

Agenda for the *Seventh Annual Conference* of the
**BISA Global Nuclear Order Working
Group:**

A Nuclear Order in Flux? Surviving the Next 75 years...

Hosted by the University of Leicester, 15th-16th
December 2020 via Microsoft Teams.

All welcome, but please register!

Conference Programme

Day 1, 15th December

12-12:15 **Opening remarks, Andrew Futter, Hassan Elbahtimy and Laura Considine**

12:15-2 **Panel 1: Norms, ethics and nuclear philosophy**

Chair: Josh Baker (Leicester)

- Carolina Pantoliano Panico – (Uni of Auckland), *Understanding nuclear resilience in normative terms: the appropriateness of the weapon and the power of normative entanglement.*
- Rebekah K. Pullen (McMaster University) - *Beyond the Boundary: Interrogating the political problem of the nuclear weapon myth*
- Rhys Crilley - *Unparalleled Catastrophe: Exterminism in the New Nuclear Age*
- Antoine Bousquet (Birkbeck, University of London) & Jairus Grove (University of Hawai'i) - *Between Oblivion and Forever: A Critique of Nuclear Reason*

2:15-3:45 **Panel 2: South Asia and the Indo-Pacific**

Chair: Sana Rahim (Leicester)

- Faizan Rai – (private sector) - *Exposing the South Asian Nuclear Taboo: Localising the Character and Outcomes of the Nuclear Taboo in India and Pakistan*
- Shivani Singh (Aberystwyth) - *Nuclear Security Architecture & Radiological Disaster Response in India: Progress and Challenges*
- Shounak Set, (KCL) - *Nuclear Proliferation, India and the New World Order: A Study in Nuclear Transitions*
- Lucas F. Hellemeier, (Freie Universität Berlin), *Assessing the consequences of nuclear asymmetries in the Indo-Pacific*

4-5 **Panel 3: New technologies**

Chair: Bleddyn Bowen (Leicester)

- James Johnson, (Dublin City) - *Deterrence in the Age of Artificial Intelligence & Autonomy*
- Mochament El Saer (KCL) - *The impact of Hypersonic Missiles on Strategic Stability (US - Russia Paradigm)*

- Shayesta Nishat Ahmed (Jawaharlal Nehru University) - *India's Nuclear Sea-Deterrence Force Upgradation– New Areas to Scale in the Indo-Pacific*

5:15-6:15 Keynote: Angela Kane, former UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs.

Day 2, 16th December

12:15-2 Panel 4: Disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation

Chair: Hassan Elbahtimy (KCL)

- Paul Shulte (Bham) - *Covenants and the Nuclear Future: “Treaty Regime Fragility Awareness”, Historical Periodicity, and the JIC Test*
- Ryan Musto (Stanford) – *Is the spread of regional denuclearization dead?*
- Jannis Kappelmann (KCL & SCRAP) - *What's next with the Ban Treaty? - Investigating the potential impact of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons on the global governance of nuclear weapons*
- Nasir Jammu (National Defence University, Islamabad) - *China as a Third Party and Pakistan-India Arms Control Talks from 2004 to 2008*
- Cem Boke (KCL), Zenobia Homan (KCL) and Amna Javed (Quaid-i-Azam University) - *Analysing Turkish Nuclear Nonproliferation Rhetoric*

2:15-3:45 Panel 5: Domestic politics and identity

Chair: Cameron Hunter (Leicester, TBC)

- Thomas Fraise, (Sciences Po.) - *Looking for the nuclear State: Political science and the (absent) domestic effects of nuclear weapons*
- Nicola Leveringhaus (KCL) - *China and the Domestic Politics of Nuclear Weapons Commemoration*
- Luba Zatssepina-McCreadie – (University of Edinburgh & RUSI) - *The Relevance of Identity Constructions to Understanding Nuclear Policies of States: A Poststructuralist Gender-mindful Approach.*
- Maren Vieluf (IFSH) - *Conflicting priorities: Democracy, nuclear decision-making processes and the example of Germany as a NATO nuclear sharing host nation*

- David M. Allison & Stephen Herzog (Yale) - *Strike Justification, Retaliation Risk, and Public Support for Nuclear Weapon Use*

4-5:15 Panel 6: Interrogating the NPT

Chair: Laura Considine (Leeds)

- Orion Noda (KCL) - *Spillover Proliferation: The NPT as a Symbolic Proliferator*
- Ignacio Cartagena (University of Madrid) - *From regulations to norms: the metamorphosis of the nonproliferation regime*
- Lyndon Burford (KCL) - *Nuclear deterrence: the 'ghost pillar' of the NPT*
- Tom Sauer (Antwerp) & Joellen Pretorius (University of the Western Cape) - *It is Time to Ditch the NPT*

Conference End.

