Extinction Pathway?

Spiralling military spending is already wrecking lives and the planet. Should we be looking for security elsewhere?

Dr Philip Webber



http://www.sgr.org.uk/

philw@sgr.org.uk

https://www.sgr.org.uk/projects/nuclear-weapons-threat-main-outputs

Dr Phil Webber

Thursday 2nd November

> Extinction Pathway? How spiralling military spending is wrecking lives and the planet

2023 judged to be most dangerous in humanity's history

The Doomsday Clock was invented in 1947 for the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* as a powerful symbol of the likelihood of a human-made global catastrophe caused by nuclear weapons. Nowadays including environmental and technological threats.

For many Cold War years clock set to several minutes before midnight.

IT IS 90 SECONDS TO MIDNIGHT

90 seconds to midnight

Reasons ...

□ a new heightened risk of nuclear war;

□ a growing climate emergency;

D political systems riven with dangerous and deliberate misinformation;

continued destruction of the natural world with ideal conditions for the emergence of new dangerous viruses and pathogens such as COVID-19, bird flu, and Ebola;
 OR their deliberate creation

□ We're exceeding <u>six</u> of nine planetary survival boundaries

Global military spending 2022

□ World military expenditure rose 3.7% - reaching record high: \$2240 billion.

Global spending grew 19% 2013–22 & has risen every year since 2015.

Russia's invasion of Ukraine major driver of growth in spending 2022.

European military expenditure up 13% - largest annual increase post-Cold War.

□ Mainly increases in Russian and Ukrainian spending.

USA \$877bn 39%

China \$292bn 13%

Given State Russia \$86.4bn 3.9%

India \$81bn 3.6%

Saudi A \$75bn 3.3%

UK \$68.5bn 3.1%

Germany, France \$54bn - 2.5% each

World military expenditure 2022

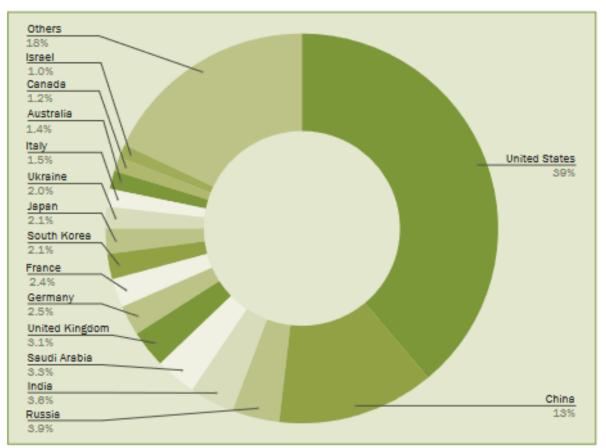


Figure 2. The share of world military expenditure of the 15 countries with the highest spending in 2022

Source: SIPRI Military Expenditure Database, Apr. 2023.

Latest UK military expenditure

Core military spending £bn	2021-22	2022-23	2023-24	2024-25
	45.9	53.1	50.9	51.7

Excluding

£2.3bn/yr for Ukraine

Plus £0.5bn more announced July 2023 (and again post-2025)

£1.5 – 2bn / yr new nuclear weapon spending up to 2025

- new nuclear-armed nuclear-powered submarines (Dreadnought/ Trident)
- increased number of warheads 260 up from 140
- conventionally-armed nuclear-powered submarines (Trafalgar, Astute, and AUKUS)

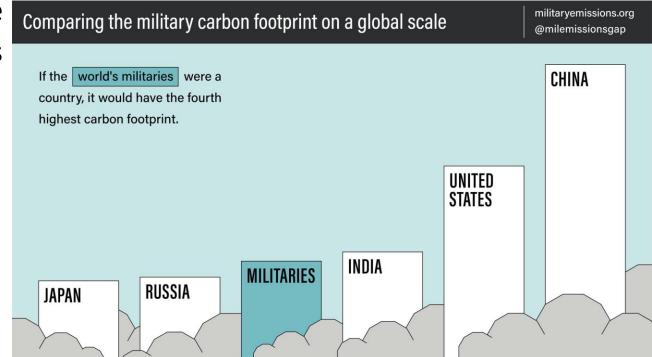
Core military spending 7-8 times DEFRA (environment/ agriculture), DESNZ (energy/ climate) budgets

