Nuclear Threats 1970-2010

Prepared by Samuel Black and Shireen Havewala

Updated through March 31, 2010.

| Date | Threat- maker– Target | Speaker/Action | Cause of heightened tensions/crisis | Quote/Description |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|--|---|--|
| March 26, 2010 | DPRK- US/South Korea | A spokesman for the General Staff of the Korean People's Army | Annual military exercises between the U.S. and South Korea | The Korean Central News Agency quotes a military spokesman as saying "Those who seek to bring down the system in the DPRK, whether they play a main role or a passive role, will fall victim to the unprecedented nuclear strikes of the invincible army." |
| December 26, 2008 | Pakistan- India | Troop deployments near border and alert level increase | Terrorist attacks against Mumbai, November 26- 29, 2008 | Pakistan shifts troops from its western border to its eastern border with India. Pakistani intelligence officials say that Pakistani troops along the Indian border are on the highest state of alert. ² |
| December 22, 2008 | India- Pakistan | Foreign Minister Pranab Mukherjee | Terrorist attacks against Mumbai, November 26- 29, 2008 | "We will take all measures necessary as we deem fit to deal with the situation." ³ |
| December 14, 2008 | Pakistan- India | Alert level increase | Terrorist attacks against Mumbai, November 26- 29, 2008 | After claiming that Indian Air Force jets had strayed into Pakistani airspace, Pakistan places its Air Force on alert. A Pakistani Air Force spokesman says the alert's purpose is to prepare to "thwart any aggression" from India. ⁴ |
| December 4, 2008 | Pakistan- India | Dr. Samar Mubarakmand | Terrorist attacks against Mumbai, November 26- 29, 2008 | Mubarakmand, the scientist in charge of Pakistan's nuclear testing and solid- fuel ballistic missile development, states in an |

| | T | 1 | T | , |
|--------------|----------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| | | | | interview shortly after the |
| | | | | terrorist attacks on Mumbai |
| | | | | that Pakistan could launch |
| | | | | its nuclear missiles with ten |
| | | | | minutes' notice if Pakistan |
| | | | | were attacked by India. ⁵ |
| August 15, | Russia- | Gen. Anatoly | Prospective | "By hosting these, Poland |
| 2008 | Poland | Nogovitsyn | deployment of | is making itself a target. |
| | | | U.S. ballistic | This is 100 per cent certain. |
| | | | missile | It becomes a target for |
| | | | defenses in | attack. Such targets are |
| | | | Eastern Europe | destroyed as a first |
| | | | | priority."6 |
| June 4, 2007 | Russia- | President | Prospective | "It is obvious that if part of |
| | Europe | Vladimir Putin | deployment of | the strategic nuclear |
| | r · | | U.S. ballistic | potential of the United |
| | | | missile | States is located in Europe, |
| | | | defenses in | and according to our |
| | | | Eastern Europe | military experts will be |
| | | | Eastern Europe | threatening us, we will |
| | | | | have to respond." |
| | | | | "What kind of steps are we |
| | | | | going to take in response? |
| | | | | |
| | | | | Of course, we are going to |
| | | | | get new targets in |
| 1 2007 | HIG DDDH | TTG T | N. 1. T. 1 | Europe." ⁷ |
| May 1, 2007 | US-DPRK | US-Japan | North Korea's | "The North Korean |
| | | Security | announced | provocations, including |
| | | Consultative | nuclear test on | missile launches in July |
| | | Committee Joint | October 9, | and a nuclear test in |
| | | Statement | 2006 | October 2006, serve as |
| | | | | stark reminders of the |
| | | | | importance of transforming |
| | | | | the U.SJapan Alliance to |
| | | | | ensure its continued |
| | | | | effectiveness in the ever- |
| | | | | changing security |
| | | | | environment U.S. |
| | | | | extended deterrence |
| | | | | underpins the defense of |
| | | | | Japan and regional |
| | | | | security. The U.S. |
| | | | | reaffirmed that the full |
| | | | | range of U.S. military |
| | | | | capabilities -both nuclear |
| | | | | and non-nuclear strike |
| | | 1 | | and non-nuclear surke |

| October 20, 2006 | US-DPRK | US-ROK Security Consultative Meeting Joint Communiqué | North Korea's announced nuclear test on October 9, 2006 | forces and defensive capabilities-form the core of extended deterrence and support U.S. commitments to the defense of Japan."8 "Secretary Rumsfeld offered assurances of firm U.S. commitment and immediate support to the ROK, including continuation of the extended deterrence offered by the U.S. nuclear umbrella, consistent with the Mutual Defense Treaty."9 |
|------------------|-------------|---|--|--|
| October 18, 2006 | US-DPRK | Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice | North Korea's announced nuclear test on October 9, 2006 | "I reaffirm the president's statement of October 9th that the United States has the will and the capability to meet the full range. And I underscore "full range" of its deterrent and security commitments to Japan." 10 |
| January 19, 2006 | France-Iran | President Jacques Chirac | Iran's announcement on January 10, 2006 that it would resume enrichment activities at its Natanz plant | "The leaders of states who wouldconsider using in one way or another weapons of mass destruction, must understand that they would lay themselves open to a firm and adapted response on our part." "This response could be a conventional one. It could also be of a different kind." The speech also condemned "the temptation by certain countries to obtain nuclear capabilities in contravention of treaties" and stated that "Against a regional power, our choice would not be between inaction or annihilation. The flexibility |

