

Dr Strangelove Rides Again: US Nuclear War Fighting Policy

The US Joint Chiefs of Staff published their *Nuclear Operations* document online, only to remove it in short order. Fortunately enough, those seeking confirmation of the US military's doctrine can access the full document via the Federation of American Scientists.

The significance of the document is two-fold. This is the first such publication in fourteen years. As such, we have not had access to a full throated exposition of how the US military establishment thinks nuclear weapons could or should be 'used'. It is also significant because the details of the document correspond to the very worst assessments from policy watchers, analysts and nuclear disarmers.

The document confirms a clear shift from viewing nuclear weapons as a mere 'deterrence', towards considering them as a means by which to actively fight a war.

Chapter V of the document, titled 'Nuclear Operations', opens with a quote from Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*. This is a not-too-subtle



Image from Stanley Kubrick's *Dr Strangelove* -- see page 3

framing of what is to come. Section 1a reasserts the place of nuclear weapons in "national defense", then clearly defines "Nuclear operations" as follows: "activities within the range of military operations, to include deterrence, crisis response, strike, assessment, and return to stability."

Section 2a describes the "primary purpose"

of the nuclear triad as being: "detering attack on the US homeland and our allies and partners." So far, so familiar. Then we have this, from section 3e:

"Employment of nuclear weapons can radically alter or accelerate the course of a campaign. A nuclear weapon could be ...

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Iran: 10 Minutes From Disaster

On Thursday 20 June, US President Donald Trump issued the order to commence a military attack against Iran. The order came after days of mounting tension, including the shooting down of a US military drone over Iranian airspace and attacks on oil tankers. With ten minutes to spare, Trump called off the attack.

The intended targets of the attack are reported to have included Iranian radar and missile installations. War planes were in the air and US Naval ships were in position.

Whatever the actual reasons for Trump calling off the attack, we should be thankful that he did. However accurately missiles might be targeted, however carefully the locations and

timing was chosen, there can be little doubt that lives would have been lost. Moreover, there should be no doubt that Iran would have responded in kind. The spiral towards all-out war would surely have intensified.

Meanwhile, efforts are still underway to preserve as many aspects of the JCPOA as possible by all signatories to the deal with the exception of the United States. At the same time, the intensified sanctions regime, imposed by the US, is putting enormous pressure on Iran which is now exceeding some of the limits put on nuclear materials under the deal.

This situation remains acutely worrying. Efforts to preserve the Iran Deal should be welcomed. Maximum effort to mobilise opposition to an attack on Iran is vital. This is an urgent task for the peace movements.

International Meeting
**NUCLEAR SECURITY
IN EUROPE**

**AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF
THE INF TREATY**

See page 3 for further information

Iran Alert

A meeting of the Joint Commission of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) took place in Vienna on 28 June 2019. The Joint Commission was chaired on behalf of the EU High Representative Federica Mogherini by

EEAS Secretary General Helga Schmid and was attended by the E3+2 (China, France, Germany, Russia, United Kingdom) and Iran.

The meeting was called with the intention of ensuring the continued implementation of the JCPOA in all its aspects and discuss ways to tackle challenges arising from the withdrawal and re-imposition of sanctions by the United

States on Iran, as well as recent announcements by Iran regarding the implementation of its nuclear commitments.

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation drafted the following text which was sent to the meeting of the Joint Commission, urging the parties to continue their vital work despite US withdrawal from the JCPOA.

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Recipients:

Federica Mogherini (High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs)
Helga Schmid (Secretary General, European Union External Action)
Ambassador Liu Xiaoming (Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the UK)
Ambassador Alexander Vladimirovich Yakovenko (Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the UK)
Ambassador Hamid Ba'idinejad (Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the UK)
Jean-Yves Le Drian (French Minister of Europe and Foreign Affairs)
Heiko Maas (German Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs)
Jeremy Hunt MP (Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, UK)

25th June 2019

Dear

IRAN ALERT

The Russell Foundation, in common with others, is deeply concerned about the increasing risk of war involving the United States and Iran. A build-up of military forces threatens not only the direct combatants but also the fragile peace of the wider region and the lives of numerous civilians. By repudiating the agreement with Iran in 2018, the United States has violated the carefully constructed deal to ensure Iran remains free of nuclear weapons, notwithstanding their presence elsewhere in the region. Iran was in full compliance with the agreement, as confirmed by successive International Atomic Energy Association inspections, at the time the US withdrew. Such destructive conduct risks proliferation of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems.