For comparison: £2.4bn to settle teachers pay; £2.5bn for doctors pay; £3.7bn subsidy for Rosebank

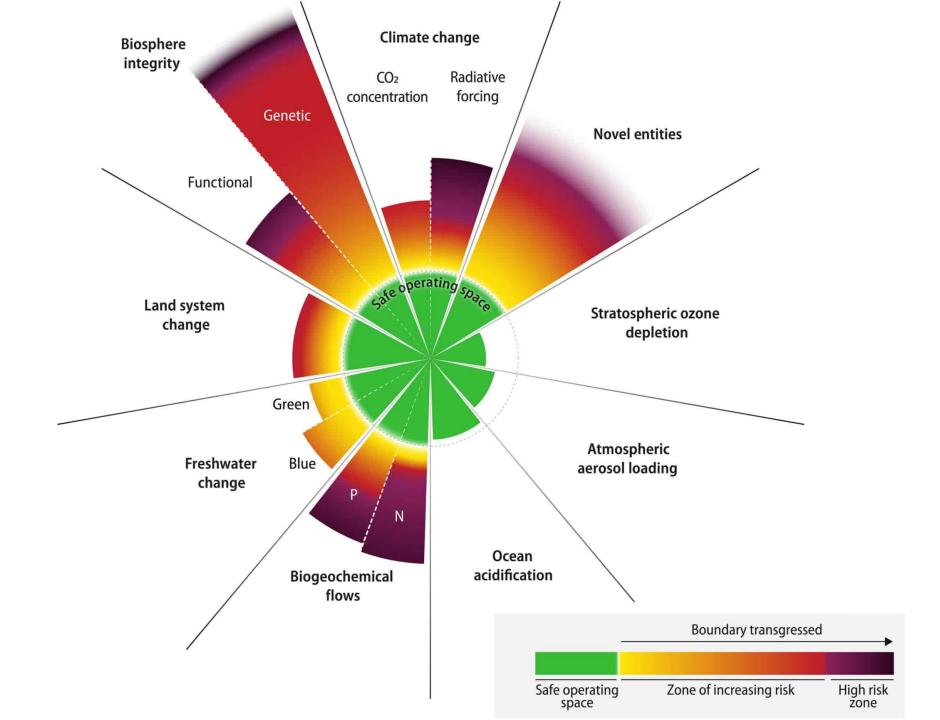
Military carbon emissions are <u>huge</u> – see next slide. MOD have no meaningful reductions targets.

Global estimate: military carbon footprint

- Global total (best estimate): 2,750 MtCO2e/ 5.5%
- Larger than Russia's total carbon footprint
- Uncertainty range
 - 1,600 to 3,500 million tonnes of CO2e
 - 3.3% to 7.0% of global GHG emissions



Damage at a global level



Climate - broken spending promises

COP15, Copenhagen 2009, developed countries agreed to mobilise \$100bn / yr by 2020 for climate action in developing countries.

A political target – in reality more like \$1000bn / yr required by 2030

Less than half of global military spending...

But much less than even this weak target found – \$80bn / yr

Result: Failure of COP process and erosion of trust.

Failure to provide necessary support

Figure 1. Climate finance provided and mobilised in 2013-2020 (USD billion)

