

Index

Note: Page numbers in italics refer to figures.

1967 war, 157, 158

Abadan Island, 58–59

Acheson, Dean, 40, 59, 128, 140, 141

Afghanistan, 20, 161

African National Congress (ANC), 83, 84, 88

aggression and nuclear weapons: by

- Britain, 50–51, 171; defined, 5, 7, 9, 13–14, 177n12; Kapur on, 4–5; power trajectory and, 25; by South Africa, 8, 14; by United States, 119–22. *See also* nuclear opportunism

Ahmad, Shamshad, 149

AIOC (Anglo-Iranian Oil Company), 57–59, 63, 66, 69

Al-Assad, Bashar, 162

Ali, Ghalib bin, 69

alliances and nuclear weapons: behaviors relating to, 6, 7, 16, 178nn21–22, 178n25, 179n44; of Britain, 39; examples of, 18; of United States, 39, 127–31; as variable in theory of nuclear opportunism, 23–24. *See also* bolstering and nuclear weapons; independence and nuclear weapons; nuclear opportunism

ANC. *See* African National Congress (ANC)

Anderson, John, 44

Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC), 57–59, 63, 66, 69

Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC), 58. *See also* Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC)

Angola, 82, 153. *See also* Border War (Angola–Namibia)

ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty), 52, 128

apartheid regime. *See* Border War (Angola–Namibia); South Africa's nuclear experience

APOC (Anglo-Persian Oil Company), 58. *See also* Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC)

ARAMCO (Arabian American Oil Company), 63–65

Armscor, 80. *See also* South Africa's nuclear experience

Armstrong, Raymond Fullarton, 95

ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), 153

Aswan High Dam, 66

Attlee, Clement, 44, 45, 47, 59

Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty (ANZUS), 52, 128

Baghdad Pact, 51, 53–55, 69, 70

Bangladesh, 148

Beg, Aslam, 149

behaviors in theory of nuclear opportunism, 13–20, 160–63, 168–71, 177n12. *See also* nuclear opportunism

Belgium, 145

Ben-Gurion, David, 156–57

Bevin, Ernest, 45

Bhabha, Homi, 152

INDEX

Bhutto, Benazir, 150
bolstering and nuclear weapons: by Britain, 8, 33, 42, 49, 51–56, 77; defined, 5, 7, 9, 17–18; by France, 154; by India, 151; power trajectory and, 25–26; South Africa and, 95, 104, 106–8; United States and, 112, 118, 125, 126, 142–43. *See also* alliances and nuclear weapons; nuclear opportunism

Border War (Angola–Namibia), 8, 11, 78, 81–85, 89, 96–105, 192n26. *See also* South Africa's nuclear experience

Borghard, Erica, 162

Botha, P. W. "Pik," 83, 91, 92, 93, 100, 105, 106

Botswana, 82, 84

Brands, H. W., 58

Brasstacks Crisis (1986–1987), 148

Bretton Woods agreements and monetary system, 17, 139–140, 156

Breytenbach, Jan, 83, 88–90, 109

Brezhnev, Leonid, 84

British nuclear experience, 36–77; overview of case study on, 8, 12, 33, 34, 36–37; aggression and expansionist behavior, 50–51, 171; bolstering of alliances by, 8, 33, 42, 49, 51–56, 77; Buraimi Oasis and, 63–66; changes in foreign policy and, 49–50; Egypt and, 53, 60–63, 68, 72, 73, 187n179; expectations of, 40–42; global positioning and, 47–49, 74–77; independence after nuclear acquisition by, 8, 12, 17, 24, 43–46; Iran and, 57–60; Jordan and, 70; nuclear acquisition, 37–38; Oman and, 69–70; strategic environment of, 38–40; Suez Crisis and, 50–51, 61–62, 66–69, 70–73; theory of nuclear opportunism and, 73–74, 164–65

British–US relations, 39, 61–70, 131, 187n193. *See also* British nuclear experience; United States' nuclear experience

Bulganin, Nikolai, 72

Bundy, McGeorge, 75

Buraimi Oasis, 63–66. *See also* Oman

bureaucratic mechanisms, 12, 13–16, 18. *See also* nuclear opportunism

Bush, Vannevar, 114

Butler, R. A., 59

Buyt, André, 80, 92, 93, 111

Byrnes, James, 45, 120, 139

Caccia, Harold, 47

Cambodia, 153

Canada, 99, 128, 145

Canberra B2 bombers, 38, 55

Carter, Ashton, 153

case studies of nuclear opportunism, 31–35. *See also* British nuclear experience;

nuclear opportunism; South Africa's nuclear experience; United States' nuclear experience