Keynote Speaker: Professor Angela Kane

Angela Kane held the post of UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs from 2012 to 2015. She provided the strategy, vision, and thought leadership for the UN on its multilateral disarmament and non-proliferation agenda. She was responsible for the investigation of allegations of chemical weapons use in Syria in 2013.

She held senior positions at the United Nations in political affairs and peacekeeping, and served as Under-Secretary-General for Management for four years. Her field experience includes Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE), a special assignment to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and postings in Indonesia and Thailand.

Angela currently teaches at Sciences Po Paris School of International Affairs and at Tsinghua University/Schwarzman Scholars in Beijing. She is the Chair of the United Nations University Council and a member of advisory and executive boards in Europe, the United States, and Asia. She is a Senior Fellow at the Vienna Center for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation, and Vice President of the Institute for Peace in Vienna.



Presentation Abstracts

Carolina Pantoliano Panico – (University of Auckland), *Understanding nuclear resilience in normative terms: the appropriateness of the weapon and the power of normative entanglement.*

This article examines the resilience of nuclear weapons. Despite decades of norm contestation regarding disarmament, the weapon is still considered a cornerstone of international security. The argument put forward in this paper is that a logic of appropriateness sustains the meaning of nuclear weapons as ordinary and righteous elements of the international security landscape. Drawing on constructivist norm theory, the study contends that beyond nonproliferation and non-use, the nuclear deterrence norm legitimises the existence and possession of nuclear weapons. The norm is sustained and constituted by a set of elements with a normative appellation, associated with social understandings of nuclear politics institutions and emotions, composing a robust structure of normative entanglement. Nuclear resilience, therefore, is a consequence of normative entanglement rather than separate parts. This article contributes to the body of work investigating power dynamics upholding global nuclear order. It also seeks to support the development of nuclear disarmament initiatives.

Lucas F. Hellemeier, (Freie Universität Berlin), *Assessing the consequences of nuclear asymmetries in the Indo-Pacific*

The US nuclear arsenal dwarves that of China despite recent efforts to modernize and diversify Chinese nuclear capabilities. Nevertheless, Chinese leadership appears to be confident about its deterring effect. If this holds, military action on a conventional level might even be more likely. This reasoning follows the ‘stability-instability paradox’ which states that stability on the nuclear level increases the risk of escalation on a conventional level. Actors might deem military actions that remain under the nuclear threshold as feasible since they will not lead to nuclear escalation. This paper takes a closer look at the nuclear asymmetries in the Indo- Pacific between the United States and China. In a second step, I will try to draw conclusions from the observed asymmetries by examining both sides’ strategy papers and recent studies on potential conflicts between the alleged superpowers of the 21st century. I find that both sides seem to calculate that military action below the nuclear threshold is possible with China being somewhat more confident about non-escalation to the nuclear level. I conclude by laying out the various weaknesses in these beliefs along with the potentials for nuclear escalation if military action between China and the US were to occur.

James Johnson, (Dublin City) - *Deterrence in the Age of Artificial Intelligence & Autonomy: A paradigm shift in nuclear deterrence theory and practice?*

How might nuclear deterrence be affected by the proliferation of artificial intelligence (AI) and autonomous systems? How might the introduction of intelligent machines affect human-to-

human (and human-to-machine) deterrence? Are existing theories of deterrence still applicable in the age of AI and autonomy? The paper builds on the rich body of work on nuclear deterrence theory and practice and highlights some of the variegated and contradictory – especially human cognitive psychological – effects of AI and autonomy for nuclear deterrence. It argues that existing theories of deterrence are not applicable in the age of AI and autonomy and introducing intelligent machines into the nuclear enterprise will affect nuclear deterrence in unexpected ways with fundamentally destabilizing outcomes. The paper speaks to a growing consensus from advocates and critics of nuclear deterrence calling for conceptual innovation and novel approaches. It builds on the nascent modern post-classical deterrence theorizing that considers the implications of introducing non-human agents into human strategic interactions.