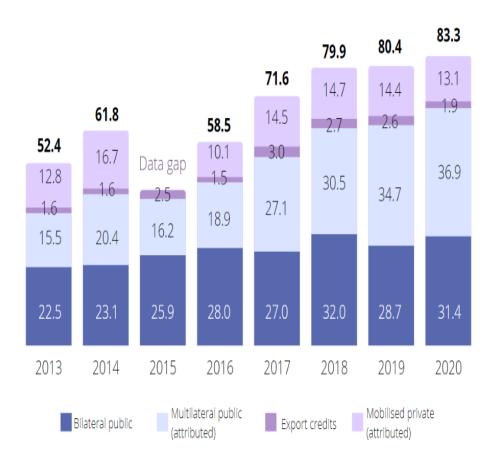
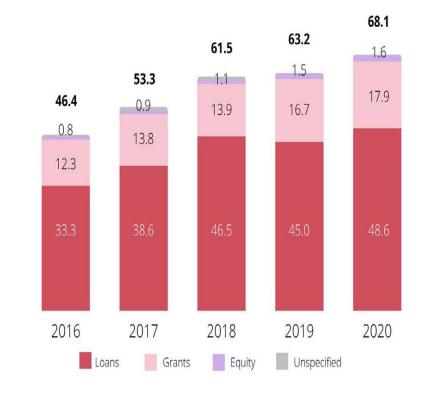
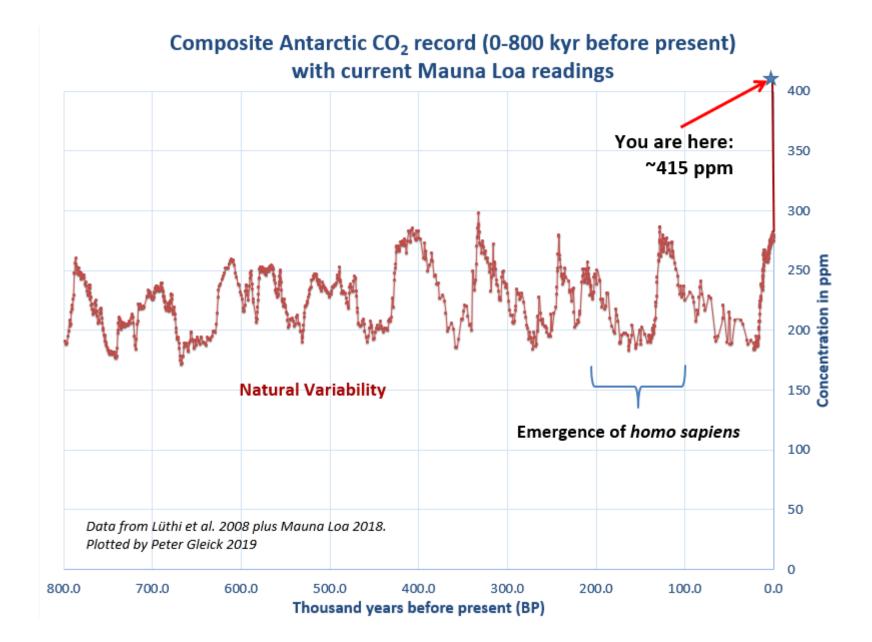
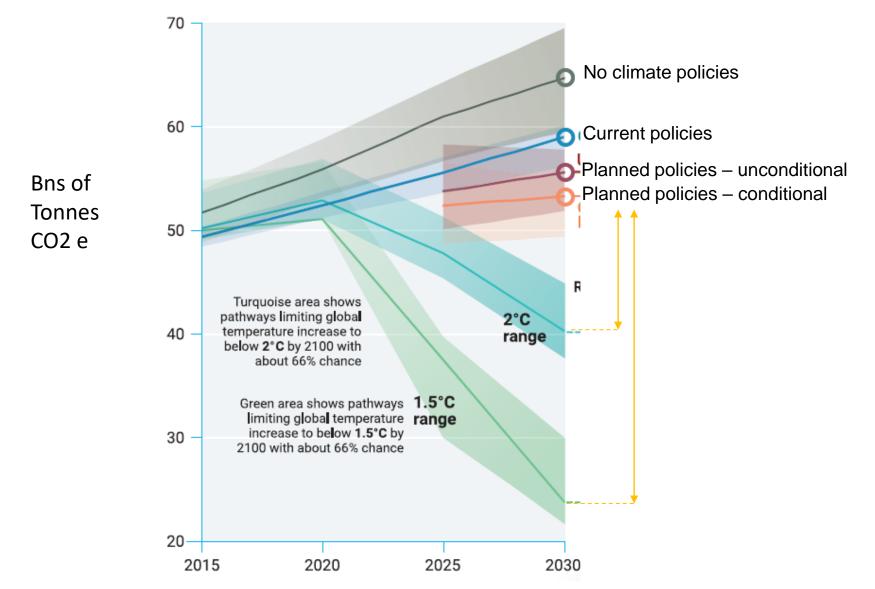


Figure 3. Instrument split of public climate finance in 2016-2020 (USD billion)





Greenhouse gas 'emissions gap'



Source: UNEP (2018)

Why is a rise of 'only' 2 degrees important?

