms race". Other important indicators include the average and maximum yields of arsenals, the intensity of financial investments in nuclear weapons technology, and the precision and nature of delivery platforms.

The United States and Russia are also equipped with the greatest number and variety of nuclear-weapons delivery systems. The United States, Russia, and China all possess a nuclear "triad": air-delivered nuclear weapons (gravity bombs or cruise missiles delivered by fighters or bombers);

submarine-launched nuclear weapons; and ground-launched missiles, including intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs).

India is equipped with the technology to deliver nuclear weapons from the air, from ships and from the ground. It is in the process of also developing ICBMs and the capability to deliver nuclear missiles by submarine. Pakistan retains the ability to deliver nuclear weapons from the air and ground.

The DPRK is developing its missile technology at a rapid rate, demonstrating ICBM capability in 2017. The United Kingdom no longer retains nuclear weapons for delivery by air, but continues to deploy nuclear-armed submarines.

France retains nuclear bombers and submarines. Israel has never admitted to possessing nuclear weapons, but is widely believed to maintain ground-launched nuclear missiles and nuclear-capable fighters. It may also have sea-launched nuclear missiles. The breakdown of nuclear weapon capabilities by state is summarised in Table 2.

Table 2: Nuclear weapons systems

State	Air-delivered nuclear weapons	Sea-launched nuclear missiles	Ground-launched nuclear missiles
China	Yes	Yes (intercontinental range)	Yes (intercontinental range)
DPRK	No	In development	Yes (intercontinental range)
France	Yes	Yes (intercontinental range)	No
India	Yes	Yes	Yes (intercontinental range in development)
Israel	Yes	Rumoured	Yes
Pakistan	Yes	No	Yes
Russia	Yes	Yes (intercontinental range)	Yes (intercontinental range)
United Kingdom	No	Yes (intercontinental range)	No
United States	Yes	Yes (intercontinental range)	Yes (intercontinental range)

Military cooperation and acceptance of nuclear use

On our count, 39 states accept the potential use of nuclear weapons as an element of their military strategies. Note, however, that not all alliances that include a nuclear-armed state are automatically a “nuclear alliance” or “umbrella”. For example, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, New Zealand, the Philippines, and Thailand all maintain military alliances with either Russia or the United States, but have – either through national statements or signature and ratification of the TPNW or regional nuclear prohibition treaties – explicitly declared that they do not accept the use of nuclear weapons

Table 3: Nuclear alliances

Nuclear alliance	States
NATO	Albania, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Montenegro, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States.
Bilateral alliances	Russia, Belarus. United States, Australia. United States, Japan. United States, Republic of Korea.
CSTO – unclear	Belarus, Armenia, Russia.

under any circumstances. Other US and Russian allies, however, have expressly accepted the perceived protection of their ally’s nuclear arsenal.

US allies Australia, Japan, and the Republic of Korea, as well as the Russian ally Belarus, have all made explicit statements or published strategy documents endorsing the potential use of nuclear weapons. The 29 members of NATO have also accepted potential nuclear use as an element of their military postures. According to NATO’s 2012 “Deterrence and Defence Posture Review”, the “supreme guarantee” of the allies’ security “is provided by the strategic nuclear forces of the alliance”. While some of the alliance’s members maintain policies not to allow the stationing of nuclear weapons on their territories, none of the allies have rejected the first use of nuclear weapons on their behalf. The Russian-led Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) has also been described as a nuclear alliance. But while the CSTO’s Secretary General has suggested that Moscow has extended a “nuclear umbrella” over all members of the alliance, the CSTO’s members do not appear to have adopted official documents stipulating a nuclear dimension to the CSTO. On the contrary, three of the CSTO’s members have actively distanced themselves from nuclear deterrence. Through the 2006 Treaty of Semipalatinsk – the treaty establishing Central Asia as a nuclear-weapon-free zone – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan have committed never to “assist or encourage” the development, manufacture, or possession of nuclear weapons. Kazakhstan has also signed the TPNW. The last member of the CSTO, Armenia, has not publicly rejected the potential use of nuclear weapons on its behalf.

Several non-nuclear NATO allies routinely take part in nuclear war exercises. At the “Steadfast Noon” drill in 2017, Poland and the Czech Republic practiced supporting nuclear attacks with conventional air tactics (so-called SNOWCAT exercises). Belgium, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands, for their part, likely practiced the direct use of the B-61 nuclear gravity bombs the United States stations on their territories.