Mochament El Saer - *The impact of Hypersonic Missiles on Strategic Stability (US - Russia Paradigm)*

The emergence of hypersonic missiles reflects the future of military technology. This diffusion of unconventional dual-use military technology has an evolutionary, if not revolutionary, impact on both the practice and conduct of modern warfare. This presentation explores the impact of hypersonic missiles on strategic stability and nuclear deterrence. The presentation is structured in three parts. The first part analyses the technical concept of hypersonics and its tactical utility. The second part presents the origins and drivers of proliferation, which are addressed through a strategic and politico-historical viewpoint (action-reaction phenomenon, the military-industrial complex, domestic politics). The third part surveys to what extent hypersonic capabilities change the strategic context. Some scholars claim that hypersonics destabilize deterrence by increasing the risk of first strikes and by raising warhead ambiguity risks. Is that the case? Do hypersonics increase escalation risks? The main argument of the speaker is that hypersonics do not pose mounting escalation risks but could increase the probabilities of poor pre-crisis management. The sheer purpose of this presentation, which briefly presents the results of my master's thesis, is to provide new evidence of how emerging hypersonic technology influences the US-Russian nuclear balance and deterrence.

Ignacio Cartagena (Madrid Uni) - *From regulations to norms: the metamorphosis of the nonproliferation regime*

The nonproliferation regime is going through an unprecedented phase of strain and discredit. The paralysis of classic nonproliferation fora, exemplified by the uncertainties surrounding the NPT and its review cycles, is aggravated by a number of developments: the mounting complexity of international relations, the emergence of new technologies and threats and the increasing role of non-state actors. In the current framework, “soft law” instruments, such as political declarations, cooperation frameworks and scientific partnerships, are colonizing the multilateral agenda at a high pace. They seem to better encompass new concepts and developments, while coping with a deteriorating international environment and lack of appetite for consensus. New normative instruments are quite different in nature from traditional ones: they are neither binding nor directly enforceable, and they do not necessarily aspire to universality. They rely on the imitation effect, the reputational impact of noncompliance and

the political alignment of their signatories. Our presentation aims at exploring the compatibility, and possible ways of interaction between new “soft law” instruments and traditional nonproliferation institutions.

Faizan Rai – (private sector) - *Exposing the South Asian Nuclear Taboo: Localising the Character and Outcomes of the Nuclear Taboo in India and Pakistan*

It is widely observed that a normative nuclear ‘taboo’ exists within the international system, powerfully influencing non-use behaviours within nuclear weapon states. However, scholarship has failed to understand how the nuclear taboo manifests in different regions, states and contexts. This presentation exposes a distinctly socialised nuclear taboo in India and Pakistan. Through the frameworks of normative localisation theory, this presentation examines the taboo’s unique socialisation and manifestation, rooted in an interaction between long-standing Indian and Pakistani non-use ethics and local interests, alongside the influences of international discourse and expectations within the global nuclear regime. Specifically, it exposes why localisation is important, the ‘flexible’ character of the South Asian taboo, and its particularistic regulative, constitutive and permissive outcomes. Ultimately, comprehending historic, contemporary, *and* future nuclear issues requires a multidimensional global study, which respects the nuances of localised nuclear environments. This presentation applies this approach to normative nuclear non-use in South Asia.

Cem Boke (KCL), Zenobia Homan (KCL) and Anna Javed (Quaid-i-Azam University) - *Analysing Turkish Nuclear Nonproliferation Rhetoric*

We are presenting a study of public statements made by Turkish government representatives, contrasting attitudes on nuclear nonproliferation before and after the alleged military coup attempt in 2016. Over the last decade Turkish officials have grown increasingly critical of a perceived ‘double standard’ in the international nonproliferation regime, with a recent shift from defensive to more assertive rhetoric. Our analysis contextualises Turkish public statements on nonproliferation, to understand the government’s rationale. Significant political developments in this period include diminishing democracy in Turkey and the emergence of acute foreign policy differences with NATO and EU countries. At the same time, Turkish President Erdoğan has also been seeking to consolidate domestic power and play a more decisive role in the Middle East. Accordingly, our research calls into question how and why nuclear nonproliferation discourse in Turkey is created - and we examine whether this new rhetoric has the potential to represent real policy.