The European Union with others rightly seeks to maintain the international agreement with Iran. The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), agreed in Vienna in July 2015, seeks to 'ensure that Iran's nuclear programme will be exclusively peaceful ... Iran reaffirms that under no circumstances will Iran ever seek, develop or acquire any nuclear weapons'.

The architects of the plan (China, France, Germany, Iran, Russian Federation, United Kingdom, United States with the High Representative of the European Union) anticipated that 'full implementation of this JCPOA will positively contribute to regional and international peace and security'.

The E3/EU+3 envisaged that implementation of the Plan 'will progressively allow them to gain confidence in the exclusively peaceful nature of Iran's programme'. The Plan limits the scope of Iran's nuclear programme, including enrichment activities and research and development. It addresses the E3/EU+3's concerns, including through comprehensive measures providing for transparency and verification.

Over an extended period, it is envisaged the Plan will 'produce the comprehensive lifting of all UN Security Council sanctions as well as multilateral and national sanctions related to Iran's nuclear programme, including steps on access in areas of trade, technology, finance and energy'.

The withdrawal of the United States did not remove the necessity for the JCPOA approach. We urge the other seven parties to the agreement to continue their vital efforts to make it work.

Yours sincerely,

Ken Fleet
Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, UK

Tony Simpson

Tom Unterrainer

Caroline Lucas MP, UK
Catherine Rowett MEP, UK
Commander Robert Green RN (Ret'd), New Zealand
Commander Robert Forsyth RN (Ret'd), UK
Bruce Kent, CND Vice-President, UK
Joseph Gerson, Campaign for Peace, Disarmament and Common Security, USA
John Hallam, People for Nuclear Disarmament, Australia
Brian Jones, CND Cymru, Wales
Marguerite Doyle Papadopoulou, Greece
Professor Andreas Bieler, UK
Ian Hewitt, UK
David Browning, UK

After the JCPOA Joint Commission

The following excerpts are from the report of the Joint Commission meeting issued by the European External Action Service.

"JCPOA remains a key element of the global nuclear non-proliferation architecture ... Furthermore, in light of the recent tensions, its preservation continues to be essential for the regional stability and security.

In view of recent concerning statements and developments, participants recalled the key importance of continued full and effective implementation of the agreement by all sides. At the same time, participants recalled that the lifting of sanctions is an essential part of the agreement and reviewed their respective commitments in this regard...

As part of the ongoing work on sanctions and nuclear issues, the Joint Commission tasked experts to look into practical solutions in particular for the export of low enriched uranium ... In parallel, they will also continue to intensify efforts as regards sanctions lifting by convening specialised and focused experts discussions in line with the commitments ... aimed at providing practical solutions in order to maintain the normalisation of trade and economic relations with Iran...

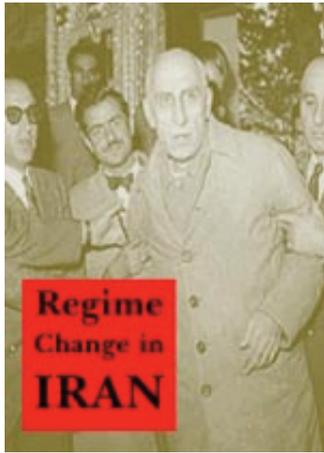
Participants agreed to keep JCPOA implementation under close review and it was decided to convene the Joint Commission at ministerial level in the near future."

