Beyond Emboldenment

The Effects of Nuclear Weapons on State Foreign Policy

Mark Bell

PhD Candidate, Department of Political Science, MIT Research Fellow, Belfer Center, Harvard University

December 11, 2014

Special National Intelligence Estimate, 1963

SECRET

between a simple detonation and a wapone capability and between having a small weapone capability and being a major nuclear power, a submit of the second second second second second second additional stages, to place a satcliffe into orbit. This could be to give placed second second second second second second second a system was nuclear armed. The purpose, of course, would be to give any second se

9.4. A Chinese Communits nuclear detonation would increase the momentum of Popingin drive for graval-power status and acceptance in international councils. Peping would argue that it is less dangerous to have a nation with molecu arms in the UB and obser international manaively that substantial progress toward word paces and disarmament was seriously humaper uluses in participated in negotiations. Peping has already pane on record at not being bound by any agreements made without its participation. It would domain international recognition, has already pane on record at not being bound by any agreements made without its participation. It would domain international recognition, has any event, community China would reject a comprised with molecular any event, box and the context of the participation.

25. We do not believe that the explosion of a first device, or even, the sequitation of a limited moders response capability, would produce sequitations of a limited moders response to the sequitation of a limit of the sequitation of the

28. Nevertheless, the Chinese would feel very much sitonger and this mood would doubless be reflected in their approach to conflicts on their periphery. They would probably feel that the US would be more reluctant to intervene on the Asian mainland and thus the tone of Chinese policy would probably become more assertive." Further, their

^{* &}quot;The Acting Director, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State, feels that the first two sentences of this paragraph are inconsistent with paragraph 25 and that there is insufficient evidence to warrant such a definite statement about the Chinese appraisal of our intentions."



Special National Intelligence Estimate, 1963

SECKET

between a simple detonation and a weapons capability and between having a small weapons capability and being a major nuclear power. Also the Chinese might well use a prototype MRBM, with one or more additional stages, to place a satellite into orbit. This could be accomplished some time before an MRBM was operable and well before such a system was nuclear armed. The purpose, of course, would be to give the impression of much greater strength than had actually been acquired and to persuade the people of neighboring countries that Peiping

was riding the wave of the futu same time Peiping would work developed countries that Chines developed countries that Cannee effective and rapid way to been acquisition of a limited nuclear weapons capability, would produce military power.

A chinese communist n major changes in Communist China's foreign policy in the sense that momentum of Peiping's drive fo momentum of reigning arise to the Chinese would adopt a general policy of open military aggression, to have a nation with nuclear a

bodies than to keep it isolated, and would be in a position to claim persuasively that substantial progress toward world peace and disarmament was seriously hampered unless it participated in negotiations. Peiping has already gone on record as not being bound by any agreements made without its participation. It would demand international recognition, UN membership, or other prerequisites as the price of its participation. In any event, Communist China would reject a comprehensive nuclear test han treaty.

25. We do not believe that the explosion of a first device, or even the acquisition of a limited nuclear weapons capability, would produce major changes in Communist China's foreign policy in the sense that the Chinese would adopt a general policy of open military aggression. or even become willing to take significantly greater military risks. China's leaders would recognize that their limited capabilities had not altered the real power balance among the major states and could not do so in the foreseeable future. In particular, they would recognize that they remained unable either to remove or neutralize the US presence in Asia.

26. Nevertheless, the Chinese would feel very much stronger and this mood would doubtless be reflected in their approach to conflicts on their periphery. They would probably feel that the US would be more reluctant to intervene on the Asian mainland and thus the tone of Chinese policy would probably become more assertive.* Further, their

10



Question 000

25. We do not believe that the explosion of a first device, or even the

^{* &}quot;The Acting Director, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State, feels that the first two sentences of this paragraph are inconsistent with paragraph 25 and that there is insufficient evidence to warrant such a definite statement about the Chinese appraisal of our intentions."

Special National Intelligence Estimate, 1963

SECKET

between a simple detonation and a weapons capability and between having a small weapons capability and being a major nuclear power. Also the Chinese might well use a prototype MRBM, with one or more additional stages, to place a satellite into orbit. This could be accomplished some time before an MRBM was operable and well before such a system was nuclear armed. The purpose, of course, would be to give the impression of much greater strength than had actually been acquired and to persuade the people of neighboring countries that Peiping

was riding the wave of the futu same time Peiping would work developed countries that Chines military power.

momentum of Peiping's drive fo to have a nation with nuclear a

bodies than to keep it isolated, and would be in a position to claim persuasively that substantial progress toward world peace and disarmament was seriously hampered unless it participated in negotiations. Peiping

has already gone on record as no without its participation. It we UN membership, or other prereq

25. We do not believe that the periphery. major changes in Communist C or even become willing to tak altered the real power balance ;

do so in the foreseeable future. In particular, they would recognize that they remained unable either to remove or neutralize the US presence in Asia.

