

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Thinking through and beyond survival in a nuclear age

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Abstract

This article investigates the assumption that survival should form the goal of the politics both of nuclear weapons and of International Relations (IR). Rather than being a self-evident grounding upon which political contest then plays out, survival has its own implications and limitations in the thermonuclear age, in which survival has become premised on the threat of total annihilation. As such, nuclear weapons allow us to unpack 'survival' in a unique way because they have the power to destroy everything: to end all survival. Yet at the same time, nuclear weapons have become deeply embedded into our world. In an age of thermonuclear weaponry, survival through annihilation has thus become a paradox that structures the ambivalence of nuclear technology and the tensions of nuclear politics. The article first establishes the nature of assumptions of survival as a taken-for-granted goal of IR and nuclear weapons politics. It then argues that the paradoxical logic of survival as annihilation that accompanied the nuclear era has resulted in a politics of repetition in which both deterrence and disarmament actors have become trapped. The article ends by outlining the limits of understanding whose survival is at stake in nuclear weapons discourse and why this matters.

Keywords: IR theory; nuclear deterrence; nuclear disarmament; nuclear revolution; nuclear weapons; survival

Introduction

Nuclear weapons scholarship and policy have typically grappled with the challenge of nuclear weapons in terms of survival and annihilation: how can we ensure our survival in a nuclear-armed world? This seems to be common sense. Given that several states have the power to decide to destroy life as we know it in a matter of hours, stopping this from happening should be the principal purpose of nuclear politics. While there has been much written about the recent polarisation¹ of nuclear studies and nuclear politics between 'disarmers' and 'deterriers', the place of survival as the self-evident grounding of nuclear politics cuts across both camps. They may differ in how best to ensure survival, but both broadly accept survival as a fundamental purpose of their work. Survival as the opposite of apocalypse has formed an unquestioned goal of nuclear politics and the foundation on which the contest between nuclear deterrence and disarmament politics occurs, in that the two positions propose antithetical solutions to the question of survival.

The discipline of International Relations (IR) has similarly placed survival as the primary concern of the international realm, for example in Martin Wight's assertion that 'international theory

¹ Kjetil Egeland, 'How I learned to stop worrying and embrace diplomatic "polarization"', *Peace Review*, 29:4 (2017), pp. 482–8.

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