Castro, Fidel, 94. *See also* Cuba's support of Border War conflict

Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), 51

Chaban-Delmas, Jacques, 155

Chamoun, Camille, 70

China (People's Republic of China; PRC): nuclear acquisition by, 1, 29, 151, 159–60;–Soviet alliance, 15–16, 202n1; support of Pakistan's nuclear program, 18; theory of nuclear opportunism and, 160

Churchill, Winston: on APOC, 57–58; on bombing of Japan, 114; on British–US nuclear collaboration, 43, 44, 45, 125; on Buraimi Oasis conflict, 64; Eden and, 72–73, 74; on nuclear acquisition, 37; on special relationship with US, 39, 64; Suez Crisis and, 61–62, 187n179. *See also* British nuclear experience

CIA (Central Intelligence Agency): on Britain, 65; on Mossadegh, 60; on South Africa, 91, 93–94, 98, 105; Soviet operative of, 129, 136. *See also* United States' nuclear experience

CINC scores (Composite Index of National Capabilities), 40, 117, 151, 154, 159

Cohen, Avner, 157

compromise and nuclear weapons: defined, 5, 9, 19–20; theoretical inclusion of, 30–31; United States and, 119, 122–23, 141–42. *See also* nuclear opportunism

Conant, James, 121

Congo (Zaire), 82, 153

Correlates of War Project, 26, 195nn176–77. *See also* CINC scores (Composite Index of National Capabilities)

Cuba's support of Border War conflict, 8, 78, 94, 98, 110, 192n26. *See also* Border War (Angola–Namibia)

Czechoslovakia, 135

Dayan, Moshe, 158

De Gaulle, Charles, 154–55

de Klerk, F. W., 78, 110, 111

Deng Zhioping, 159

Denmark, 128, 145

destructive efficiency of nuclear weapons, 10–11, 120, 121, 168

de Vries, Roland, 88, 90, 91, 105

Dippenaar, Johann, 87, 88, 90, 92, 105, 107

direct military mechanisms, 10–11

domestic political mechanisms, 12. *See also* bureaucratic mechanisms

Dulles, Allen, 65

Dulles, John Foster, 53, 62, 65–70, 155

East Germany. *See* Germany

economic diplomacy, 68, 139–41, 152

Eden, Anthony: Britain's nuclear posture and, 37–38, 72–73; on economic cost of defense, 48; on Middle East strategy, 60, 64; on NATO's posture, 55; obituary of, 69; on Suez Crisis, 67, 68; on US support of Britain, 61. *See also* British nuclear experience

efficiency mechanisms, 11–12, 14–16, 18–19

Egypt:—Anglo Treaty (1954), 73; attack on Israel by, 157–58; British defense program and, 53, 60–63, 68, 72, 187n179. *See also* Suez Crisis

Eisenhower, Dwight D., 55, 60–62, 67, 68, 70. *See also* United States' nuclear experience

emboldenment: Kapur's theory of, 74, 111, 143; from nuclear acquisition, 27; as term, 13, 171–72

escalation mechanisms, 11, 19, 119

expansion and nuclear weapons: by Britain, 50–51, 171; defined, 5, 9, 15–16; power trajectory and, 25; by United States, 124

Fair, C. Christine, 14, 150

FAPLA. *See* People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA)

Feldman, Shai, 20

Fetter, Steve, 4

foreign policy, defined, 9

Forrestal, James, 129, 138

Fourie, Deon, 78, 83

France: independent behavior after nuclear acquisition by, 17, 24; in international agreements, 52, 128; nuclear acquisition of, 24, 153–56; on South African peace proposal, 99; on Soviet attacks, 72; on Suez Crisis, 67, 68

Fravel, Taylor, 159

Gaddis, John Lewis, 126

Gallois, Pierre, 154

Gandhi, Rajiv, 151

Gavin, Francis, 128, 143

Geldenhuys, Jannie, 84

Germany: NATO membership of, 128, 154, 155; as nuclear threat to France, 153; peace proposal by, 99; United States as nuclear threat to, 34, 114, 118, 121–22, 145, 197n35; US military bases in, 128–29

Glaser, Charles, 4

Goldstein, Avery, 23–24

Gorbachev, Mikhail, 151

Gowing, Margaret, 47

Greece, 128, 134, 135, 145

Green, Brendan Rittenhouse, 127–28

highly enriched uranium (HEU), 18, 80

Hiroshima bombing, Japan, 10–11, 80, 112, 114, 119–22, 124

Hokkaido, Japan, 124

Hoover, Herbert, Jr., 65, 66

Hussein, Saddam, 14, 161

Hussein bin Talal, King of Jordan, 70

Hymans, Jacques, 13, 72, 152, 204n31

Ibn Saud, 63

identity-based mechanisms, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18