26. Nevertheless, the Chinese would feel very much stronger and this mood would doubtless be reflected in their approach to conflicts on their periphery. They would probably feel that the US would be more reluctant to intervene on the Asian mainland and thus the tone of Chinese policy would probably become more assertive.* Further, their

10



25. We do not believe that the explosion of a first device, or even the developed countries that Cannee effective and rapid way to been acquisition of a limited nuclear weapons capability, would produce A chinese communist n major changes in Communist China's foreign policy in the sense that momentum of reigning arise to the Chinese would adopt a general policy of open military aggression,

26. Nevertheless, the Chinese would feel very much stronger and this

In any event, Communist China mood would doubtless be reflected in their approach to conflicts on their They would probably feel that the US would be more major changes in Communist C great reluctant to intervene on the Asian mainland and thus the tone of China's leaders would recognize Chinese policy would probably become more assertive.* Further, their

^{* &}quot;The Acting Director, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State, feels that the first two sentences of this paragraph are inconsistent with paragraph 25 and that there is insufficient evidence to warrant such a definite statement about the Chinese appraisal of our intentions."

- 1. Question
- 2. Typology
- 3. Britain
- 4. Conclusions

1. Question

2. Typology

3. Britain

4. Conclusions

Question •00

Typology 0000000

Britain 000000

Research Question

Question 000

Despite its importance, not satisfactorily addressed in previous work, which:

Despite its importance, not satisfactorily addressed in previous work, which:

• Focuses on outcomes other than foreign policy, such as interstate conflict

Despite its importance, not satisfactorily addressed in previous work, which:

- Focuses on outcomes other than foreign policy, such as interstate conflict
- Focuses on the effect of nuclear weapons on the calculations of *other* states

Despite its importance, not satisfactorily addressed in previous work, which:

- Focuses on outcomes other than foreign policy, such as interstate conflict
- Focuses on the effect of nuclear weapons on the calculations of *other* states
- Conflates distinct effects of nuclear weapons under catch all terms such as "emboldenment"

What is foreign policy?

Question 000

• The portion of grand strategy that deals with a state's relationships with other states

- The portion of grand strategy that deals with a state's relationships with other states
- A collection of means and ends with which a state pursues its goals with respect to a given other state

- The portion of grand strategy that deals with a state's relationships with other states
- A collection of means and ends with which a state pursues its goals with respect to a given other state
- Dyadic: state *A* may have a different foreign policy towards state *B* to that which it has towards state *C*

- The portion of grand strategy that deals with a state's relationships with other states
- A collection of means and ends with which a state pursues its goals with respect to a given other state
- Dyadic: state A may have a different foreign policy towards state B to that which it has towards state C

So we need a typology of dyadic foreign policy behaviors that nuclear weapons may facilitate

1. Question

2. Typology

3. Britain

4. Conclusions

Aggression

 Nuclear weapons may reduce the cost of aggression by adding a layer of military capability that can be called upon (or that might be used inadvertently); raise the risk of escalation for opponents.

- Nuclear weapons may reduce the cost of aggression by adding a layer of military capability that can be called upon (or that might be used inadvertently); raise the risk of escalation for opponents.
- Only if nuclear weapons are not used as a substitute for conventional forces

- Nuclear weapons may reduce the cost of aggression by adding a layer of military capability that can be called upon (or that might be used inadvertently); raise the risk of escalation for opponents.
- Only if nuclear weapons are not used as a substitute for conventional forces
- Particularly attractive to states facing severe threats

- Nuclear weapons may reduce the cost of aggression by adding a layer of military capability that can be called upon (or that might be used inadvertently); raise the risk of escalation for opponents.
- Only if nuclear weapons are not used as a substitute for conventional forces
- Particularly attractive to states facing severe threats
- Example: Pakistan

Expansion

Expansion

The widening of a state's goals in international politics

• Composed of two dyadic behaviors: formation of new alliances and initiation of new adversarial relationships

- Composed of two dyadic behaviors: formation of new alliances and initiation of new adversarial relationships
- Nuclear weapons may reduce the cost of expansion by allowing states to free up conventional forces, which can be redeployed in pursuit of new interests

