

becoming cluttered with reconnaissance satellites" without acknowledging the important, even crucial, role that such "national technical means of verification" have played in making the SALT agreements possible. On the other hand, I believe he understates the potential danger of President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative in bringing weapons to space, although to be sure he makes but passing reference since this subject goes beyond the time-span of the book. (On a minor point, one of the few factual errors is a footnote reference [p. 404] to a "large number" of Soviet launchers once constructed for a fractional orbital bombardment system; the number was only 18.)

Arms control policy-making and negotiation are at least as much a matter of internal deliberation, maneuver, and decision as of international negotiation. Seaborg's detailed account is particularly rich in bringing this internal dimension into focus. He has strong if not unique qualifications for examining

the interface of scientific-technical and political considerations. He also had a very useful vantage point as one of the players in the political arena during the Johnson years. He draws on both of these strengths to advantage in this study. He gives examples (Pentagon devotion to MIRV as well as the previously noted AEC interest in Plowshare and State Department interest in the MLF and allied sensitivities) of instances in which legitimate but parochial interests may have stymied progress in arms control more than, in retrospect, they should have. Above all, as he rightly stresses, while all considerations should be brought to bear, there is an essential need for a personal and positive interest by the president in order to crystallize decisions and realize arms control potentialities. Demonstrating that lesson, so relevant to the situation today, is itself a major contribution of this excellent book.

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A New Specter

Preventing Nuclear Terrorism. The Report and Papers of the International Task Force on Prevention of Nuclear Terrorism. PAUL LEVENTHAL and YONAH ALEXANDER, Eds. Lexington (Heath), Lexington, MA, 1987. xviii, 472 pp. \$56; paper, \$22.95. A Nuclear Control Institute Book.

Preventing Nuclear Terrorism is the product of a massive undertaking by the Washington-based Nuclear Control Institute and the Institute for Studies in International Terrorism at the State University of New York. The effort began with a major international conference in 1985, which led to a "task force" on nuclear terrorism made up of 26 experts from nine countries. The book contains the task force's final report and 26 background papers on terrorism involving stolen nuclear weapons or nuclear-weapon materials or attacks on nuclear facilities.

The study's conclusions can hardly be characterized as alarmist: "The good news is that the probability of terrorists turning to nuclear forms of violence is low. The bad news is that it is increasing" (p. xi). Indeed, the report notes that "as yet there are no public signs that any terrorists have the essential combination of capability and will to engage in an act of nuclear violence" (p. xii).

Why then the fuss? Is nuclear terrorism indeed, in the report's words (p. 14), "a real threat to civilization"? Vice President Bush (not a contributor) provides part of the answer: "Although we have so far been spared the terrible specter of nuclear terror-

ism, that doesn't mean that we don't need to begin addressing this problem" (p. 383).

Since nuclear terrorism is a relatively new concern in both academic and policy circles, the editors prudently went about "addressing this problem" by selecting authors from diverse professional backgrounds, including industry, government, research groups, and academia. The papers cover all levels of governmental activity—state and local, national, and international.

Despite the diversity of approaches, the group was united in endorsing the deferral of commercial uses of weapons-grade nuclear materials until national and international defenses against nuclear sabotage, terrorism, and theft are considerably improved.

Their findings make it clear that there is no "quick fix" to the problem of nuclear terrorism: nuclear facilities are vulnerable to truck bombs and insider sabotage; greater security is needed for nuclear weapons based on U.S. naval vessels and in countries where terrorism is prevalent; and transportation is the "weak link" in controls over international nuclear commerce. The study urges greater U.S.-Soviet cooperation and information sharing through such forums as "nuclear risk reduction centers," as suggested in the paper by Senators Sam Nunn and John Warner.

The timing could not be better for such a book. First, the Reagan Administration will soon be implementing its policy of "programmatic prior consent," under which certain U.S. nuclear trading partners will be exempted from case-by-case reviews for the

physical security of weapon-grade nuclear material produced from exported American technology or nuclear fuels. The effect of this policy will be to facilitate, rather than delay, international commerce in such materials. In Japan alone, this would mean transcontinental shipments of ton quantities of spent nuclear fuel to Europe and, eventually, ton quantities of plutonium from Europe back to Japan without case-by-case physical-security reviews by the United States.

Second, the superpowers are finally approaching agreement on the reduction and possible elimination of intermediate-range nuclear forces in Europe and perhaps Asia. The United States, under encouragement by friendly NATO governments, is seeking to keep over 4000 tactical battlefield nuclear weapons in Europe as a means of compensating for Soviet advantages in conventional forces and as a way to achieve a closer "coupling" of the United States to the defense of Europe. The safety and security of these tactical weapons are an important concern of this book.

The book is not without some rough edges. A great deal of empirical evidence on this delicate subject matter is classified, a problem that will continue to hamper the development of comprehensive databases. Moreover, analytical rules to guide the collection and interpretation of the evidence remain very inadequately defined. One contributor (Konrad Kellen) is brutally candid about the analytic shortcomings of research on the motivations of potential nuclear terrorists; he warns analysts of nuclear terrorism (a concept he terms "bottomless") to be conscious that they are "wading into a morass of confusion and fuzziness" (p. 106).