Thomas Fraise, (Sciences Po.) - *Looking for the nuclear State: Political science and the (absent) domestic effects of nuclear weapons*

What happens when a State “becomes nuclear”? How can we find a valid answer to this question? With its heavy focus on proliferation, nuclear weapons scholarship has provided various answer to these questions, most of them related to its international behavior. Surprisingly, only a few authors have inquired about the impact of the introduction of nuclear weapons in domestic politics. Reviewing the existing literature, I argue that three answers are available, coming from the field of historical sociology, nuclear security studies, and political

theory: passive influence, sectorial disruption and radical enlargement of the polity. But all these answers are unsatisfying in different ways as they look either away, below, or beyond the problem of nuclear weapons and the domestic State. Consequently, I argue that we are not adequately able to answer the question and first need to change the way we look at them to properly understand the “nuclear State”.

Lyndon Burford (KCL) - *Nuclear deterrence: the ‘ghost pillar’ of the NPT*

Nuclear deterrence is a ‘ghost pillar’ of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT): a powerful but mostly invisible background structure which is not officially recognised in the Treaty, but nonetheless sets the boundaries for implementing the ‘official’ NPT pillars: nonproliferation, disarmament and peaceful uses. Just like ghosts, not everyone believes in nuclear deterrence. The nuclear weapon states and their allies argue that it helps fulfil the NPT’s objectives by preventing nuclear war, enhancing national security, reducing incentives for allies to acquire nuclear weapons, and creating the environment needed for disarmament. Conversely, many non-nuclear weapon states believe nuclear deterrence is inherently destabilizing, incentivizes arms racing and proliferation, and undermines security by creating an unacceptable risk of catastrophic humanitarian harm. To safeguard the NPT, states need institutionalize meaningful dialogues, most likely outside the NPT to incorporate non-members, on the relationships between nuclear deterrence, disarmament, and risk, and incorporate the results into the NPT.

Nicola Leveringhaus (KCL) - *China and the Domestic Politics of Nuclear Weapons Commemoration*

This paper sets out to understand both the nature and timing of nuclear commemoration in China, and its implications for understanding how China views its nuclear weapons as part of its broader national identity today. It is argued that what is happening is more than simply commemoration, but instead part of a broader political narrative of ‘rejuvenation’ around China’s national identity. Ultimately, under Xi Jinping, China’s nuclear past is finally becoming present.

Luba Zatsepina-McCreadie – (Edinburgh & RUSI) - *The Relevance of Identity Constructions to Understanding Nuclear Policies of States: A Poststructuralist Gender-mindful Approach.*

The key contribution of ideational IR scholarship to our understanding of what drives nuclear policy is that nuclear decisions are not only rational or security-driven, and identity constructions shape these decisions to a large extent. However, identity-focused IR studies of nuclear weapons proliferation and disarmament have been dominated by various strands of constructivism. This presentation will highlight the deficiencies of constructivist approaches to nuclear condition and emphasise the utility of adopting a poststructuralist gender-mindful approach. It will demonstrate that understanding identity as discursively constituted, relational, and existing in a mutually constitutive relationship with policy, can take our understanding of the connection between identity and policy beyond causality. Such conceptualisations of

identity enable a deeper understanding of how identities function in discourse and how policies are legitimised. It shows how ideas and material factors are intertwined to an extent that they become inseparable.

Orion Noda (KCL) - *Spillover Proliferation: The NPT as a Symbolic Proliferator*

2020 marked the 50th anniversary of the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), and questions regarding both its importance and its meaning arise. To this end, in this article I propose a framework focusing on the symbolism of nuclear weapons and the NPT to provide a new analytical prism and new avenues to think about the drivers of non-proliferation and disarmament. This article is structured in two parts: firstly, I present a theoretical model, drawing from Semiotics, focusing on symbolism as a driver for behaviour. I argue that nuclear behaviour is influenced by the intersubjective semiotic processes that determine different actors' symbolic perceptions of nuclear weapons, and understanding this variable is crucial to shaping the global nuclear order. Secondly, I turn my attention to the NPT, analysing its role in the past 50 years and its role in the future of the global nuclear order.