- Composed of two dyadic behaviors: formation of new alliances and initiation of new adversarial relationships
- Nuclear weapons may reduce the cost of expansion by allowing states to free up conventional forces, which can be redeployed in pursuit of new interests
- Only if nuclear weapons are not used as a substitute for conventional forces

- Composed of two dyadic behaviors: formation of new alliances and initiation of new adversarial relationships
- Nuclear weapons may reduce the cost of expansion by allowing states to free up conventional forces, which can be redeployed in pursuit of new interests
- Only if nuclear weapons are not used as a substitute for conventional forces
- Particularly attractive to rising powers

- Composed of two dyadic behaviors: formation of new alliances and initiation of new adversarial relationships
- Nuclear weapons may reduce the cost of expansion by allowing states to free up conventional forces, which can be redeployed in pursuit of new interests
- Only if nuclear weapons are not used as a substitute for conventional forces
- Particularly attractive to rising powers
- Example: US

 By providing an internal source of security, nuclear weapons act as a partial substitute for an external source of security, and thus reduce the cost of acting contrary to the wishes of an ally

- By providing an internal source of security, nuclear weapons act as a partial substitute for an external source of security, and thus reduce the cost of acting contrary to the wishes of an ally
- Particularly attractive to states with senior allies who provide for their security

- By providing an internal source of security, nuclear weapons act as a partial substitute for an external source of security, and thus reduce the cost of acting contrary to the wishes of an ally
- Particularly attractive to states with senior allies who provide for their security
- Example: France

• Nuclear weapons may reduce the price of bolstering by providing technologies that can be transfered, or by offering a lower cost way to defend an alliance partner

- Nuclear weapons may reduce the price of bolstering by providing technologies that can be transfered, or by offering a lower cost way to defend an alliance partner
- Particularly attractive to states not facing serious security threats

- Nuclear weapons may reduce the price of bolstering by providing technologies that can be transfered, or by offering a lower cost way to defend an alliance partner
- Particularly attractive to states not facing serious security threats
- Example: China

 Nuclear weapons may reduce the cost of steadfastness by raising the risk of escalation against a state, reducing the danger for the nuclear state of refusing to back down in a crisis

- Nuclear weapons may reduce the cost of steadfastness by raising the risk of escalation against a state, reducing the danger for the nuclear state of refusing to back down in a crisis
- Likely to be attractive to all states

- Nuclear weapons may reduce the cost of steadfastness by raising the risk of escalation against a state, reducing the danger for the nuclear state of refusing to back down in a crisis
- · Likely to be attractive to all states
- Example: Pakistan

Compromise

 Nuclear weapons may reduce the cost of compromise by reducing the value of holding territory and strategic depth, and reducing the security risks associated with making compromises to a potential adversary

- Nuclear weapons may reduce the cost of compromise by reducing the value of holding territory and strategic depth, and reducing the security risks associated with making compromises to a potential adversary
- Unclear whether states have acted in this way, though scholars have often argued that they should

- Nuclear weapons may reduce the cost of compromise by reducing the value of holding territory and strategic depth, and reducing the security risks associated with making compromises to a potential adversary
- Unclear whether states have acted in this way, though scholars have often argued that they should
- Example:

- Nuclear weapons may reduce the cost of compromise by reducing the value of holding territory and strategic depth, and reducing the security risks associated with making compromises to a potential adversary
- Unclear whether states have acted in this way, though scholars have often argued that they should
- Example: Israel?

1. Question

2. Typology

3. Britain

4. Conclusions

• Can we identify and distinguish between the behaviors?



- Can we identify and distinguish between the behaviors?
- Britain a "hard" case because we would expect limited effect of nuclear weapons

- Can we identify and distinguish between the behaviors?
- Britain a "hard" case because we would expect limited effect of nuclear weapons
 - Britain a conventionally powerful, status quo state with a nuclear-armed ally and geographic buffers between it and its primary rival

- Can we identify and distinguish between the behaviors?
- Britain a "hard" case because we would expect limited effect of nuclear weapons
 - Britain a conventionally powerful, status quo state with a nuclear-armed ally and geographic buffers between it and its primary rival
- Look at the point at which Britain acquired a deliverable capability (1955) and look for changes in behavior

- Can we identify and distinguish between the behaviors?
- Britain a "hard" case because we would expect limited effect of nuclear weapons
 - Britain a conventionally powerful, status quo state with a nuclear-armed ally and geographic buffers between it and its primary rival
- Look at the point at which Britain acquired a deliverable capability (1955) and look for changes in behavior
- Look at speech evidence and contemporary writings to see if nuclear acquisition caused the change