| | 1 | T | | 1 |
|-------------|-------------|-------------------|------------------|--|
| | | | | and reactivity of our |
| | | | | strategic forces would |
| | | | | enable us to exercise our |
| | | | | response directly against its |
| | | | | centres of power and its |
| | | | | capacity to act."11 |
| January 26, | US-Iraq | White House | Iraq's | Saddam Hussein "should |
| 2003 | • | Chief of Staff | resistance to | anticipate that the United |
| | | Andrew Card | full | States will use whatever |
| | | Timerow cara | cooperation | means necessary to protect |
| | | | with IAEA | us and the world from a |
| | | | inspectors and | holocaust," Card said. |
| | | | - | |
| | | | presumed | When asked if that |
| | | | possession of | included nuclear weapons, |
| | | | weapons of | Card responded, "I'm not |
| | | | mass | going to put anything on |
| | | | destruction | the table or off the table." ¹² |
| August 2002 | Israel-Iraq | Advisor to the | Iraq's | "Israel is not only capable |
| | | Prime Minister | resistance to | of enduring a strike from |
| | | Amb. Dore Gold | full | Iraq, but also striking back |
| | | | cooperation | in a due way." "We have |
| | | | with IAEA | everything necessary for |
| | | | inspectors and | that, as well as full freedom |
| | | | presumed | of action to protect the |
| | | | possession of | population of this country |
| | | | weapons of | in case Iraq still dares |
| | | | mass | launch a war against the |
| | | | destruction | international |
| | | | destruction | |
| M 20 | D 1 ' 4 | A . C. | TD 1 44 1 | community." ¹³ |
| May 28, | Pakistan- | Aircraft | Terrorist attack | Pakistan deploys Mirage |
| 2002 | India | deployments | on Indian | and A5 attack aircraft near |
| | | near | troops and their | the international border. |
| | | international | families in | Both variants are capable |
| | | border | Kashmir | of delivering nuclear |
| | | | | weapons. ¹⁴ |
| May 26, | India- | Prime Minister | Terrorist attack | Vajpayee, in a speech to |
| 2002 | Pakistan | A. B. Vajpayee | on Indian | Indian troops, calls for the |
| | | 31 7 | troops and their | army to prepare for a |
| | | | families in | "decisive fight." ¹⁵ |
| | | | Kashmir | |
| May 25-28, | Pakistan- | Ballistic missile | Terrorist attack | Pakistan carries out a series |
| 2002 | India | flight tests | on Indian | of flight tests involving |
| 2002 | iiidia | inght tests | | |
| | | | troops and their | nuclear-capable ballistic |
| | | | families in | missiles, including the |
| | | | Kashmir | Ghauri, Ghaznavi, and |
| | | | | Hatf-2. ¹⁶ |

| May 21, 2002 | India- Pakistan; Pakistan- India | Troop deployments near international border and ballistic missile flight test | Terrorist attack on Indian troops and their families in Kashmir | India deploys elements of its Army and Navy closer to Pakistan. Pakistan flight tests a nuclear-capable Shaheen ballistic missile. ¹⁷ |
|-------------------|---|---|---|---|
| May 16, 2002 | Pakistan- India | Alert level increase | Terrorist attack on Indian troops and their families in Kashmir | Pakistan increases the alert level of its armed forces. 18 |
| April 6, 2002 | Pakistan- India | President Pervez Musharraf | Terrorist attack on India's Parliament | In an interview with Germany's <i>Der Spiegel</i> magazine, Musharraf says that "as a last resort the atom bomb is also possible." 19 |
| March 23, 2002 | Pakistan- India | President Pervez Musharraf | Terrorist attack on India's Parliament | In a speech on Pakistan's National Day, Musharraf promises that if India challenges Pakistan, it will be taught an "unforgettable lesson." ²⁰ |
| March 20, 2002 | UK-Iraq | Secretary of State for Defence Geoff Hoon | Iraq's resistance to full cooperation with IAEA inspectors and presumed possession of weapons of mass destruction | States of concern "can be absolutely confident that in the right conditions we would be willing to use our nuclear weapons." ²¹ |
| March 13, 2002 | US-Iraq | President George W. Bush | Iraq's resistance to full cooperation with IAEA inspectors and presumed possession of weapons of mass destruction | "Again, all options are on the table. But one thing I will not allow is a nation such as Iraq to threaten our very future by developing weapons of mass destruction." ²² |