Given the lack of stable methodology, some contributors rely upon frameworks of analysis whose usefulness and relevance may in some cases be open to question. One contributor (Luis René Beres) asserts that "the principal grievance that potential terrorists have against the United States concerns misguided elements of U.S. foreign policy" (p. 146). Working from this premise, he offers the following dubious requirements for reducing nuclear terrorism: U.S.-Soviet nuclear disarmament, the demise of "anti-Sovietism" in U.S. foreign policy, and an end to U.S. support to "authoritarian regimes."

Others rely upon their past work on non-nuclear terrorism to provide considerable data on terrorist groups in regions ranging from El Salvador to Armenia, without firmly establishing the relevance of these data to nuclear terrorism. Yet the country with the highest incidence of attacks on nuclear facilities—Spain—receives very little attention. Although a methodological *saave qui prout*

Stemming The Tide Arms Control In The Johnson Years

Arpit Rajain



Stemming The Tide Arms Control In The Johnson Years:

Stemming the Tide Glenn Theodore Seaborg, Benjamin S. Loeb, 1987 Johnson, McNamara, and the Birth of SALT and the ABM Treaty 1963-1969 John M. Clearwater, 1996-12 The purpose of this book is to examine the birth of bilateral strategic arms control between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Johnson Administration from 1964 to 1969. It is about the time and the place of the birth of bilateral strategic arms control as it came about in the United States through the efforts of President Lyndon Johnson and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara in the 1960s. This is the time of the birth of what quickly came to be known as SALT or the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. This inquiry firstly considers whether the move towards bilateral strategic arms control was institutional or personal. It then looks for the motivating factors both theoretical and substantive. As few things have only a single cause it is likely that we shall find that the birth of strategic arms control was influenced by both nuclear weapons employment theory and by a substantive incident or reality such as the ever increasing number and sophistication of nuclear weaponry. Lastly we must look for an immediate precipitating factor such as the move towards deployment of a potentially destabilizing ABM system by both the USA and USSR. Therefore it must be borne in mind when examining the people and their theories, the institutions, the prevailing realities and major precipitating factors that they all come together to form the basis for the birth of bilateral strategic arms control. This book shall therefore strive to reveal the extent of personal input, the objective basis for that personal commitment and examine the major precipitating factors namely Anti Ballistic Missiles ABM and to a lesser extent Multiple Independently Targeted Re Entry Vehicles MIRV. Although barely discussed at the time the MIRV would turn out to be a major arms control problem far greater than the hotly contested ABM system which spurred so many debates. The unique aspect of this research is that other writers have concentrated almost totally on the people and events surrounding the Nixon Administration when studying SALT. While it is true that the talks did not get underway during the Johnson years this study will show that all of the theoretical and preparatory work was done in the Johnson years and conclude by showing that many of the same people appear in the Nixon years. Without the input of McNamara and his team there would have been no movement on strategic arms control until possibly the 1970s. To add to the historical value of the work I have included in the annexes complete texts of the initial arms control proposal which the US team was to present to the Soviet Union in the autumn of 1968. In addition presented here for the very first time are the full instructions to the negotiating team and the initial presentation paper to be read by the team leader on the opening day of the talks. When this final material is tied in with the history of the push for the talks the story is indeed exciting and meaningful. For the first time we are presented with the almost complete picture of the formulation of an arms control proposal. There is of course a fluke of history which brought this all to light. As the Johnson material was never directly used in the formal SALT talks it was not subject to the same stringent security classifications as those of Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, Bush and Clinton materials. Therefore the documents started to be declassified in the late

1980s with the bulk coming to light in 1991 through 1994 Here then is the story of the origins of strategic arms control

The Johnson Years: LBJ at home and abroad Robert A. Divine,1987 No End in Sight Nathan E. Busch,2014-10-17

The global threat of nuclear weapons is one of today s key policy issues Using a wide variety of sources including recently declassified information Nathan E Busch offers detailed examinations of the nuclear programs in the United States Russia China Iraq India and Pakistan as well as the emerging programs in Iran and North Korea He also assesses the current debates in international relations over the risks associated with the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the post Cold War world Busch explores how our understanding of nuclear proliferation centers on theoretical disagreements about how best to explain and predict the behavior of states His study bridges the gap between theory and empirical evidence by determining whether countries with nuclear weapons have adequate controls over their nuclear arsenals and fissile material stockpiles such as highly enriched uranium and plutonium Analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of various systems of nuclear weapons regulation Busch projects what types of controls proliferating states are likely to employ and assesses the threat posed by the possible theft of fissile materials by aspiring nuclear states or by terrorists No End in Sight provides the most comprehensive and up to date analysis of issues at the forefront of contemporary international affairs With the resurgence of the threat of nuclear terrorism Busch s insights and conclusions will prove critical to understanding the implications of nuclear proliferation