IMF. *See* International Monetary Fund (IMF)

independence and nuclear weapons: by Britain, 8, 12, 17, 24, 43–47; defined, 5, 9, 16–17; by France, 154–55; by United States, 123–24, 141–42. *See also* nuclear opportunism

India, 2, 12, 14, 92–93, 148–53, 180n59, 204n31

Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation (1971), 151

intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM), 162

intermediate range ballistic missile (IRBM), 155

International Monetary Fund (IMF), 140

Iran: British nuclear program on, 57–60;—India relations, 152; nuclear acquisition by, 2, 27, 161; strategic environment of, 161–62, 207n84; theory of nuclear opportunism and, 162, 172

Iraq, 14, 53, 70, 161, 162, 207n84

Islamic State, 162, 207n84

Israel: behavior after nuclear acquisition by, 20;—India relations, 152;—Iraq conflict, 14; 1967 war, 157, 158; nuclear acquisition of, 156–57;—South Africa relations, 106–7, 108; in Suez Crisis, 67–68; theory of nuclear opportunism and, 157–59; Yom Kippur War, 158

Italy, 128, 135, 136, 145

Jaish-e-Mohammed, 150

Jammu, 149

Japan: potential nuclear proliferation of, 160; surrender to US by, 119, 122–23; theory of nuclear opportunism and, 163; US bombings of, 10–11, 80, 112, 114, 119–22, 124

Jervis, Robert, 4, 25, 29

Jilani, Jalil, 150

Jones, Howard, 134

Jones, Matthew, 37, 46

Jordan, 70

Kapur, S. Paul: on Pakistan, 150; on revisionist states, 4, 5, 30, 108–9; theory of, 35, 57, 74, 111, 142–43; on weak states and nuclear acquisition, 208n7

INDEX

Kargil War (1999), 12, 14, 149–50
Kashmir, 2, 14, 149–50
Kennan, George, 129
Khan, A. Q., 148
Kim Il Sung, 16
Kohl, Wilfred, 154
Korea. *See* North Korea; South Korea
Korean War, 45, 159

Lashkar-e-Taiba, 150
Layne, Christopher, 128, 132
Leffler, Melvyn, 117, 132, 135
Liberman, Peter, 111
Lloyd, Selwyn, 67, 68, 71

Macmillan, Harold: on Britain's dependence on US, 60, 68; on Britain's global position, 41, 47, 67, 71, 75–76; on Lebanon intervention, 70; on US strategy in Middle East, 65; on utility of nuclear weapons, 54
Malan, Magnus, 83, 84, 91, 100
Manhattan Project, 8, 43, 44, 114, 120–22,
 125. See also United States' nuclear experience
Mao Zedong, 29, 159, 160
Marshall, George, 39, 129, 130, 141
Marshall Plan, 39, 139–40
MAUD Committee, 43
McCargar, James, 136
McCloy, John, 138
McMahon Act (1946), 45
mechanisms of nuclear opportunism, 10–13.
 See also nuclear opportunism
Medeiros, Even, 159
Meir, Golda, 158
Mendès-France, Pierre, 155
Mendl, Wolf, 154
Méry, Guy, 156
militarized interstate dispute (MID), 32, 50,
 51, 96. *See also* *names of specific conflicts*
Mills, George, 38, 47
Mirage IV bombers, 154
Mishra, Brajesh, 149
Mollet, Guy, 68
Monckton, Walter, 55–56
Morocco, 145
Mossadegh, Muhammad, 57, 58, 60
Mozambique, 82, 83, 84, 88, 106, 153
MPLA. *See* Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)
Mugabe, Robert, 83
Munro, Ross, 152
Murphy, Robert, 67

Nagasaki bombing, Japan, 10–11, 112, 114,
 119–20, 122
Namibia. *See* Border War (Angola–Namibia); South West Africa