| January 25, | India- | Ballistic missile | Terrorist attack | India successfully tests a |
|--------------|-----------|----------------------|------------------|--|
| 2002 | Pakistan | flight test | on India's | nuclear-capable Agni-II |
| | | | Parliament | ballistic missile. ²³ |
| December 30, | India- | Defence | Terrorist attack | "We could take a strike, |
| 2001 | Pakistan | Minister George | on India's | survive and then hit back. |
| | | Fernandes | Parliament | Pakistan would be finished." ²⁴ |
| December | India- | Military exercise | Terrorist attack | A major Indian newspaper |
| 29, 2001 | Pakistan | Triffically exercise | on India's | reports that the Indian |
| , | | | Parliament | military is planning a |
| | | | | massive military exercise |
| | | | | to test its readiness to |
| | | | | defend against a military |
| | | | | attack. It notifies Pakistan |
| | | | | of this impending exercise, as required by a bilateral |
| | | | | agreement signed in |
| | | | | 1991. ²⁵ |
| December | Pakistan- | Alert level | Terrorist attack | Pakistan takes a number of |
| 27, 2001 | India | increase | on India's | steps to improve its ability |
| | | | Parliament | to defend against a possible |
| | | | | Indian attack, including |
| | | | | increasing the alert level of its armed forces. 26 |
| December | India- | Nuclear missile | Terrorist attack | India reportedly moves its |
| 24, 2001 | Pakistan | deployments | on India's | Prithvi missiles within |
| , | | 1 7 | Parliament | range of Islamabad. ²⁷ |
| December | Pakistan- | Nuclear missile | Terrorist attack | Pakistan reportedly moves |
| 20, 2001 | India | deployments | on India's | its Hatf-1 and Hatf-2 |
| | | | Parliament | ballistic missiles closer to |
| | | | | the international border |
| | | | | (and, by extension, Indian cities). ²⁸ |
| December | India- | Troop | Terrorist attack | India moves hundreds of |
| 18, 2001 | Pakistan; | deployments | on India's | thousands of troops to its |
| | Pakistan- | near | Parliament | border with Pakistan under |
| | India | international | | the aegis of Operation |
| | | border and alert | | Parakram. The alert levels |
| | | level increases | | of both the Indian and Pakistani armed forces are |
| | | | | increased. ²⁹ |
| December | India- | Home Minister | Terrorist attack | "Anyone who challenges |
| 17, 2001 | Pakistan | L.K. Advani | on India's | our security will have to |
| | | | Parliament | face the consequences."30 |
| June-July | Pakistan- | Activation of | Kargil conflict | U.S. intelligence services |
| 1999 | India | nuclear weapons | | receive information |

| May 31, 1999 | Pakistan- India | Foreign Secretary | Kargil conflict | indicating that Pakistan has activated its nuclear weapons, preparing them for use in some unspecified way. ³¹ "We will not hesitate to use any weapon in our arsenal |
|-------------------|-----------------------|---|---|--|
| | | Shamshad Ahmad | | to defend our territorial integrity." ³² |
| May 28, 1999 | Pakistan- India | Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif | Kargil conflict | Pakistanis "are confident for the first time in their history that in the eventuality of an armed attack they will be able to meet it on equal terms." (On the one-year anniversary of Pakistan's nuclear tests). |
| May 27, 1999 | Pakistan- India | Military spokesman Brig. Rashid Quereshi | Kargil conflict | "The Pakistan armed forces reserve the right to retaliate by whatever means are considered appropriate." 34 |
| April 10, 1999 | Russia- US/Germany | President Boris Yeltsin | NATO bombing of Serbia | "I told NATO, the Americans, the Germans: Don't push us towards military action. Otherwise, there will be a European war for sure and possibly world war." 35 |
| May 28, 1998 | Pakistan- India | Foreign Ministry meeting with Indian High Commissioner | Indian and Pakistani nuclear weapon tests | "Any such attack [on Pakistan's nuclear installations] would warrant a swift and massive retaliation with unforeseen consequences." ³⁶ |
| February 17, 1998 | UK-Iraq | Foreign Secretary Robin Cook | Iraq's resistance to full cooperation with IAEA inspectors and presumed possession of weapons of mass | Saddam Hussein "should be in no doubt that if he were to [use chemical weapons] there would be a proportionate response." ³⁷ |

| | | | destruction | |
|-----------------------|------------|--|---|--|
| February 4, 1998 | US-Iraq | Nuclear bomber deployments | Iraq's resistance to full cooperation with IAEA inspectors and presumed possession of weapons of mass destruction | The US begins deploying a number of nuclear-capable aircraft, including 6 B-52s, 1 B-1, and 6 F-117s, to bases within range of Iraq. ³⁸ |
| January 28, 1998 | US-Iraq | Pentagon spokesman Kevin Bacon | Iraq's resistance to full cooperation with IAEA inspectors and presumed possession of weapons of mass destruction | Bacon states that with regard to the use of nuclear weapons in a possible US strike on Iraqi nuclear facilities, "I don't think we've ruled anything in or out in this regard." 39 |
| November 14, 1997 | US/UK-Iraq | US/UK aircraft carriers | Iraq's resistance to full cooperation with IAEA inspectors and presumed possession of weapons of mass destruction | The US and UK announce that the U.S.S. Independence and H.M.S. Invincible, accompanied by other ships, will be deployed to the Persian Gulf. A number of land-based nuclear-capable bombers are also deployed to the region in this time period. 41 |
| March 10- 11, 1996 | US-China | US aircraft carrier Independence | First-ever direct Presidential election in Taiwan | The US moves the carrier Independence to a position approximately 230 miles southeast of Taiwan in response to heightened China-Taiwan tensions. A sailor tells the Los Angeles Times that US fighter aircraft based on the Independence can reach the Taiwan Strait in 30 minutes. 42 |