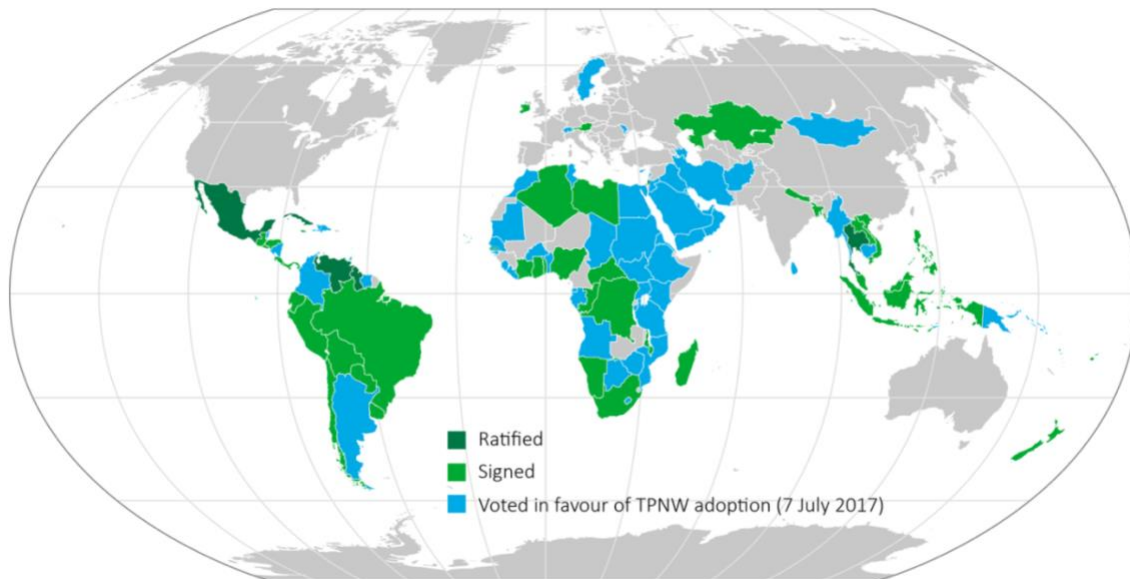
Hosting of nuclear weapons

Five states are widely believed to “host” the nuclear weapons of another state, that is, to allow the stationing of an ally’s nuclear weapons on their soil. As set out in Table 4, Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Turkey all host American B-61 nuclear gravity bombs on their territories. The number of US nuclear bombs stationed in Europe has been significantly reduced since the Cold War, and there have been several attempts by European policy makers to have the remaining weapons withdrawn, but approximately 180 bombs are believed to remain on the continent.

Table 4: Hosts of nuclear weapons

State	Base/location
Belgium	Kline Brogel Air Base (Limburg)
Germany	Büchel Air Base (Rheinland–Pfalz)
Italy	Aviano Air Base (Friuli–Venezia Giulia) and Ghedi Air Base (Lombardia)
Netherlands	Volkel Air Base (Noord-Brabant)
Turkey	Incirlik Air Base (Adana)

Status of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons



The TPNW was adopted on 7 July 2017 by 122 states at a diplomatic conference established by the UN General Assembly. Only one state, the Netherlands, voted against the Treaty’s adoption, while a second, Singapore, abstained. However, a number of states – predominantly those that accept the potential use of nuclear weapons as an element of their military posture – declined to take part in the negotiations.

The Treaty was opened for signature on 20 September 2017, with Brazil, a champion of the agreement, becoming its first signatory. The TPNW will enter into force 90 days after its 50th ratification.

Table 6: Support for the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW)

Category	States
Ratified (7)	Cuba, Guyana, Holy See, Mexico, Palestine, Thailand, Venezuela.
Signed (58)	Algeria, Austria, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Cabo Verde, Chile, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ecuador, El Salvador, Fiji, Gambia, Ghana, Guatemala, Honduras, Indonesia, Ireland, Jamaica, Kazakhstan, Kiribati, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Liechtenstein, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Namibia, Nepal, New Zealand, Nigeria, Palau, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, San Marino, Sao Tome and Principe, South Africa, Togo, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Viet Nam.
Voted in favour of TPNW (7 July 2017), but yet to sign and ratify (122)	Malta, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Oman, Papua New Guinea, Qatar, Moldova, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Switzerland, Timor-Leste, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, Tanzania, Yemen, Zimbabwe.

As of 18 April 2018, 58 UN member states and permanent observers had signed the Treaty and seven of them had also ratified. The rate of TPNW ratifications is thus of a similar speed to comparable legal instruments, such as the 2013 Arms Trade Treaty and the 2008 Oslo Convention on Cluster Munitions.

ABOUT ICAN:

The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) is a coalition of non-governmental organizations in one hundred countries promoting adherence to and implementation of the United Nations nuclear weapon ban treaty. This landmark global agreement was adopted in New York on 7 July 2017. The campaign was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize 2017, for its “groundbreaking efforts to achieve a treaty-based prohibition” of nuclear weapons. www.ICANw.org