Rebekah K. Pullen (McMaster University) - *Beyond the Boundary: Interrogating the political problem of the nuclear weapon myth*

Walter Benjamin's conceptualization of Niobe demonstrates how myth allows us to acknowledge boundary markers between political accountability and 'divine chaos', thereby recognizing sovereignty. I apply Benjamin's framework to the destructive power of nuclear weapons, considering it a manifestation of 'divine chaos' and a subsequent example of ultimate unaccountable 'undoing.' Accordingly, when treated as a legitimate security tool, nuclear weapons represent a belief that divine chaos can be controlled – that we can move the boundary markers of history. But a claim to management creates a false-accountability over the sovereignty of nuclear violence, allowing political entitlements to the future. It is this manufactured nuclear accountability that permeates and promotes naturalized realist ontologies within IR and conceptions of nuclear (in)security. By ignoring the boundary markers that identify the realm of divine chaos, we mythologize our own sense of nuclear control, generating paradoxical deterrence theories and building nuclear security on chaotic foundations.

Tom Sauer (Antwerp) - *It is Time to Ditch the NPT*

In this article we argue that the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) has become an impediment to a world free of nuclear weapons. The continuation of the distinction between a small club of "haves" and a very large group of "have nots" is not sustainable. Despite its negotiated intent of delivering nuclear disarmament in addition to non-proliferation, the NPT has been turned into a status quo treaty. Nothing in the practice of the nuclear armed states suggests their readiness to change their nuclear status. This is unacceptable to the majority of non-nuclear weapon states and was reflected by the arrival of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (or Ban Treaty). While the Ban Treaty in

principle compliments the NPT, it is also a decisive move towards nuclear disarmament. If the nuclear armed states do not switch gears after the entry into force of the Ban Treaty, we predict and also prescribe the end of the NPT in the form of non-nuclear weapons states exercising their right to withdraw from the treaty.

Ryan Musto (Stanford) – *Is the spread of regional denuclearization dead?*

This past decade is the first since the 1950s – when the concept entered into existence – without an agreement reached for a nuclear-weapon-free zone (NWFZ). Over the past sixty years, NWFZs have been created for nine regions of the world and beyond. But where (if anywhere) is next? My presentation will draw upon historical examples to help shed light on the opportunities and obstacles found with on-going proposals for NWFZs in some of the most contentious areas of the world, such as the Korean Peninsula, the Middle East, and the Arctic. Along the way, I highlight the importance of NWFZs with respect to the global nuclear landscape and position them as a bridge between the NPT and Ban Treaty regimes. I also identify intermediary steps that can be taken to help foster progress on proposals for NWFZs before final agreements are reached.

Paul Shulte (Bham) - *Covenants and the Nuclear Future: “Treaty Regime Fragility Awareness”, Historical Periodicity, and the JIC Test*

Discussions and campaigns involving nuclear (and other WMD) risk reduction, strategic stability, deep cuts and eventual elimination rely fundamentally upon Treaties as spurs, mechanisms and guarantees of progress. This presentation looks critically at the mixed records of WMD Treaties in different 20th and 21st historical circumstances, and at the gap between campaigners and critical theorists, who seemingly lack, or insistently underplay, awareness of the fragility of treaty regimes, and governments, who are all too aware of that fragility and deliberately take it into their calculations. It outlines key forms of state behaviour which increase treaty regime fragility and argues for more attention to diagnosing, understanding and overcoming them. It suggests a Joint Intelligence Committee test (“*Could you plausibly argue for this in your national JIC?*”) to examine the status of arms control and disarmament proposals.