| March 7-13, 1996 | China- Taiwan | Nuclear missile tests | First-ever direct Presidential election in Taiwan | China test launches four nuclear-capable missiles which land in the ocean just north of Taiwan. ⁴³ |
|------------------------|------------------|---|---|---|
| January 1996 | China-US | An unnamed Chinese government official | First-ever direct Presidential election in Taiwan | A Chinese official tells former Assistant Secretary of Defense Charles Freeman that China can act militarily against Taiwan without fear of U.S intervention because U.S. leaders "care more about Los Angeles than they do about Taiwan." This is conveyed by Freeman to U.S. National Security Advisor Anthony Lake. Freeman's impression is that "some in Beijing may be prepared to engage in nuclear blackmail against the U.S. to insure that Americans do no [sic] obstruct" China's efforts "to defend the principles of Chinese sovereignty over Taiwan and Chinese national unity." |
| December 21, 1995 | China- Taiwan | Nuclear missile tests | First-ever direct Presidential election in Taiwan | China test launches three nuclear-capable missiles, which pass over Taiwan before landing in the ocean east of the island. 45 |
| December 19, 1995 | US-China | US aircraft carrier Nimitz | Chinese nuclear missile tests in the vicinity of Taiwan | The U.S.S. Nimitz and its escort ships pass through the Taiwan Strait, the first such transit since the normalization of US-China relations in 1979. The passage wasn't publicly acknowledged until January 26, 1996. 46 |
| August 15- 25, 1995 | China- Taiwan | Nuclear missile tests | Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui's | In the context of broader military exercises, China test launches a number of |

| July 21-28, 1995 | China- Taiwan | Nuclear missile tests | visit to the U.S. and pro- independence stance Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui's visit to the U.S. and pro- independence | nuclear-capable missiles into the East China Sea. 47 In the context of broader military exercises, China test launches six nuclear-capable missiles in an area of the East China Sea close to Taiwan. 48 |
|-------------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|---|--|
| March 25- June 13, 1995 | US-DPRK | Private message to DPRK government | Implementation of 1994 Agreed Framework, and specifically regarding the provision to the DPRK of light water nuclear reactors | In 1997, Gen. Eugene Habiger, while testifying before Congress, was asked what role nuclear weapons had had in preventing the use of WMDs by rogue states. He stated that "it plays a very large role. Not only was that message passed in 1990 by the President [to Iraq}, that same message was passed to the North Koreans back in 1995, when the North Koreans were not coming off their reactor approach" This threat was likely passed after March 25, when North Korea announced that it would resume nuclear activities if a contract for the provision of light water reactors (under the terms of the recently-signed Agreed Framework) was not concluded by April 21. The threat was likely passed before June 13, when the US and DPRK issued a joint statement which temporarily resolved the dispute. 50 |
| October 7, 1994 | US-Iraq | US aircraft carrier George | The deployment of | President Bill Clinton orders the U.S.S. George |

| | | Washington | 40,000-50,000 Iraqi troops along the Kuwaiti border | Washington to move to the Persian Gulf. ⁵¹ |
|--------------------|--|---|--|--|
| July 22, 1993 | US-DPRK | President Bill Clinton | DPRK's resistance to IAEA inspections and NPT membership | If North Korea developed and used nuclear weapons, "we would quickly and overwhelmingly retaliate. It would mean the end of their country as they know it." 52 |
| January 9, 1991 | US-Iraq | President George H.W. Bush | Iraqi invasion of Kuwait | President Bush wrote a letter to Iraqi President Saddam Hussain (read by Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz at his meeting with Secretary of State James Baker) that included the following passage: "Let me state, too, that the United States will not tolerate the use of chemical or biological weapons or the destruction of Kuwait's oil fields and installations The American people would demand the strongest possible response. You and your country will pay a terrible price if you order unconscionable acts of this sort." 53 |
| April 15, 1990 | India- Pakistan | BJP President L. K. Advani | 1990 India- Pakistan crisis | If Pakistan attacks India it will "cease to exist." 54 |
| April 14, 1990 | Pakistan- India; India- Pakistan | Unnamed senior military officer; alert level increases | 1990 India- Pakistan crisis | A Pakistani parliamentary committee of is informed that Pakistan's armed forces are in a "high state of preparedness and vigilance." Indian air force bases close to the international border are put on a higher alert level. 55 |
| April 10, 1990 | India- Pakistan | Prime Minister V. P. Singh | 1990 India- Pakistan crisis | "I warn them [that] those who talk about a thousand |

