

CONTENTS

Author's Note and Acknowledgements	9
Foreword by General Sir Hugh Beach and General Lord David Ramsbotham	11
Introduction by Dr Rebecca Johnson	15
Chapter One: Why I Rejected Nuclear Deterrence	33
Chapter Two: A Brief History	42
From Monopoly to Massive Retaliation	42
The British Debate	43
UK Dependence on the US	45
The UK Pay-back	48
The US: From Massive Retaliation to Controlled Response	52
From Controlled Response to MAD	54
Counter-value versus Counter-force	56
First Use	57
Post-Cold War US Nuclear War Plan Changes	57
US Nuclear Posture Review 1993–97	59
NATO's Post-Cold War Nuclear Posture	60
US Doubts about Nuclear Deterrence	64
The 2002 US Nuclear Posture Review	66
Implications for US Nuclear Deterrence Doctrine	68
The Bush Doctrine of Pre-emption	70
Pentagon Confirms Plan for Pre-emptive Use of Nuclear Weapons	71

France's <i>Force de Frappe</i>	76	Stigmatising Nuclear Weapons	190
The Anglo-French <i>Entente Nucléaire</i>	79	Legal Challenges to Nuclear Deterrence	190
Has Reality Begun to Prevail over Vested Interest?	81	The 1996 World Court Advisory Opinion	191
The Impact of President Obama	82	NATO's Nuclear Trio Respond	197
Summary	83	UK Trident, Nuremberg and Prime Minister Blair	200
Chapter Three: Nuclear Deterrence in the Real World	90	Sir Michael Quinlan's Critique of the World Court Opinion	203
The Cuban Missile Crisis	90	Trident Ploughshares v Scottish High Court	205
A Question of Credibility	92	Errors in the Scottish High Court's Findings	208
Nuclear Deterrence and the Absence of War between the Major Powers	94	Summary	210
The 1986 Reykjavik Summit	98	Chapter Six: Safer Security Strategies	214
The Experience of India and Pakistan	101	Incentives to Find Alternatives	215
Self-Deterrence	102	Shifting the Mindset	219
'Sub-Strategic' Nuclear Deterrence	104	Terrorists and Nuclear Blackmail	222
Extended Nuclear Deterrence	107	Security Does Not Need Nuclear Deterrence	224
Escalation is Inevitable	108	Strengthening Self-Deterrence	225
Nuclear Deterrence against Chemical and Biological Weapon Attacks	108	Stand Down Nuclear Forces from High Alert	225
Nuclear Deterrence is a Two-Way Street	111	Start Negotiating a Nuclear Weapons Convention	228
Was Iraq Deterred in the First Gulf War?	113	Promote Nuclear Weapon Free Zones	231
Terrorists are Undeterrable with Nuclear Weapons	114	De-Couple Nuclear Weapons from Permanent UN Security Council Membership	236
Nuclear Deterrence Undermines Security	115	From Nuclear Deterrence to Non-Provocative Defence	237
Nuclear Deterrence Creates Instability	116	A Non-Nuclear Strategy for NATO	237
Nuclear Deterrence Provokes Proliferation	118	Safeguards Against Cheating	241
Nuclear Deterrence Threatens Democracy	119	Securing a Durable Nuclear Weapon Free World	242
Launch on Warning	119	Summary	246
Summary	122	Chapter Seven: Conclusions	251
Chapter Four: Nuclear Deterrence and Proliferation: Israel, India and Pakistan	127	Glossary	259
Israel	128	Selected Bibliography	267
India and Pakistan	139	About the Contributors	269
Summary	168	About the Author	272
Chapter Five: Morality and Legality	181		
The Nub of the Moral Argument	184		
Nuclear Deterrence and the 'Just War' Doctrine	185		
Nuclear Weapons and Slavery	189		