International Tensions & Risks of Further Nuclear Proliferation

“The notion common to nearly all Americans that ‘no nuclear weapons have been used since Nagasaki’ is mistaken….Again and again, generally in secret from the American public, U.S. nuclear weapons have been used....in the precise way that a gun is used when you point it at someone’s head in a direct confrontation, wither or not the trigger is pulled.”

– Daniel Ellsberg
Hiroshima On the Altar of the Cold War

• “The Japanese were ready to surrender. It wasn’t necessary to hit them with that awful thing” - General Eisenhower

• “The use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance to our war against Japan.” - Admiral Leahy, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

• "we wanted to get through with the Japanese phase of the war before the Russians came in.”

- Sec. of State Byrnes
“Our strategic nuclear weapons system provides us with a kind of umbrella within which we can carry out conventional actions, meaning aggression and subversion, without any concern that it will be impeded in any fashion...Harold Brown [former Sec. Defense]...said that this is the core of our security system...with this system in place our conventional forces become ‘meaningful instruments of military and political power.’...under this umbrella...we have succeeded in sufficiently intimidating anyone who might help protect people who we are determined attack.”
“The focus of U.S. deterrence efforts...is to influence potential adversaries to withhold actions intended to US national interests...the central focus of deterrence is for one nation to exert such influences over a potential adversary’s decision process that the potential adversary makes a deliberate choice to refrain from a COA [course of action.]

W. Bush Initial Public draft of Defense Policy Guidance

the value of the bomber force for sending political signals is clear and convincing.”

-Adam Lowther - March, 2016

School of Advanced Nuclear Deterrence studies

“One of the lessons US civilian and military leaders drew from the Berlin blockade” was that “If Soviet leaders should underestimate the deadly seriousness of Washington’s commitment to the defense of Western Europe, they might risk other dangerous confrontations...The administration’s ironic solution....was to raise the stakes in the Cold War by placing its reliance on the deterrent power of nuclear weapons.”

“For Kissinger, the prospect of limited nuclear use would pose one of those acceptable risks that might keep an opponent from a given course.”

William Burr & Jeremey Kimball

Nixon’s Nuclear Specter
Dangers Are Real & Increasing

- Accidents
- Miscalculation,
- Insubordination & incidents
- Cyber Hacking
- Terrorism
- Failures of Deterrence especially with “more usable” nuclear weapons
Cold War Nuclear Blackmail – Middle East

• 1946 Truman Threatens Moscow During Iran Confrontation
• 1956 U.S. & Soviet Union Exchange Threats During Suez War
• 1958 Eisenhower Dispatches Nuclear Weapons to Lebanon During Civil War & Iraqi Revolution
• 1967 Johnson’s Threats During Middle East War
• 1970 Nixon & Kissinger Threats Vs. Syria During Black September
• 1973 Kissinger’s Defcon Alert At Close of October War
• 1980 Carter Doctrine
• 1981 Reagan Reaffirms Carter Doctrine
Cold War Nuclear Blackmail - Asia

• 1950 Truman threatens Chinese over Chosin Reservoir, Korea.
• 1951 Truman approves military request to attack Manchuria.
• 1953 “Operation Big Stick” Eisenhower threatens China to force end to Korean War
• 1954 Secretary of State Dulles offers French three tactical nuclear weapons to break Dienbienphu siege
• 1955 Eisenhower threat to China during Taiwan crisis
• 1958 Eisenhower orders JCS to prepare nuclear attack vs. China during Quemoy
• 1967 Johnson's nuclear threats against Vietnam to break siege at Khe Shan.
• 1968 Johnson threatens nuclear attack against North Korea USS Pueblo seizure
• 1969 Nixon’s “November Ultimatum” against Vietnam.
• 1973 Nixon pledges to South Vietnamese President Thieu that he will respond with nuclear attacks or bombing North Vietnam’s dikes if it violates Paris Peace Accords
• 1975 Sec. of Defense Schlesinger threatens N. Korea with nuclear retaliation if it attacks S. Korea
• 1976 Ax Incident, President Ford dispatches nuclear armed B-52 from Guam toward N. Korea
Dangers of Nuclear War Didn’t End With Cold War

Simulated Nuclear Attacks Vs. N. Korea

Nuclear Exercises at Ukraine War
Post-Cold War: U.S. Nuclear Threats

- 1991 Bush, Quayle, Cheney (and Major) Gulf War
- 1993 Clinton vs. North Korea
- 1996 Clinton vs. Libya
- 1996 Clinton Sends Two Nuclear Capable Aircraft Carriers Through Taiwan Straight
- 2001 9/11 Bush/Cheney Defcon Alert
- 2001 Rumsfeld Refuses to Rule Out Nuclear Weapons in Afghanistan to Get Bin Laden
- 2002 Bush In Preparation for Iraq War
- 2003 Bush vs. North Korea
- 2006 - 2015: Bush & Obama All Options On the Table Vs. Iran
- 2013 B-2 simulated attacks vs. China
- 2013 & 2016 simulated nuclear attack vs. North Korea
Other Nations’ Nuclear Threats

• 1956: Russia During Suez War
• 1973: Israel Threatens Use of Temple Weapons
• 1999: India & Pakistan Exchange Threats During Kargil War
• 2005: Chinese General Threatens U.S. Should It Intervene Over Taiwan
• 2014: North Korea Bombastic Threat Over Human Rights Report
• 2014 & 2015: Russian Threats over Ukraine and Crimea
Several Lessons from the Cuban Missile Crisis

• Political & Nationalist forces can drive sensible politicians to the brink of human annihilation

• Strangelove dimensions – dangers of military insubordination

• Intelligence failures and miscalculations

• Accidents – launch order to Okinawa
The New B-61 - 12: A “More Usable” Nuclear Weapon

"if I can drive down the yield, drive down, therefore, the likelihood of fallout, etc, does that make it more usable in the eyes of some- some president or national security decision-making process? And the answer is, it likely could be more usable."