| | | | | years of war should examine whether they will last a thousand hours of war."56 |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|---|---|---|
| December 1988- January 1989 | US-Libya | US aircraft carrier John F. Kennedy | Libya's construction of three chemical weapons plants and support for terrorists implicated in the destruction of Pan Am Flight 103 | The U.S.S. John F. Kennedy conducts exercises in the Mediterranean Sea with French, Tunisian, and Moroccan forces. The deployment culminates in the destruction of two Libyan fighter aircraft by U.S. carrier-based F-14 fighters. ⁵⁷ |
| June 1988 | China- Vietnam | Exercises simulating tactical nuclear attack | A crisis over ownership of the Spratly Islands which led to a battle between Chinese and Vietnamese naval vessels | Chinese forces conduct an exercise in the Spratly Islands which simulates a tactical nuclear attack. ⁵⁸ |
| November 2- 11, 1983 | USSR-US | Alert level increases | 1983 NATO Able Archer exercise | During the NATO Able Archer-83 exercise, the Soviet Union fears a nuclear first strike. Its response includes raising alert levels at air bases host to nuclear-capable units in East Germany and Poland. 59 |
| March 18- 26, 1983 | US-Libya | US aircraft carriers Enterprise and Nimitz | Libya's interventions in Chad and Sudan and threats against Egypt. | The U.S.S. Nimitz and U.S.S. Enterprise are deployed to an area of the Mediterranean Sea just north of Libya. Libyan leader Col. Qadhafi threatens to turn the Gulf of Syrte into a "red sea of blood" if U.S. vessels enter it. 60 |
| January 25, 1981 | France-Libya | Alert level increases | Chad's Civil War, in which France and | In December 1980, France had described the situation in Chad as being of "grave |

| | | | Libya support the two major opposing factions. The crisis escalates in January 1981 when Libya and its Chadian client announced plans to merge Libya and Chad. | concern." A month later France places its Mediterranean Fleet on alert. 61 |
|--------------------------|------------------|---|--|---|
| November 18-21, 1979 | US-Iran | US aircraft carriers Midway and Kitty Hawk | Iranian hostage crisis | The aircraft carriers U.S.S. Midway and U.S.S. Kitty Hawk both arrive in the northern Arabian Sea, within striking distance of Iran. 62 |
| Late February 1979 | US-USSR | US aircraft carrier Constellation | Sino- Vietnamese War | The USS Constellation carries out operations in the South China Sea, warning the Soviets not to intervene in the Sino-Vietnamese war. ⁶³ |
| February 18, 1979 | USSR-China | Government Statement via TASS news agency | Sino- Vietnamese War | The Chinese government should halt its attack on Vietnam "before it is too late." The Soviet Defense Minister describes this several days later as a "serious warning." 64 |
| Early 1979 | USSR-China | Forward deployments of nuclear capable aircraft and missiles | Sino-Soviet Border Conflict | The Soviet Union begins deploying SS-20 ballistic missiles and Backfire bombers close to the Soviet-Chinese border. 65 |
| July 1977 | UK- Guatemala | Forward deployment of strike aircraft and aircraft carrier Achilles | Guatemalan assertions of sovereignty over and deployment of troops near the border with British Honduras | During a crisis with Guatemala over British Honduras (Belize), the U.K. deploys the H.M.S. Achilles, its associated air wings, and an additional six Royal Air Force Harrier jets near the border with Guatemala. ⁶⁶ |

| August 17- September 16, 1976 | US-DPRK | Deployments of strike aircraft and the US aircraft carrier Midway | The "Poplar Tree incident" in the Demilitarized Zone that divides North and South Korea in which two U.S. military officers are killed | The U.S. deploys a number of forces to South Korea, including nuclear-capable F-4s, F-111s, and B-52s, as well as the U.S.S. Midway. U.S. forces in Korea are brought to DEFCON 3, an alert status half way between peacetime and war. ⁶⁷ |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|---|--|---|
| October 25, 1973 | US-USSR | Deployments of nuclear capable bombers | October (Yom Kippur) War | 60 B-52 strategic bombers are moved from their base in Guam to the continental US, where they join other Strategic Air Command forces on alert status. 68 |
| October 24, 1973 | US-USSR | Alert level increase; Letter from President Richard Nixon | October (Yom Kippur) War | In response to a letter from the Soviet leader Brezhnev threatening to unilaterally intervene in the October (Yom Kippur) War, U.S. forces worldwide, including nuclear ones, are placed on DEFCON 3. ⁶⁹ In a letter addressed to General Secretary Brezhnev, Nixon states that "we must view your suggestion of unilateral action as a matter of the gravest concern, involving incalculable consequences." |
| October 22- 25, 1973 | USSR-US | Nuclear weapon deployment | October (Yom Kippur) War | A Soviet freighter travels from the Bosporus Strait to Alexandria, Egypt. Its cargo emits neutrons, indicating that it is carrying nuclear weapons. |
| October 7- 14, 1973 | Israel- Egypt/Syria | Nuclear missile deployments and alert level increases | October (Yom Kippur) War | After the beginning of a surprise two-pronged assault by Egypt and Syria, Israel deploys Jericho missiles with nuclear |