- It is an average
- The average hides greater extremes
- Regional variations
- At the poles temp rises over 4 degrees
 - Disruption of ocean currents
- More energy in the system leads to more extreme events:
 - Drought, fires, floods, intense storms
 - Heatwaves, intense cold periods

The necessary climate transition is possible

- And we CAN afford to do it.
- We cannot afford *NOT* to do it
- Nevertheless, a change of thinking / acting / investment required similar to that in WW2
- - or going to the Moon
- An example of the scale of investment required for UK: £100bn over several years
- This would fund a complete upgrade of our housing, transport and farming systems
- thousands of jobs
- Less than the cost of HS2 at £106bn, NB Hinkley at £33bn for very costly energy,
- Crossrail £19bn
- UK QE was £445bn to bail out banks / failed economic system

Making it happen

- We have the technology but not so far the will to use or understand it?
- For now denialists and fossil fuel lobby write the MSM copy stenography not journalism.
- It is vital that we change this discourse through informed debate and planned action.
- Just wind & solar could exceed big 2050 UK energy requirements twice over.
- Renewables continue to become cheaper as nuclear costs increase
- Current government failure to secure new very low cost offshore wind
- Or adequately exploit tidal power
- The economic and energy cost evidence is overwhelming
- being ignored because of powerful fossil fuel lobby interests.

The nuclear delusion

The extreme impacts of nuclear weapon use

Designed to be extremely destructive when detonated

One weapon:

- Terrible immediate deaths & injuries: intense heat, blast, fallout
- Destruction equivalent to months of artillery shelling in a few seconds
- Medical facilities overwhelmed. Humanitarian assistance impossible
- 81,000 killed, over 200,000 injured some fatally
- Equivalent to 6 months of Ukraine war, Gaza casualty rate but in minutes



Intense bombing of Gaza - 12 October 2023

Borodianka, Ukraine 8 April 2022



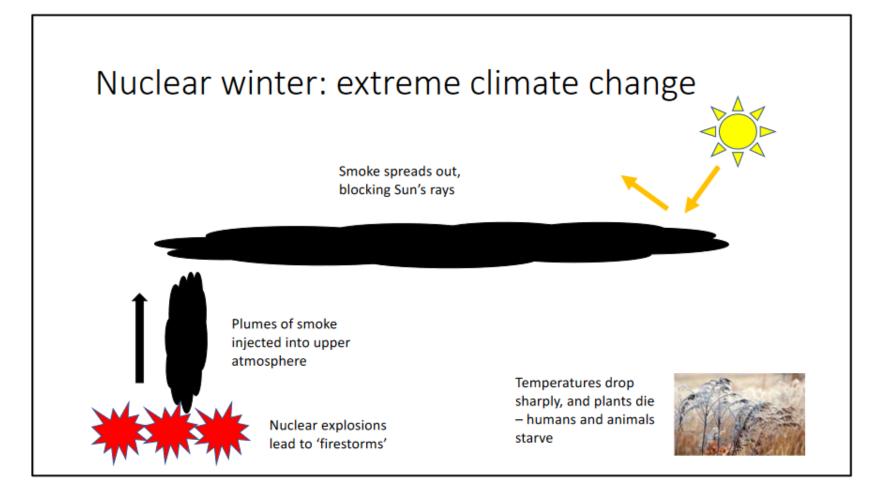
The extreme impacts of nuclear weapon use

Regional nuclear war:

- 100 Hiroshima size weapons hundreds of millions killed, injured.
- Terrible long-term impacts 10 year nuclear winter. 2bn+ at risk.

Global nuclear war:

- 2000 4000 warheads mainly USA & Russia
- Hundreds of millions to over a billion killed and injured
- Radioactive fallout over large areas especially from nuclear reactors
- Even worse long term nuclear winter, ozone destruction, ecocide
- 'civilisation' at risk



- Extreme cooling (rather than heating from carbon emissions)
- Change would be faster and larger than that due to carbon emissions
- Robust evidence for impacts derived using modern climate models published in academic journals

Image credit: Alicja via Pixabay

UK nuclear weapons

One UK submarine carries at least 40 Trident warheads

- At least 4 million fatalities and 10 million casualties across
 10 or more cities
- Only 25 warheads would create a 1,300 km² fire zone (100x Hiroshima) and 5 million tonnes 'black carbon' leading to catastrophic climate cooling