The Nuclear Club Jonathan R. Hunt,2022-11-29 The Nuclear Club reveals how a coalition of powerful and developing states embraced global governance in hopes of a bright and peaceful tomorrow While fears of nuclear war were ever present it was the perceived threat to their preeminence that drove Washington Moscow and London to throw their weight behind the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty LTBT banishing nuclear testing underground the 1967 Treaty of Tlatelolco banning atomic armaments from Latin America and the 1968 Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty NPT forbidding more countries from joining the most exclusive club on Earth International society the Cold War and the imperial U S presidency were reformed from 1945 to 1970 when a global nuclear order was inaugurated averting conflict in the industrial North and yielding what George Orwell styled a peace that is no peace everywhere else Today the nuclear order legitimizes foreign intervention worldwide empowering the nuclear club and above all the United States to push sanctions and even preventive war against atomic outlaws all in humanity s name

Nuclear Deterrence in Southern Asia Arpit

Rajain,2005-05 This important and topical book examines the triangular relationship of China India and Pakistan through the prism of nuclear deterrence The author highlights the interplay and role of strategic culture nuclear weaponisation and deployment command and control arms control non state actors and foreign policy issues which affect relations between the three countries With two main purposes a conceptual investigation into the notion of deterrence and a study of the theory and practice of limited war this book addresses the strategic political and military dimensions of the role of nuclear weapons through examples of the only cases of nuclear weapon states having gone into armed conflict the Cuban missile crisis the

Ussuri river clashes and the Kargil conflict discusses the various pressures exerted on decision makers in the context of the notions of deterrence the rational deterrence model and a limited war under a nuclear umbrella evaluates all three countries with regard to their strategic culture the role of nuclear weapons in their military strategy the nature of public opinion and political rhetoric responses to the various arms control treaties and foreign policy choices Based on a variety of sources including interviews with key individuals in various sector this is the first book length study of the triangular relationship between China India and Pakistan

The Official History of the UK Strategic Nuclear Deterrent Matthew Jones, 2017-05-12 Volume II of The Official History of the UK Strategic Nuclear Deterrent provides an authoritative and in depth examination of the British Government's strategy towards nuclear deterrent from 1964 to 1970 Written with full access to the UK documentary record Volume II examines the nuclear policy of the Labour Government that took office in October 1964 Having decided to preserve the Polaris programme ministers were nevertheless committed not to develop another generation of nuclear weapons beyond those in the pipeline placing major questions over the long term future of the nuclear programme and collaboration with the United States This book will be of much interest to students of British politics nuclear proliferation and international relations

[Charter of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization](#) Ian Shapiro, Adam Tooze, 2018-05-22 The most powerful military alliance in history NATO shaped the geopolitical contours of the Cold War and continues to structure the contemporary international system The NATO agreement is reprinted here with speeches and essential historical documents concerning the alliance's founding and subsequent evolution Accompanying essays by major scholars discuss debates about NATO's evolving governance its role in nuclear politics and its appropriate mission during and since the Cold War

The War Council Andrew Preston, 2010-04-10 Was the Vietnam War unavoidable By examining the role of McGeorge Bundy and the National Security Council this title demonstrates that policymakers escalated the conflict in Vietnam in the face of internal opposition external pressures and a continually failing strategy

The Atomic Bomb and American Society Rosemary B. Mariner, G. Kurt Piehler, 2009 Drawing on the latest research on the atomic bomb and its history the contributors to this provocative collection of eighteen essays set out to answer two key questions First how did the atomic bomb a product of unprecedented technological innovation rapid industrial scale manufacturing and unparalleled military deployment shape U S foreign policy the communities of workers who produced it and society as a whole And second how has American society's perception that the bomb is a means of military deterrence in the Cold War era evolve under the influence of mass media scientists public intellectuals and even the entertainment industry In answering these questions The Atomic Bomb and American Society sheds light on the collaboration of science and the military in creating the bomb the role of women working at Los Alamos the transformation of nuclear physicists into public intellectuals as the reality of the bomb came into widespread consciousness the revolutionary change in military strategy following the invention of the bomb and the development of Cold War ideology the image of the bomb that was conveyed in

the popular media and the connection of the bomb to the commemoration of World War II As it illuminates the cultural social political environmental and historical effects of the creation of the atomic bomb this volume contributes to our understanding of how democratic institutions can coexist with a technology that affects everyone even if only a few are empowered to manage it Rosemary B Mariner is formerly Joint Chiefs of Staff Chair and Professor of Military Studies for the National War College She is currently a lecturer in history at the University of Tennessee Knoxville G Kurt Piehler is associate professor of history and former director of the Center for the Study of War and Society at the University of Tennessee Knoxville which hosted the conference that formed the basis of this volume He is the author of Remembering War the American Way and World War II in the American Soldiers Lives Series as well as the coeditor with John Whiteclay Chambers II of Major Problems in American Military History

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