Nasir Jammu (National Defence University, Islamabad) - *China as a Third Party and Pakistan-India Arms Control Talks from 2004 to 2008*

Arms Control is a sophisticated and yet distinctive concept and policy instrument. It concerns with the adjustment of military means (both conceptual and material) in line with a particular conception of security. It is essentially context dependent. Like a chameleon, it reflects not only the immediate condition of deterrence stability, but also the broader security environment. This presentation systematically frames and discerns the role of China as a third party in influencing the Pakistan-India arms control process from 2004 to 2008. The presentation argues that China itself as a third party has played a constructive role by providing conducive environment and necessary assistance to the negotiating parties. However, the conflicting perception of Pakistan and India about China as a third party evidently restricted them from

agreeing to substantive arms control agreements. The presentation concludes that both Pakistan and India need to institutionalize discussions to bridge perceptions about the role of China as a third party along with their bilateral arms control processes.

Maren Vieluf (IFSH) - *Conflicting priorities: Democracy, nuclear decision-making processes and the example of Germany as a NATO nuclear sharing host nation*

Nuclear weapons play a significant role in international relations. Decisions on nuclear weapons policies are among the most important decisions for any country. Yet, it appears as if nuclear policy-making is less democratic than other areas of security policy. When it comes to nuclear policy decision-making, there is comparatively little input from legislatures and citizens. If nuclear weapon policies are mostly influenced by small groups of decision-makers and experts, what does that mean for the democratic legitimacy of nuclear weapons policies? The paper will analyse this question from the perspective of Germany, a non-nuclear weapon state that is part of an extended nuclear security arrangement. It reviews existing literature on the relationship between democracy and nuclear weapons, sketches the roles of the Bundestag, expert audiences and the public in German debates on NATO's nuclear sharing arrangement and procurement of a new dual-capable aircraft. It concludes with an assessment of how democratic nuclear decision-making in Germany is.

Rhys Crilley - *Unparalleled Catastrophe: Exterminism in the New Nuclear Age*

The recent collapse of the INF treaty, reemergent nuclear ambitions in Iran and North Korea, alongside heightened tensions between the USA, Russia, and China have heralded the dawn of a new nuclear age. With the possible collapse of the New START treaty looming, as well as the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons entering into international law early next year, the new nuclear age is wrought with uncertainty. How can we make sense of what is happening? This paper draws upon the nascent scholarship within critical nuclear studies, alongside the thinking of the Cold War peace activist and historian E.P. Thompson, to develop the concept of nuclear exterminism – understood as characteristics of society that ‘thrust it in a direction whose outcome must be the extermination of multitudes’ (Thompson 1982: 20) – in order to make sense of recent events in the new nuclear age.

Shayesta Nishat Ahmed (Jawaharlal Nehru University) - *India's Nuclear Sea-Deterrence Force Upgradation– New Areas to Scale in the Indo-Pacific*

India has been steadily on the path of strengthening its Naval defences and stealth capabilities in order to maintain strategic stability in its immediate neighbourhood. The growing significance of the Indo-Pacific has also been instrumental in this recent spurt in the testing and introduction of newer missile systems and technologies in order to fortify the maritime security of the country. Additionally, in the light of the recent border conflict escalations and political head-butting between India and the People's Republic of China (PRC), the vigorous succession of strategic missile and technology delivery testing mechanisms, could be more well placed. The paper would also analyse how the newer developments surrounding the

QUAD partnership, has also been instrumental in providing a secure background to bolster these strategic arms upgradations which India has brought in.

Shivani Singh (Aberystwyth) - *Nuclear Security Architecture & Radiological Disaster Response in India: Progress and Challenges*

The nuclear security architecture in India is three-fold: the infrastructure security including physical security of the nuclear plant; port and border security including training and capacity building to prevent any illicit trafficking of nuclear material into the country; and the inter-institutional coordination at the Centre and State level during radiological emergencies. However, there exist structural weaknesses that need to be accounted for in all these three areas. It is imperative to develop capacities not only for safe handling, transport and disposal of nuclear material but also instituting stringent cyber-security laws, border security measures along with functional Centre-State coordination in crisis situations for the safety and security of the general population. These measures will help in combatting the risks for proliferation of sensitive nuclear material and technology. The following paper seeks to address these challenges and provide recommendations for strengthening the nuclear security and disaster response framework in India.