Expansion & Aggression

Expansion & Aggression

Expansion & Aggression

Nuclear weapons a tool for maintenance, not expanding the British position or taking more in existing disputes

Britain sees nuclear weapons as a substitute for conventional forces

- Britain sees nuclear weapons as a substitute for conventional forces
- Eden, 1956: Britain must "continue the trend towards greater reliance on nuclear weapons"

- Britain sees nuclear weapons as a substitute for conventional forces
- Eden, 1956: Britain must "continue the trend towards greater reliance on nuclear weapons"
- British conventional forces take more limited role: manpower constant at 850,000 from 1952-1954; down to 700,000 in 1957 and 500,000 by 1960. Macmillan: deep cuts "must depend on the acceptance of nuclear weapons"

- Britain sees nuclear weapons as a substitute for conventional forces
- Eden, 1956: Britain must "continue the trend towards greater reliance on nuclear weapons"
- British conventional forces take more limited role: manpower constant at 850,000 from 1952-1954; down to 700,000 in 1957 and 500,000 by 1960. Macmillan: deep cuts "must depend on the acceptance of nuclear weapons"
- Secret internal history: "The nuclear dimension of defence...was seen as providing the opportunity for economies in defence...without any sacrifices in national security." As a result, "little change in the objectives of British defence commitments"

"At a time when the government was putting more emphasis on nuclear deterrence, a range of alliance commitments were entered into"

"At a time when the government was putting more emphasis on nuclear deterrence, a range of alliance commitments were entered into"

 SEATO - established in 1955, Britain immediately "moved toward a more overt acceptance of nuclear planning assumptions that would reassure allies without producing a greater call on their resources"

"At a time when the government was putting more emphasis on nuclear deterrence, a range of alliance commitments were entered into"

- SEATO established in 1955, Britain immediately "moved toward a more overt acceptance of nuclear planning assumptions that would reassure allies without producing a greater call on their resources"
- Baghdad Pact pursued in 1955; "nuclear strike was seen as the main component of the assistance which could be offered"

"At a time when the government was putting more emphasis on nuclear deterrence, a range of alliance commitments were entered into"

- SEATO established in 1955, Britain immediately "moved toward a more overt acceptance of nuclear planning assumptions that would reassure allies without producing a greater call on their resources"
- Baghdad Pact pursued in 1955; "nuclear strike was seen as the main component of the assistance which could be offered"
- Britain argued nuclear weapons allowed it to place less emphasis on conventional forces in NATO

"At a time when the government was putting more emphasis on nuclear deterrence, a range of alliance commitments were entered into"

- SEATO established in 1955, Britain immediately "moved toward a more overt acceptance of nuclear planning assumptions that would reassure allies without producing a greater call on their resources"
- Baghdad Pact pursued in 1955; "nuclear strike was seen as the main component of the assistance which could be offered"
- Britain argued nuclear weapons allowed it to place less emphasis on conventional forces in NATO

"No overseas commitments had been dropped but reductions in the level of military support were in prospect and the RAF was seen as having a major part to play in offsetting their effect"

Steadfastness Independence & Compromise, pre-1955

 Iran, 1951: Britain considers military response to nationalization of Anglo-Iranian oil but decides not to act because of US opposition

- Iran, 1951: Britain considers military response to nationalization of Anglo-Iranian oil but decides not to act because of US opposition
 - Attlee: "in view of the attitude of the US...it would not be expedient to use force"

- Iran, 1951: Britain considers military response to nationalization of Anglo-Iranian oil but decides not to act because of US opposition
 - Attlee: "in view of the attitude of the US...it would not be expedient to use force"
- Buraimi, 1952-54: Britain seeks US support over Saudi occupation of Buraimi

- Iran, 1951: Britain considers military response to nationalization of Anglo-Iranian oil but decides not to act because of US opposition
 - Attlee: "in view of the attitude of the US...it would not be expedient to use force"
- Buraimi, 1952-54: Britain seeks US support over Saudi occupation of Buraimi
 - Britain unable to use force "while they required American support in Egypt and Iran"

- Iran, 1951: Britain considers military response to nationalization of Anglo-Iranian oil but decides not to act because of US opposition
 - Attlee: "in view of the attitude of the US...it would not be expedient to use force"
- Buraimi, 1952-54: Britain seeks US support over Saudi occupation of Buraimi
 - Britain unable to use force "while they required American support in Egypt and Iran"
- Egypt: Britain seeks US support in negotiations over Suez base, ultimately agrees to withdraw