Vienna, Austria

28/06/2019 – Press releases

Visit www.russfound.org for information on the work of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and for more on the END campaigns in the 1980s | Email tomunterrainer@russfound.org for more information about *END Info* and other work towards a European Nuclear-Weapons-Free Zone and European Nuclear Disarmament

Regime Change in Iran



Donald N. Wilber | Price: £7.99 | 112 pages
Paperback | ISBN: 978 0 85124 7182

This Clandestine History of Operation Ajax to overthrow the Prime Minister of Iran was written for the US Central Intelligence Agency in March 1954 by Dr. Donald N. Wilber. It gives a unique insight into the extent to which the CIA and its British ally went in pursuit of their aim to remove Iran's elected head of government in 1952-53.

Dr Strangelove

First released in 1964, two years after the Cuban Missile Crisis, Stanley Kubrick's satire *Dr Strangelove or, How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* has now been rereleased together with a new documentary: *Stanley Kubrick Considers the Bomb*, directed by Matthew Wells.

Kubrick may have crafted a satire out of the prospect of nuclear annihilation, but it's a terrifying satire. According to his daughter, Katharina, Kubrick was himself terribly anxious about the prospect of nuclear war.

"He didn't want to frighten us ... He was terrified like everyone was, which was why he chose to make a movie about this very terrifying subject which is a threat still".

Eric Schlosser, who also appears in the new documentary, comments that at the time of the film's original release very few people appreciated how accurate a portrayal it was of the risks, tensions and fanaticism at the heart of the 'doomsday machine'.

See www.mattwellsfilm.com for more information on the new documentary



Continued from page 1

...brought into the campaign as a result of perceived failure in a conventional campaign, potential loss of control or regime, or to escalate the conflict to sue for peace on more-favourable terms..."

Perhaps more disturbing than the opening quote from Chapter V is the one chosen for Chapter III. This chapter, titled 'Planning and Targetting' opens with the words of Herman Kahn. Kahn argued that a nuclear war could be 'winnable' and is thought to have inspired Stanley Kubrick's film *Dr Strangelove*.

Here's what Kahn has to say: "My guess is that nuclear weapons will be used sometime in the next hundred years, but that their use is likely to be small and limited rather than widespread and unconstrained." The authors of this report apparently take Kahn seriously, as the remainder of Chapter III amounts to a guide for anyone considering unleashing nuclear annihilation.

Section 4a announces that: "Integration of nuclear weapons into a theater of operations requires the consideration of multiple variables". When opponents of nuclear weapons consider the variables involved, we almost always focus on the prospect that hundreds of thousands of lives will be extinguished. We might consider the environmental chaos that will ensue. We worry about the prospect of omnicide - the final destruction of all life on Earth.

Section 4 of Chapter 3 focuses on other variables, exclusively related to securing victory. The document alights on 'Yield

Selection' as the primary variable: how big a bomb should be used. Variable two is 'Height of Burst' because this "enables [nuclear war] planners to take advantage of the incident blast wave". Variable three is 'Fallout', which will no doubt impact the ability of ground forces to advance. Variable five, 'Weapons System Selection', boasts of the "multiple capabilities" of the US nuclear arsenal.

Variable five, 'Law of War', assures us that "attacks using nuclear weapons must not be conducted when the expected incidental harm to civilians is **excessive** compared to the **military advantage expected to be gained**" [emphasis added].

Steven Aftergood, who directs the government secrecy project at the Federation of American Scientists told the *Guardian* newspaper that the document is "very much conceived as a war-fighting doctrine - not simply deterrence doctrine, and that's unsettling ... that kind of thinking itself can be hazardous. It can make that sort of eventuality more likely".

The publication of this doctrine in the wake of Trump's *Nuclear Posture Review, National Security Strategy*, his wrecking of the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty and the 'Iran Deal' points in a very worrying direction. The peace, anti-war and disarmament movements need to be alert to further developments and need to develop a strategy to pull the world back from the worst. Tensions are high and the risks are mounting.