Narang, Vipin, 80, 92, 150, 152
Nassau Agreement, 76
Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 53, 57, 61, 66, 69.
 See also Egypt
National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), 81, 89, 98, 102, 106
NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization): British involvement in, 51, 55–56; formation of, 39, 128; France and, 17, 155–56
Nayar, Baldev Raj, 151
Neguib, Mohamed, 61
Nehru, Jawarharlal, 152
Nitze, Paul, 140
Nixon, Richard, 144
North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
 See NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization)
North Korea, 16, 17, 21, 147, 162–63, 202n1
NPT (Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons), 110
nuclear latency, 32
nuclear opportunism, 5–10, 164–66; case studies for examination of, 31–35; comparison to theory of the nuclear revolution, 7, 167–68; foreign policy behaviors in, 13–20, 160–63, 168–71, 177n12; future research on, 166–67; implications for policymakers, 171–73; implications for scholars, 167–71; mechanisms affecting foreign policy, 10–13; potential objections to, 27–31; on variables of political priorities, 20–26, 168–69. *See also* *names of specific states*
Nuclear Posture Review (2018), 145
nuclear revolution: arguments for, 3–4, 5; challenges to, 143–44, 167–68; on security after nuclear acquisition, 10, 35, 73–74; stability-instability paradox and, 170.
 See also nuclear opportunism

OAU (Organisation of African Unity), 97, 99
objections to nuclear opportunism, 27–31.
 See also nuclear opportunism
Office of Policy Coordination (OPC), 136
Oman, 69–70. *See also* Buraimi Oasis
OPC. *See* Office of Policy Coordination (OPC)
Operation Boswilger, 103
Operation Bruilof, 99–100
Operation Carnation, 97, 101
Operation Daisy, 97, 102
Operation Egret, 103
Operation Klipklop, 97, 101
Operation Makro, 97, 102
Operation Meebos I and II, 97, 102
Operation Protea, 97, 101–2, 103

Operation Reindeer, 96, 97, 100, 101
 Operation Rekstok, 96, 97, 100, 101
 Operation Saffraan, 100, 101
 Operation Savannah, 81, 89, 96–99, 100.
See also Border War (Angola–Namibia)
 Operation Sceptic, 97, 101
 Operation Seiljag, 96, 97
 Opperman, Gert, 84, 88, 90, 91, 98, 101, 105
 opportunism. *See* nuclear opportunism
 Organisation of African Unity (OAU), 97, 99

Pakistan, 2, 12, 14, 19, 23, 148–50
 Papenfus, Theresa, 106
 Paul, T. V., 151
 People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA), 102. *See also* Border War (Angola–Namibia)
 People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), 101–2. *See also* Border War (Angola–Namibia)
 People's Republic of China. *See* China (People's Republic of China; PRC)
 Philippines, 52, 145
 PLAN. *See* People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN)
 Polakow-Suransky, Sasha, 107
 Polaris missiles and Agreement, 75–76, 190n271
 political mechanisms, 11, 13, 15, 17, 18
 Pollack, Jonathan, 17
 Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), 97–99, 195n173. *See also* Border War (Angola–Namibia)
 Portugal, 82–83
 power trajectory and nuclear opportunism, 24–26. *See also* nuclear opportunism
 PRC. *See* China (People's Republic of China; PRC)
 psychological mechanisms, 12. *See also* identity-based mechanisms

RAF. *See* Royal Air Force (RAF)
 Rapp-Hooper, Mira, 162
 Ravelan, Earl, 144
 Reagan, Ronald, 92, 98, 106, 190n271
 revisionism, 4, 5, 30, 108–9, 195n173
 Rhodesia. *See* Zimbabwe
 Risquet, Jorge, 94
 Ritchie, Nick, 76
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 43, 45, 114, 121–22, 123, 125. *See also* United States' nuclear experience
 Royal Air Force (RAF), 38, 55–56. *See also* British nuclear experience
 Russell, Bertrand, 136
 Russia. *See* Soviet Union
 Rwanda, 153

SADF. *See* South African Defence Force (SADF)
 Sandys, Duncan, 49
 Saudi Arabia, 63–66, 162, 207n84
 Schelling, Thomas, 10, 11, 119
 SEATO. *See* South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)
 selection effects, 12–13. *See also* nuclear opportunism
 Shearar, Jeremy, 80, 89
 Sheetz, Mark, 127
 Sierra Leone, 153
 Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty, 128
 Six-Day War (1967), 157, 158
 Slessor, John, 38, 46, 47, 48
 Smith, Ian, 82, 83
 Smoke, Richard, 119
 Somalia, 153
 South Africa–Angola conflict. *See* Border War (Angola–Namibia)
 South African Atomic Energy Corporation, 81
 South African Communist Party (SACP), 83
 South African Defence Force (SADF), 78, 84, 90, 96–97, 101–3, 109
 South Africa's nuclear experience, 78–111; overview of case study on, 11, 33, 34, 78–79; abandonment of, 110–11; aggression after nuclear acquisition of, 8, 14; changes in foreign policy and, 98–108; expectations of, 85–86; nuclear acquisition, 79–81; strategic environment of, 81–85, 95–97, 195n173; strategy on conflict escalation and, 87–95; theory of nuclear opportunism and, 85, 86, 108–10, 165; theory of nuclear revolution and, 85–86
 South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), 51–53
 South Korea: North Korea's attack on, 16; theory of nuclear opportunism and, 162–63;—US treaty, 128, 135
 South West Africa, 82. *See also* Border War (Angola–Namibia); People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN)
 South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), 81–83, 88, 96–104. *See also* Border War (Angola–Namibia)
 Soviet Union: Britain on threat of, 38–39, 181n1; compromise behavior after nuclear acquisition by, 20; expansion behavior after nuclear acquisition by, 15–16, 202n1; global positioning of, 110, 147;—India relations, 151, 152; Japan occupation and, 124; support of South African Border War conflict by, 8, 78, 79, 87, 192n26; US nuclear policy on, 134–39
 Spaatz, Carl, 139
 Spain, 145