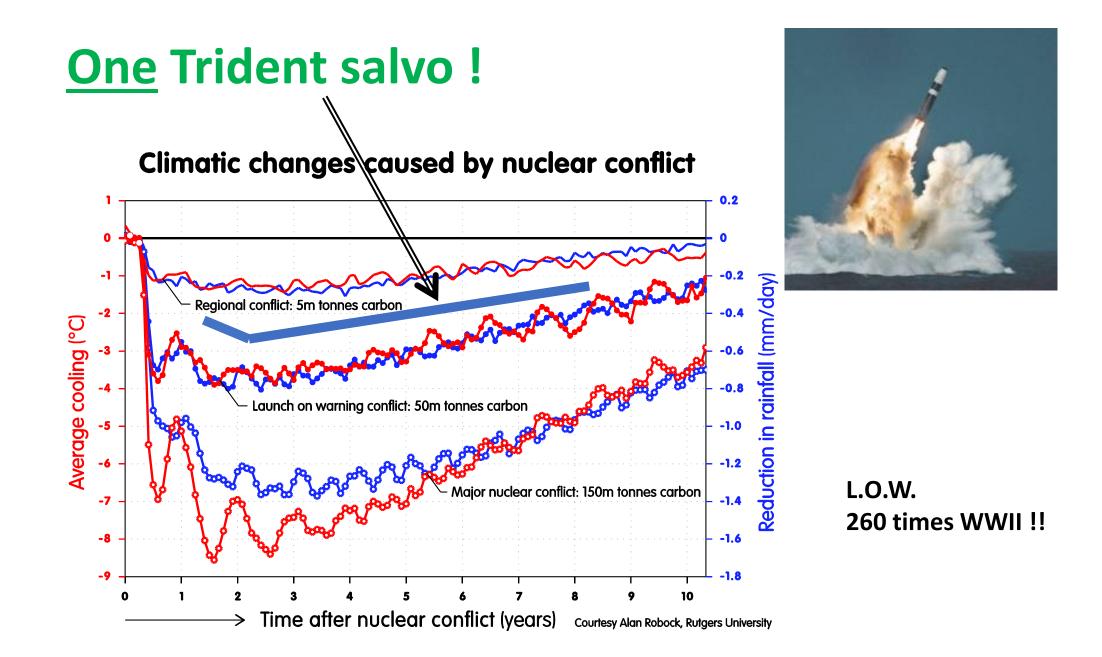


Nuclear deterrence – a delusion

Proposition: Nuclear deterrence has been keeping us 'safe for over 70 years' or 'works every day to keep us 'safe'; 'nuclear umbrella'

Rebuttals:

- Extensive uncompensated impacts from testing and uranium mining
- 20 or more serious nuclear near misses over 70 years: equipment failure, false alarms, most dangerous during military exercises / conflicts. Nuclear threat makes crises *more* risky
- We've been lucky so far
- NW are no 'umbrella' an unstoppable mega death threat
- Ukraine war & Gaza bombardment taking place under this threat