Antoine Bousquet (Birkbeck, University of London) & Jairus Grove (University of Hawai'i) - *Between Oblivion and Forever: A Critique of Nuclear Reason*

Beneath the utility maximizing discourse of relative gains and game theory, nuclear strategic thought is indebted to a distinctive metaphysics. What has been written about nuclear numbing or the corrosive effects of instrumental rationality presume that the architects of the nuclear era were deficient, lacking or broken in some way. We argue instead that they had a robust system of beliefs that affirmative not just the nuclear peace but the very real possibility of nuclear catastrophe. Focusing primarily on John Von Neumann, Herman Kahn, and Werner Von Braun, the paper explores the nuclear cosmology of survival, adaptation, and evolution that while forgotten still structures what we call nuclear reason. Nuclear reason allows for the patently absurd not to just appear rational but to actually function in a way that is internally coherent such that scenario decisions about killing millions in pursuit of victory can be planned, not in spite of moral consideration, but as a moral imperative. Rather than merely disputing the claims of these thinkers, the paper attempts to reconstruct the ways in which they came to understand the cosmos, history, and the meaning of life in the pursuit of nuclear superiority.

Jannus Kapplemann (SOAS, SCRAP) - *What's next with the Ban Treaty? - Investigating the potential impact of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons on the global governance of nuclear weapons*

On the 22nd of January 2021, the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) will enter into force, banning nuclear weapons under international law. As states possessing nuclear weapons disagree and might continue to oppose the TPNW, it is important to ask which potential the treaty really has to change the global governance of nuclear weapons.

This paper aims to investigate impacts on international norms that the TPNW already has and might unfold in the future. It asks how this norm-change could impact financial institutions, nuclear weapon production, policies of individual countries and how nuclear weapons are perceived in alliances such as NATO. The paper argues that the treaty itself might not be the determining factor for impactful norm changes, but how civil society and state parties to the treaty use the leverage of changed international law to pressure nuclear weapons states and especially their allies.

Shounak Set, (KCL) - *Nuclear Proliferation, India and the New World Order: A Study in Nuclear Transitions*

While the Indian nuclear tests (1998) heralded the ‘Second Nuclear Age’, the India-USA Civil Nuclear Agreement (2008) marked the reorientation of the global nuclear order; these portended profound repercussions on international relations and epitomized the confluence of global and domestic factors. The paper contends that existing literature is circumscribed by linear classifications between domestic and external processes and provide partial explanation for Indian nuclear behaviour. India is several ways an outlier case in nuclear issues, and the paper investigates nuclear decision-making in India through a Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) prism. To that end, Bayesian reasoning is utilised to perform process tracing on data collected from recently concluded fieldtrip, and insights from international relations, security studies, diplomatic history and comparative politics integrated to explain these episodic transformations. Such an exercise, contests prevailing theoretical assumptions, connects domestic politics to the nuclear sphere, and contextualises nuclear policymaking in India. This illustrates nuclear decision-making in an emerging power and facilitates meaningful understanding and interpretation of nuclear issues.

David M. Allison & Stephen Herzog (Yale) - *Strike Justification, Retaliation Risk, and Public Support for Nuclear Weapon Use*

What determines public support for the use of nuclear weapons in conflict, and are Americans deterred by nuclear retaliation? A wave of recent survey experiments in international relations has illuminated the conditions for public (dis)approval of nuclear weapon use. Scholars now understand how concepts like collateral damage and international norms may affect public perceptions. However, the literature predominantly focuses on public opinion regarding the nuclear-armed United States seeking revenge against non-nuclear adversaries. Consequently, the field lacks a clear test of how non-revenge justifications for using nuclear weapons, and direct nuclear threats to respondents and their loved ones, affect public sentiments. We attempt to fill this critical gap in the nuclear deterrence and strategy literature with a survey experiment on a nationally representative sample of the US public ($N = 1100$). The findings have several implications for improving scholarly understanding and analysis of most-likely cases of nuclear crises.

About the BISA Global Nuclear Order Working Group

The BISA Global Nuclear Order Working Group was founded to bring together a diverse range of scholars, practitioners and professionals and so submissions from post-graduate students, non-academics and those working in other disciplines are particularly welcome. The Conference is hosted by the University of Leicester and by the Intelligence, Security and Strategic Studies working group in the School of History, Politics and International Relations (HyPIR).