| | | | | warheads and places them on high alert. 72 |
|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| December 13, 1971 | US- India/Russia | US aircraft carrier Enterprise | 1971 India- Pakistan War | The U.S.S. Enterprise, supported by elements of the Seventh Fleet, moves into the Indian Ocean. Nixon later describes the action as "a display of old-fashioned gunboat diplomacy aimed at India and Russia" designed to "give emphasis to warnings not to attack West Pakistan." |
| September 17, 1970 | US-Iraq/Syria | US Sixth Fleet | September 1970 Jordanian crisis | The bulk of the US Sixth Fleet, including two aircraft carriers, moves into the eastern Mediterranean Sea. President Richard Nixon says, in a private telephone conversation, that if Iraq or Syria intervenes on behalf of the Palestinian fedayeen, "my strong feeling at this time is that we should use American air and knock the bejesus out of them." ⁷⁵ |
| April-July, 1970 | USSR-Israel | Forward deployment of strike aircraft | "War of Attrition" between Israel and Egypt, 1967-1970 | Soviet Mig-21 aircraft are deployed near the Suez Canal during a series of clashes between Israeli and Egyptian forces. Some Mig-21 variants are capable of delivering nuclear weapons. ⁷⁶ |

¹ Korean Central News Agency, "US-S. Korean Moves to Bring down System in DPRK Warned," March 26, 2010, http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2010/201003/news26/20100326-04ee.html.

² Richard A. Oppel Jr. and Salman Masood, "Pakistan Moves Troops Amid Tension With India," *New York Times*, December 26, 2008, http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/27/world/asia/27pstan.html.

³ Rama Lakshmi, "Pakistani Jets Scramble as India Hardens Tone," *Washington Post*, December 23, 2008, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/12/22/AR2008122202024.html.

⁴ Candace Rondeaux, "Pakistan Cites Airspace Breach," *Washington Post*, December 14, 2008, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/12/13/AR2008121301311.html.

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/12/13/AR2008121301311.html. ⁵ "Nuclear Missiles can be fired within Minutes in Case of War", *Daily Times*, December 5 2008, http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2008%5C12%5C05%5Cstory 5-12-2008 pg7 24.

⁶ Harry de Quetteville and Andrew Pierce, "Russia threatens nuclear attack on Poland over US missile shield deal," The Telegraph (UK), August 15, 2008, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/russia/2566005/Russiathreatens-nuclear-attack-on-Poland-over-US-missile-shield-deal.html. Doug Saunders, "Putin threatens to target Europe," Globe and Mail (Toronto), June 4, 2007, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/article763092.ece. ⁸ Joint Statement of the U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee, May 1, 2007, http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/namerica/us/security/scc/joint0705.html. ⁹ Joint Communiqué of the 38th U.S.-ROK Security Consultative Meeting, October 20, 2006, http://www.nukestrat.com/korea/JointCommunique2006.pdf. ¹⁰ Lou Dobbs Tonight, October 18, 2006, CNN Transcript, http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0610/18/ldt.01.html. Ariane Bernard, "Chirac Hints at Nuclear Reply to State-Supported Terrorism," New York Times, January 20, 2006, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/20/international/europe/20france.html; Molly Moore, "Chirac: Nuclear Response to Terrorism is Possible," Washington Post, January 20, 2006, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2006/01/19/AR2006011903311.html; President Jacques Chirac, Speech to the Strategic Air and Maritime Forces at Landivisiau/L'ile Longue, January 10, 2006, http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/news/france/france-060119-elysee01.htm.

12 Wade Boese, "U.S. Issued Warning on Threat of Possible Iraqi WMD Use," *Arms Control Today*, May 2003, http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2003 05/negsecurity may03. Eric Rosenberg, "If pushed to the wall, Israel could fire nukes," *Toronto Star*, September 15, 2002. ¹⁴ Polly Nayak and Michael Krepon, "US Crisis Management in South Asia's Twin Peaks Crisis," Stimson Report #57, September 2006, p. 53, http://www.stimson.org/southasia/pdf/USCrisisManagementFull.pdf. 15 Ibid. 16 Ibid. ¹⁷ Ibid, p. 52. ¹⁸ Ibid. 19 Ibid. ²⁰ Ibid. ²¹ Parliament of the United Kingdom, "Select Committee on Defence Minutes of Evidence," March 20, 2002, http://www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/cm200102/cmselect/cmdfence/644/2032008.htm. ²² CNN, "Transcript of Bush press conference," CNN.com, March 13, 2002, http://archives.cnn.com/2002/ALLPOLITICS/03/13/bush.transcript/. ²³ Nayak and Krepon, p. 51. ²⁴ P. R. Chari, "Nuclear Restraint, Risk Reduction, and the Security-Insecurity Paradox in South Asia," in Michael Krepon and Chris Gagne (eds), Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia (New Delhi: Vision Books, 2004), p. 32. ²⁵ Nayak and Krepon, p. 50; Agreement on Advance Notification on Military Exercises, Maneuvers and Troop Movements, April 6, 1991, http://www.stimson.org/southasia/?sn=sa20020109216. ²⁶ Navak and Krepon, p. 50. ²⁷ Ibid. ²⁸ Ibid, p. 49. ²⁹ Ibid. ³⁰ Ewen MacAskill, "Troop movements raise tension in Kashmir," *The Guardian*, December 18, 2001, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2001/dec/18/india.kashmir.