US & Russian nuclear weapons

Гуре/name	Russian designation	Launchers	Year deployed	Warheads \times yield (kilotons)	Total warheads
Strategic offensive weapons					
CBMs					
SS18 M6 Satan	RS-20V	46	1988	$10 \times 500/800$ (MIRV)	460
SS-19 M3 Stiletto	RS-18 (UR-100NUTTH)	20	1980	6 × 400 (MIRV)	120
SS25 Sickle	RS-12M (Topol)	90	1988	1 × 800	90 ^a
SS-27 Mod. 1 (mobile)	RS-12M1 (Topol-M)	18	2006	1 × 800?	18
55-27 Mod. 1 (silo)	RS-12M2 (Topol-M)	60	1997	1 × 800	60
SS-27 Mod. 2 (mobile)	RS-24 (Yars)	63	2010	$4 \times 100?$ (MIRV)	252
5S-27 Mod. 2 (silo)	RS-24 (Yars)	10	2014	4 × 100? (MIRV)	40
55-27 Mod. ? (mobile)	RS-26 (Yars-M)	_	(2016)	3 × 100? (MIRV)	_
SS-27 Mod. ? (rail)	Barguzin	_	?	4 × 100? (MIRV)	_
SS-? "heavy" (silo)	RS-28 (Sarmat)	_	(2020)	10 × 500? (MIRV)	_
Subtotal		307	()		1040
SLBMs	RSM-50	2/22	1070		96 ^b
SSN18 M1 Stingray		2/32	1978	3 × 50 (MIRV)	384 ^d
SS-N-23 M1	RSM-54 (Sineva)	6/96	2007	$4 \times 100 (MIRV)^{c}$	
55-N-32	RSM-56 (Bulava)	3/48	2014	6 × 100 (MIRV)	288
Subtotal		11/176			768 ^e
Bombers/weapons					
Bear-H6	Tu-95 MS6	27	1984	6 × AS-15A ALCMs, bombs	162
Bear-H16	Tu-95 MS16	30	1984	16 × AS-15A ALCMs, bombs	480
Blackjack	Tu-160	13	1987	12 × AS-15B ALCMs	156
				or AS-16 SRAMs, bombs	
Subtotal		70			798 ^f
Subtotal strategic offensive forces					~2600 ^g
Nonstrategic and defensive weapons					
ABM/Air/Coastal defense					
5-300 (SA-10/20) ^h		~1000	1980/2007	$1 \times low$	~400
53T6 Gazelle		68	1986	1 × 10	68 ⁱ
SSC-1B Sepal		33	1973	1 × 350	~15
		22			
Land-based air					
Bombers/fighters (Tu-22M3/Su-24M/Su-34)		~390	1974/2006	ASM, bombs	~570
Ground-based ⁱ					
Short-range ballistic missiles (SS-21/SS-26)		~140	1981/2005	1 × ?	~140
GLCM		?	n.a.	1 × ?	?
Naval					
vavai Submarines/surface ships/air				SLCM, ASW, SAM, DB, torpedoes	~760
				SECINI, ASW, SAINI, DB, torpeades	
Subtotal nonstrategic and defensive forces					~1950 ^k
Fotal					~4500 ^I

Table 1. The US Nuclear Arsenal, 2016.

TYPE/DESIGNATION	NO	YEAR DEPLOYED	WARHEADS X YIELD (KILOTONS)	DEPLOYED
ICBMs				
LGM-30G Minuteman III				
Mk-12A	200	1979	1 W78 x 335 (MIRV)	200
Mk-21/SERV	240	2006 ¹	1 W87 x 300	240
TOTAL	440			440
SLBMs				
UGM-133A Trident II D5	288 ²			
Mk-4		1992	4 W76 x 100 (MIRV)	68
Mk-4A		2008	4 W76-1 x 100 (MIRV)	700
Mk-5		1990	4 W88 x 455 (MIRV)	384
TOTAL	288			1,152
Bombers				
B-52H Stratofortress	93/44 ³	1961	ALCM/W80-1 x 5-150	200
B-2A Spirit	20/16	1994	B61-7/-11, B83-1	100
TOTAL	113/60			300 ⁴
Nonstrategic forces				
B61-3, -4 bombs	n/a	1979	0.3—170	180 ⁵
TOTAL				180
TOTAL DEPLOYED				~2,070
RESERVE				~2,598 ⁶
TOTAL STOCKPILE				~4,670

Nuclear-armed states - a dangerous minority

- Nuclear weapons are deployed by only 9 nations out of 198 nations in the UN
- China, France, Russia, UK, USA, White House January 2022: 'We affirm that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought'. But they continue to build & deploy new nuclear weapons.
- Reneged on the NPT promise in 1968 to reduce nuclear weapons stockpiles & to disarm.
- TPNW signatories have concluded that nuclear deterrence has not and cannot prevent nuclear war but in fact poses an existential risk for all humanity.
- From 2017, the remaining UN nations opened a new nuclear ban treaty the TPNW now signed by almost half of the UN. New signatories continue to be added.

Why do the nuclear states keep unusable and militarily useless nuclear weapons?

- To deter the other nuclear armed states...
- Power. Nuclear weapons confer status and power at the UN. The UN security council is set up with nuclear-armed nations having permanent seats and the power of veto.
- Powerful pollical lobbying utilising some of the extensive finances expended on nuclear weapons and nuclear power.
- The deployment of nuclear weapons by the nuclear armed nations a protection racket.