General James Cartwright.
former head of US Strategic Command

The Guardian – Nov. 2015
Another Dangerous First Strike Weapon

“Some have argued that a new nuclear-capable air-launched cruise missile is needed to allow future presidents the ‘flexibility’ to engage Russia or China in limited nuclear war. That is Cold War thinking, and it is dangerous. Such ‘tactical’ use of nuclear weapons would be a grave mistake... We therefore urge President Obama to cancel the current plan to develop and buy 1,000 to 1,100 new nuclear-capable air-launched cruise missiles.”

William J. Perry & Andy Weber
Washington Post, Oct. 2015
U.S./NATO & Russia: A New Cold War?

"The risk of confrontation with the use of nuclear weapons in Europe is higher than in the 1980s," - Igor Ivanov, former Russian foreign minister

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NATO Expansion & Legacies of History

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**Map Notes:**
- **U.K.:** Early Warning Radar System: Sentinel
- **NATO Expansion:** NATO & Russia: A New Cold War?
- **NATO Expansion & Legacies of History:** NATO Expansion & Legacies of History
- **The risk of confrontation with the use of nuclear weapons in Europe is higher than in the 1980s:** - Igor Ivanov, former Russian foreign minister

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**Key Map:**
- **NATO Rapid Reaction Force:** NATO countries. Note includes U.K. Cypriot and Shetland
- **Ukraine:** Type 96 and Type 052D Frigates present along the Black Sea. These have the capability to be missiles

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**How the West Squares Up to Putin in Europe:**
- **Russia:** Russia is developing a rapid reaction force, a high-end tank, rapid reaction force. It will be fully operational next year and be able to deploy in as little as 48 hours. By 2015, 1,500 additional troops will be added to the reaction force
- **Rusians Abroad:** Ukraine: Russian jets and early warning system. Ukraine: Black Sea Fleet
- **Poland:** 1,500 fighters in the Polish region in the east
- **Georgia:** 1,000 troops based in Abkhazia and South Ossetia
- **Armenia:** 1,500 troops in the capital Yerevan
- **Ukraine:** Troops and fighters in the east
- **Kyrgyzstan:** Troops and fighters in the east
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China’s naval chief warns U.S. ‘minor incident’ may spark war in S. China Sea

• BEIJING/WASHINGTON:

China’s naval commander told his U.S. counterpart that a minor incident could spark war in the South China Sea if the United States did not stop its “provocative acts” in the disputed waterway, the Chinese navy said on Friday.

- REUTERS - OCT 30, 2015
"We will carpet bomb [ISIS] into oblivion. I don’t know if sand can glow in the dark, but we’re going to find out," [Ted Cruz] said at the Rising Tide Summit in Cedar Rapids.

-Daily Kos, Dec. 2015
Confidence Building?

“Asked at CNN's Republican debate Tuesday night about the nuclear triad, GOP presidential frontrunner Donald Trump appeared stumped.”

- www.cnn.com

Asked if he would consider nuclear retaliation after this week's terror attacks in Brussels, Trump responded: "Well, I'm never gonna rule anything out."

- CBSnews.com
Two Can Play the Same Dangerous Game

“Putin says of the nuclear preparedness, ‘We were ready to do this ... (Crimea) is our historical territory. Russian people live there. They were in danger. We cannot abandon them.’”

CBS News, March 2015
Hillary Clinton on a Nuclear Weapons-Free World

Clinton said the US "cannot take any option off the table in sending a clear message to the current leadership of Iran – that they will not be permitted to acquire nuclear weapons."

Newsday. January 2006

“the President has acknowledged we might not achieve the ambition of a world without nuclear weapons in our lifetime or successive lifetimes... a goal of a world someday, in some century, free of nuclear weapons.”

- Nuclear Age Peace Foundation
Dec. 2010
The Nuclear Double Standard Drives Proliferation

"We must abandon the unworkable notion that it is morally reprehensible for some countries to pursue weapons of mass destruction, yet morally acceptable for others to rely on them for security - and indeed to continue to refine their capacities and postulate plans for their use."

-Mohamed El Bardei, BBC
“In the long term there are only two alternatives: allow the possession of nuclear weapons to all states that desire them, or deny them to all states by eliminating nuclear weapons.”

Dr. Joseph Rotblat

“One Way Out. Abolish Nuclear Weapons!

“Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.”

Article VI
Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
Two Books You Might Find Helpful

**Empire and the Bomb**
*How the U.S. Uses Nuclear Weapons to Dominate the World*

**Nixon's Nuclear Specter**
The Secret Alert of 1969, Madman Diplomacy, and the Vietnam War

*By Joseph Gerson and William Burr & Jeffrey P. Kimball*