INDEX

stability-instability paradox, 170
Stalin, Joseph, 16
steadfastness and nuclear weapons:
defined, 5, 7, 9, 18–19; power trajectory
and, 25–26; by United States, 125. *See also*
nuclear opportunism
Steward, David, 78, 83, 84, 90, 98, 109
Stimson, Henry, 114, 120, 121, 124, 138
strategic pessimism theory, 35, 57
Stumpf, Waldo, 81, 83
Suez Canal Company, 61
Suez Crisis, 50–51, 61–62, 66–69, 70–73,
187n179. *See also* Egypt
SWAPO. *See* South West African People's
Organization (SWAPO)
Syria, 158, 161–62

Taiwan, 128, 145, 163
technological opportunism, 176n21. *See also*
nuclear opportunism
territorial threats and nuclear opportunism,
21–23, 179n34; of Britain, 38–39; of South
Africa, 85
Thatcher, Margaret, 92, 190n271
theory of nuclear opportunism. *See* nuclear
opportunism
theory of nuclear revolution. *See* nuclear
revolution
Tokyo bombing, Japan, 119
Trachtenberg, Marc, 130, 136, 137
Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear
Weapons (NPT), 110
Trident missiles, 76, 144, 190n271
Truman, Harry S., 45, 59, 120, 121, 123, 137
Truman Doctrine, 134, 135
Turkey, 128, 134, 135, 145, 152

Umkhonte we Sizwe (MK), 84
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
See Soviet Union
UNITA. *See* National Union for the Total
Independence of Angola (UNITA)
United Kingdom. *See* British nuclear
experience
United Kingdom Ministry of Defence
(MOD), 46
United Nations (UN) Security Council, 65,
78
United States:—Britain relations, 39, 61–70,
131, 187n193;—France alliance, 154;
involvement in South African Border
War, 97–99
United States' nuclear experience, 112–46;
overview of case study on, 34, 112–14;
alliance networks, 39, 127–31; bolstering of
alliances by, 112, 118, 125, 126, 142–43;
bombings of Japanese cities by, 10–11, 80,
114, 119–22, 124; Cold War strategy of, 2, 8,
15; compromise and, 119, 122–23, 141–42;
economic diplomacy, 139–41; expansionist
behavior, 124; grand strategy in Cold War,
143–46; independence after nuclear
acquisition by, 123–24, 141–42; Manhattan
Project, 8, 43, 44, 114, 120–22, 125; military
bases abroad and global strategy, 131–34;
nuclear acquisition, 114; post-WWII foreign
policy, 125–27; Soviet policy and, 134–39;
steadfastness and, 125; strategic environment
of, 115–18, 169–70; theory of nuclear
opportunism and, 165–66; theory of nuclear
revolution and emboldenment on, 115,
142–43; WWII nuclear posture, 118–19
United States' Strategic Bombing Survey,
119, 120
uranium. *See* highly enriched uranium
(HEU)
US National Intelligence Estimate, 1
USSR. *See* Soviet Union

Vajpayee, Atal Bihari, 149
Valiant bombers, 38, 47
variables in theory of nuclear opportunism,
20–26. *See also* nuclear opportunism
Victor bombers, 38
Vorster, John, 97, 99, 105
Vulcan bombers, 38

Webb, James, 120
West Germany. *See* Germany
World Bank, 140

Yaqub-Khan, Shahabzada, 149
Yemen, 162
Yom Kippur War (1973), 158
Yost, David, 154, 156

Zakaria, Fareed, 25
Zambia, 82, 88–89
Zazeraj, Victor, 83, 89, 94–95, 98, 101
Zimbabwe, 82, 83, 84, 90