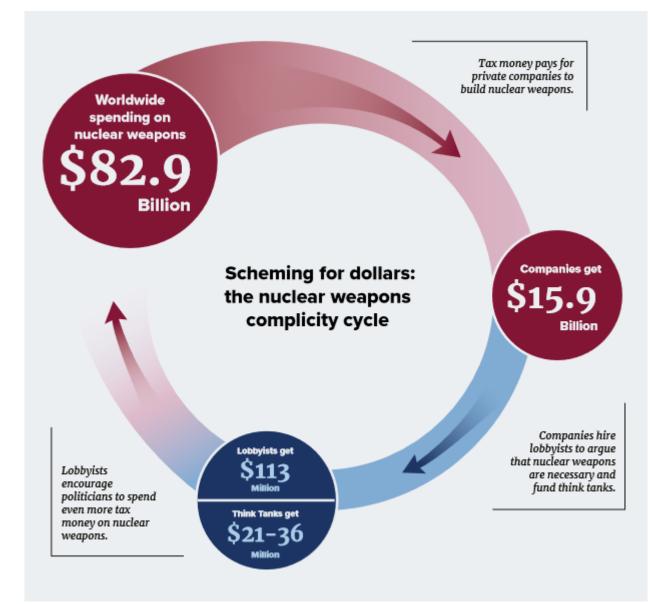
Military discussion points

- UK military strategy now <u>more</u> nuclear weapon focused breaching NPT
- Large increases in military spending over and above inflation beyond arbitrary 2% GDP NATO 'target'
- Only 2 out of 4 nuclear Vanguard subs working 6 month undersea nuclear patrols serious problems
 - Preparations for return of US nuclear weapons (B61-B drop bombs) to Lakenheath
 USAF 'surety' staffing planned for 2024
- so-called 'tactical' nuclear weapons in Europe & Belarus dangerous and at the same time useless militarily
 - Negotiation and peace is MUCH cheaper than war it is also effective
 - Multiple failures of militaristic policies: refusal to call even for ceasefire in Gaza (or Ukraine)
 - No discussion of Yemen, wars across Africa: Sudan, Ethiopia

The Core Problem: deeply corrupt decision-making

Similar cycle applies to climate inaction via fossilfuel subsidies / profit taking

From 2023 ICAN report: *Wasted: 2022 nuclear weapon spending*



Peak militarism – a suicidal risk for humanity

- Out of control militarism huge global arsenals
- Terrible ongoing atrocities of militarism in Gaza, Ukraine, Yemen, across Africa
- War doesn't solve anything and the end result is worse eg Afghanistan, Iraq
- China, France, Russia, UK, USA, White House January 2022: 'We affirm that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought'. But they continue to build & deploy new nuclear weapons.
- Extensive fossil-fuel / arms lobbying and 'think-tanks' funded to misinform
- The public are way ahead of our political leaders we must work even harder to mobilise resistance to our extinction.

• Better active today than radioactive tomorrow - or on a burning earth

References

- <u>https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/comment/nhs-pay-deal</u>
- https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/comment/nhs-pay-deal#footnoteref4_slht80m
- https://www.kingsfund.org.uk/projects/nhs-in-a-nutshell/nhs-budget
- <u>https://demilitarize.org.uk/what-new-spending-has-been-announced-in-the-updated-uk-military-strategy/</u> Ref: MOD (2023a)
- https://demilitarize.org.uk/military-spending-boosted-more-than-health-education-environment-or-overseas-aid/
- https://www.energy.ox.ac.uk/news_items/wind-and-solar-power-could-significantly-exceed-britains-energy-needs/
- Rosebank decision and subsidy of £3.7bn several sources: Greenpeace 27/09/2023
- <u>https://www.sgr.org.uk/resources/how-big-are-global-military-carbon-emissions</u>
- <u>https://www.sgr.org.uk/sites/default/files/SGR_Trident_impacts_York_Sep17.pdf</u>
- UK NW spending:

https://assets.nationbuilder.com/ican/pages/3785/attachments/original/1686495965/ICAN_Spending_Report_2023_sm.pdf?1686 495965 adding in latest increase of £1.5-2bn: https://demilitarize.org.uk/what-new-spending-has-been-announced-in-theupdated-uk-military-strategy/

• How NATO's 2% military spending targets contribute to climate breakdown: <u>https://www.tni.org/en/publication/climate-crossfire</u>



sgr.org.uk

philw@sgr.org.uk