31 P. R. Chari, Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, and Stephen P. Cohen, *Four Crises and a Peace Process* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2007), p. 136; Steve Coll, Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin Books, 2005), p. 480. ³² Celia Dugger, "Atmosphere Is Tense as India and Pakistan Agree to Talks," New York Times, June 1, 1999, http://www.nytimes.com/1999/06/01/world/atmosphere-is-tense-as-india-and-pakistan-agree-to-talks.html. Barry Bearak, "2 Indian Warplanes Lost Over Pakistan's Part of Kashmir," New York Times, May 28, 1999, http://www.nytimes.com/1999/05/28/world/2-indian-warplanes-lost-over-pakistan-s-part-of-kashmir.html. ³⁴ Barry Bearak, "India Jets Strike Guerilla Force Now in Kashmir," *New York Times*, May 27, 1999, http://www.nytimes.com/1999/05/27/world/india-jets-strike-guerrilla-force-now-in-kashmir.html.

35 CNN, "Yeltsin warns of possible world war over Kosovo," CNN.com, April 10, 1999.

http://www.cnn.com/WORLD/europe/9904/10/kosovo.russia.diplomacy.01/.

36 John Zubrzycki, "Pakistan fears for its N sites," *The Australian*, May 29, 1998.

³⁷ Benedict Brogan, "Cook threatens nuclear strike," *The Herald (Glasgow)*, February 18, 1998.

- ³⁹ John Diamond, "U.S.: Nukes Won't Be Used in Iraq," Associated Press Online, February 18, 1998; Ian Bruce,
- "Iraq faces US nuclear threat as tension rises," *The Herald (Glasgow)*, January 29, 1998.

 40 Steven Lee Myers, "Clinton Is Sending 2d Carrier to Gulf," *New York Times*, November 15, 1997, http://www.nytimes.com/1997/11/15/world/clinton-is-sending-2d-carrier-to-gulf.html?pagewanted=1.

⁴¹ Prados, p. 18.

⁴² Maggie Farley, "U.S. Carrier Off Taiwan Trails Analysts' Worries in Its Wake," *Los Angeles Times*, March 19, 1996, http://articles.latimes.com/1996-03-19/news/mn-48791 1 taiwan-strait; Robert S. Ross, "The 1995-1996 Taiwan Strait Confrontation: Coercion, Credibility, and Use of Force," International Security 25:2 (Fall 2000). p. 110-1, http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~johnston/GOV2880/ross3.pdf.

⁴³ Ross, p. 108, 111.

- ⁴⁴ Patrick E. Tyler, "As China Threatens Taiwan, It Makes Sure U.S. Listens," *New York Times*, January 24, 1996.
- ⁴⁵ Nuclear Threat Initiative, "China Missile Chronology 1995-1999," August 2008, http://www.nti.org/e_research/profiles/China/Missile/chronology 1995-1999.html.

Ross, p. 104.

⁴⁷ Nuclear Threat Initiative.

⁴⁸ Ross, p. 94-5.

- ⁴⁹ Quoted in Hans M. Kristensen, "U.S. Nuclear Planning After the 2001 Nuclear Posture Review," October 21, 2004, http://www.nukestrat.com/pubs/Brief2004 MarylandUniversity.pdf, p. 25.
- ⁵⁰ Center for Nonproliferation Studies, "US-DPRK Agreed Framework," Inventory of International Nonproliferation Organizations and Regimes, February 25, 2009,

http://www.nti.org/e_research/official_docs/inventory/pdfs/agframe.pdf, p. 5.

- ⁵¹ International Crisis Behavior Project, "Crisis Number 412: Iraq Troop Deployment-Kuwait," International Crisis Behavior Data Viewer (version 9.0), January 5, 2004, http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/icb/dataviewer/; U.S. General Accounting Office, "Navy Aircraft Carriers: Cost-Effectiveness of Conventionally and Nuclear-Powered Carriers." GAO/NSIAD-98-1, August 1998, p. 136-7, http://www.gao.gov/archive/1998/ns98001.pdf.
- ⁵² William E. Berry, Jr., "North Korea's Nuclear Program: The Clinton Administration's Response," INSS Occasional Paper 3, March 1995, p. 14, http://www.usafa.edu/df/inss/OCP/ocp3.pdf.
- ⁵³ U.S. Department of State, "Letter to Saddam Hussein," *Dispatch* 2:2, January 14, 1991, http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/ERC/briefing/dispatch/1991/html/Dispatchv2no02.html.

⁵⁴ Chari, Cheema, and Cohen, p. 91.

- ⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 92-3.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 91.
- ⁵⁷ Robert J. Cressman and Michael McKay, "John F. Kennedy," Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships, January 31, 2008, http://www.history.navy.mil/danfs/j3/john f kennedy.htm; Nuclear Threat Initiative, "Libya Chemical Overview," September 2009, http://www.nti.org/e_research/profiles/Libya/Chemical/index.html; During the crisis, President Reagan twice sent letters to Congress certifying, as he had since January 1986, that Libva posed an "unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and vital foreign policy interests of the United States." (The wording in the letters is slightly different – one does not use the words "vital" or "interests"). See President Ronald Reagan, "Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate on the Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Libya," December 28, 1988,

http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1988/122888d.htm; President Ronald Reagan, "Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate Reporting on the National Emergency With Respect to Libya," January 11, 1989, http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1989/011189f.htm.

- ⁵⁸ International Crisis Behavior Project, "Crisis Number 384: Spratly Islands," International Crisis Behavior Data Viewer (version 9.0), January 5, 2004, http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/icb/dataviewer/.
- ⁵⁹ Benjamin B. Fischer, "A Cold War Conundrum: The 1983 Soviet War Scare," Central Intelligence Agency, 1997, https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/a-cold-war-
- conundrum/source.htm.

 60 Navy Historical Center, "USS Nimitz (CVA(N)-68)," Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships, May 8, 2009. http://www.history.navy.mil/danfs/n5/nimitz.htm.
- ⁶¹ Shawky S. Zeidan, "Chapter 4 Government and Politics," in Helen Chapin Metz (ed.), Libya, Library of Congress Country Study, 1987, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html; International Crisis Behavior Project, "Crisis

³⁸ Alfred B. Prados, "Iraq: Post-War Challenges and U.S. Responses, 1991-1998," Congressional Research Service, March 31, 1999, p. 19, http://www.fas.org/man/crs/98-386.pdf.

Number 321: Chad-Libya V," International Crisis Behavior Data Viewer (version 9.0), January 5, 2004, http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/icb/dataviewer/.

- ⁶² Navy Historical Center, "USS Midway (CVB 41)," February 15, 2006, http://www.chinfo.navy.mil/navpalib/ships/carriers/histories/cv41-midway/cv41-midway.html.
- ⁶³ Harry Gelman, "The Soviet Far East Buildup and Soviet Risk-Taking Against China," Rand Corporation, August 1982, http://www.rand.org/pubs/reports/2006/R2943.pdf, p. 90 n. 6.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 97.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 77-78.
- ⁶⁶ Royal Air Force Museum, "British Military Aviation in 1977," Accessed February 23, 2010, http://www.rafmuseum.org.uk/milestones-of-flight/british_military/1977.cfm; International Crisis Behavior Project, "Crisis Number 279: Belize II," International Crisis Behavior Data Viewer (version 9.0), January 5, 2004, http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/icb/dataviewer/
- ⁶⁷ International Crisis Behavior Project, "Crisis Number 274: Poplar Tree," International Crisis Behavior Data Viewer (version 9.0), January 5, 2004, http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/icb/dataviewer/; Reed R. Probst, "Negotiating with the North Koreans: The U.S. Experience at Panmunjom," U.S. Army War College Study Project, May 16, 1977, p. 9, http://www.nautilus.org/foia/NegotiatingwithNK.pdf.
- ⁶⁸ Raymond L. Garthoff, Détente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan, revised ed. (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1994), p. 379; Henry Kissinger, Years of Upheaval (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co. 1982) p. 589, 591; Scott D. Sagan, "Nuclear Alerts and Crisis Management," International Security 9:4 (Spring, 1985), p. 125.
- ⁶⁹ George W. Gawrych, "The 1973 Arab-Israeli War: The Albatross of Decisive Victory," *Leavenworth Papers #21*, 1996, p. 73.
- ⁷⁰ Garthoff, p. 379.
- ⁷¹ William B. Quandt, "Soviet Policy in the October 1973 War," Rand Corporation, May 1976, p. 30-31, http://www.rand.org/pubs/reports/2006/R1864.pdf.
- Avner Cohen, "The Last Nuclear Moment," New York Times, October 6, 2003, http://www.nytimes.com/2003/10/06/opinion/the-last-nuclear-moment.html; Amos Perlmutter, Michael Handel, and Uri Bar-Joseph, Two Minutes over Baghdad (London: Corgi Books, 1982), pp. 46-48; Leonard S. Spector, The Undeclared Bomb (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1988), p. 177; International Crisis Behavior Project, "Crisis Number 255: October-Yom Kippur War," International Crisis Behavior Data Viewer (version 9.0), January 5, 2004, http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/icb/dataviewer/.
- ⁷³ Ibid; Richard D. Christiansen, "Situation in India-Pakistan as of 0700 Hours (EST)," Department of State Situation Report #44, December 14, 1971, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB79/BEBB39.pdf. Richard Nixon, RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), p. 526.
- ⁷⁵ Telephone conversation between President Richard M. Nixon and National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger, September 17, 1970, 9:00 AM, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB263/19700917-0900-Nixon.pdf.
- ⁷⁶ Francis Fukuyama, "Nuclear Shadowboxing: Soviet Intervention Threats in the Middle East," *Orbis* 25:3 (Fall 1981), pp. 584-586, 590.