- Iran, 1951: Britain considers military response to nationalization of Anglo-Iranian oil but decides not to act because of US opposition
 - Attlee: "in view of the attitude of the US...it would not be expedient to use force"
- Buraimi, 1952-54: Britain seeks US support over Saudi occupation of Buraimi
 - Britain unable to use force "while they required American support in Egypt and Iran"
- Egypt: Britain seeks US support in negotiations over Suez base, ultimately agrees to withdraw
 - Churchill "bombard[s Eisenhower] with letters pleading for American aid and support"

- Iran, 1951: Britain considers military response to nationalization of Anglo-Iranian oil but decides not to act because of US opposition
 - Attlee: "in view of the attitude of the US...it would not be expedient to use force"
- Buraimi, 1952-54: Britain seeks US support over Saudi occupation of Buraimi
 - Britain unable to use force "while they required American support in Egypt and Iran"
- Egypt: Britain seeks US support in negotiations over Suez base, ultimately agrees to withdraw
 - Churchill "bombard[s Eisenhower] with letters pleading for American aid and support"

British responses characterized by deference to US preferences

Buraimi, 1955: Britain retakes Buraimi, does not inform US

- Buraimi, 1955: Britain retakes Buraimi, does not inform US
 - Under Secretary of State Hoover "berates the British ambassador for lack of consultation"

- Buraimi, 1955: Britain retakes Buraimi, does not inform US
 - Under Secretary of State Hoover "berates the British ambassador for lack of consultation"
- Suez, 1956: Britain undertakes intervention despite US opposition

- Buraimi, 1955: Britain retakes Buraimi, does not inform US
 - Under Secretary of State Hoover "berates the British ambassador for lack of consultation"
- Suez, 1956: Britain undertakes intervention despite US opposition
 - Eden to US Under Secretary of State Murphy: a test that "could be met only by the use of force"

- Buraimi, 1955: Britain retakes Buraimi, does not inform US
 - Under Secretary of State Hoover "berates the British ambassador for lack of consultation"
- Suez, 1956: Britain undertakes intervention despite US opposition
 - Eden to US Under Secretary of State Murphy: a test that "could be met only by the use of force"
- Oman, 1957; Jordan 1958: Britain intervenes despite lack of US support

- Buraimi, 1955: Britain retakes Buraimi, does not inform US
 - Under Secretary of State Hoover "berates the British ambassador for lack of consultation"
- Suez, 1956: Britain undertakes intervention despite US opposition
 - Eden to US Under Secretary of State Murphy: a test that "could be met only by the use of force"
- Oman, 1957; Jordan 1958: Britain intervenes despite lack of US support

Did nuclear weapons cause the change? Desire for independence a core driver of British nuclear acquisition.

- Buraimi, 1955: Britain retakes Buraimi, does not inform US
 - Under Secretary of State Hoover "berates the British ambassador for lack of consultation"
- Suez, 1956: Britain undertakes intervention despite US opposition
 - Eden to US Under Secretary of State Murphy: a test that "could be met only by the use of force"
- Oman, 1957; Jordan 1958: Britain intervenes despite lack of US support

Did nuclear weapons cause the change? Desire for independence a core driver of British nuclear acquisition. Attlee: "we couldn't allow ourselves to be wholly in their hands"

1. Question

2. Typology

3. Britain

4. Conclusions

Conclusions

• British foreign policy significantly changed with the acquisition of a deliverable capability

- British foreign policy significantly changed with the acquisition of a deliverable capability
- Britain displays some but not all of the behaviors demonstrating the utility of the typology

- British foreign policy significantly changed with the acquisition of a deliverable capability
- Britain displays some but not all of the behaviors demonstrating the utility of the typology
- Moving beyond "emboldenment" is helpful we can identify more fine-grained responses to nuclear acquisition

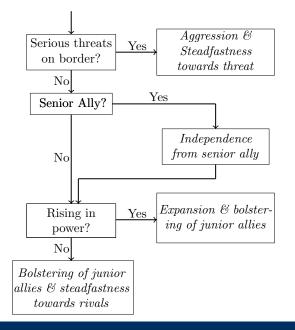
- British foreign policy significantly changed with the acquisition of a deliverable capability
- Britain displays some but not all of the behaviors demonstrating the utility of the typology
- Moving beyond "emboldenment" is helpful we can identify more fine-grained responses to nuclear acquisition
- Nuclear weapons are not simply "weapons of the weak"

Thank you!

Working paper available at: http://ssrn.com/abstract=2453155

markbell@mit.edu

Spare slides



Theory applied to Britain