International Meeting

NUCLEAR SECURITY IN EUROPE AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF THE INF TREATY

September 14th, 2019 Brussels

11am to 5pm at De Markten

Oude Graanmarkt 5, 1000 Brussels, Belgium

Tensions are growing among states possessing nuclear weapons and the collapse of the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty brings Europe closer to the brink of another dangerous Cold War. Meanwhile, the UN Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) gains traction and opens new avenues for urgently needed common campaigns and actions. How do we stop this nuclear arms race? How best to promote and implement the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons? What alternatives are there for peace and common/human security in Europe? How can we achieve European Nuclear Disarmament? Please save the date and if you are interested in attending, please send a note to info@ipb.org. Feel free to share this invitation!

Called by: INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU – BERTRAND RUSSELL PEACE FOUNDATION – A2000/EUROPE NUCLEAR WEAPONS WORKING GROUP – INTERNATIONAL NETWORK OF ENGINEERS AND SCIENTISTS FOR GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY – INTERNATIONAL PHYSICIANS FOR THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR

With the support of TRANSFORM & Belgian Coalition Against Nuclear Weapons

Bonfire of the Treaties

In 2016, there were fourteen people working in the US State Department office tasked with negotiating and implementing nuclear deals. As of July 2019, that number has slumped to four. Given the US wrecking operations against the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty and 'Iran Deal', you could argue that there's a great deal less work to do.

The fate of staff at the Office of Strategic Stability and Deterrence Affairs is just one indication of the extent to which the US has moved away from supporting multilateral arms control and deterrence regimes, towards unilateral withdrawal from such efforts. Diplomacy has been replaced with sanctions. Negotiation has been replaced with 'spin' about President Trump's 'deal making' abilities. Cooperation has been replaced with threats of war.

Following the sabotage of the INF and JCPOA, the US now looks set to undermine the New START agreement that exists between itself and Russia. This agreement functions to limit the number of strategic nuclear warheads in each country. The US wishes to 'look again' and perhaps even negotiate a new deal including China. This script has been used before.

Negotiations to extend the life of the New START agreement are due to take place soon, with Russian President Putin warning that "If we do not begin talks now, it would be over because there would be no time even for formalities".

The agreement is due to expire in 2021, and if no extension is agreed then the steady reduction in warheads could quickly be reversed.

Of additional concern are reports that Trump's National Security Advisor, John Bolton, is arguing for the US to rescind the

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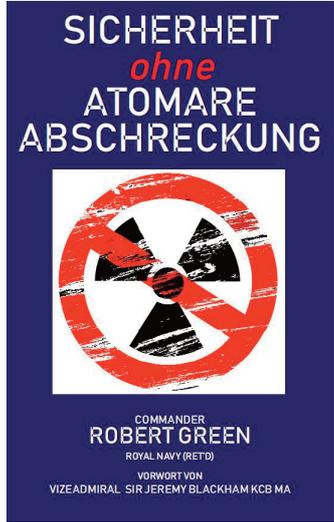
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1996 Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. This Treaty was signed by President Bill Clinton but was not passed in Congress due to opposition from the Republicans.

The fate of the Office of Strategic Stability and Deterrence Affairs indicates not only the direction of travel of the current US administration but is a major attack on the capacity of the US to seriously engage in future negotiations. The OSSDA is not only an administrative organisation but a repository of knowledge, skill and commitment to arms control. This has now been dispersed if not yet completely destroyed.

President Trump has already started his re-election campaign and a second term is not out of the question. What will be left of international arms control if his Presidency persists for another five years? The picture is bleak. How will other nuclear-armed states react to US actions? The 'logic' of nuclear arms suggests that they will accumulate more of them and put them at a more aggressive posture. What of the non-nuclear-armed states who feel their security is undermined by such developments. Again, the 'logic' suggests they will attempt to acquire them. This is, of course, all completely illogical.

The decision of the other signatories to the JCPOA to attempt to preserve as much of the functioning as possible of the 'Iran Deal', despite major obstacles, indicates one perfectly reasonable response to the 'bonfire of the Treaties'. Another would be for nuclear-armed and non-nuclear-armed states not already covered by Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones to start seriously asserting themselves in working towards such a goal. The pressure for such moves will come from concerted efforts by movements, political parties and others to 'break free' from the US's nuclear strangle hold and to disavow the nuclear road.



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European Nuclear Disarmament



The Spokesman

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