

# Notes

## Preface

1. See, for example, “Australia,” in *Preventing Nuclear Dangers in Southeast Asia and Australasia* (International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, 2009). For the argument that the US nuclear umbrella is a significant factor in constraining the spread of nuclear weapons, see Kurt M. Campbell, Robert J. Einhorn, and Mitchell B. Reiss (Eds.), *The Nuclear Tipping Point: Why States Reconsider Their Nuclear Choices* (Brookings Institution Press, Washington, DC, 2004).
2. For a discussion on the “divide” between political scientists and historians, see Francis J. Gavin, “Politics, History, and the Ivory Tower-Policy Gap in the Nuclear Proliferation Debate,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 573–600.

## Chapter 1

1. Ron Huisken, “A political strategy for nuclear disarmament,” unpublished paper, 2012.
2. The Nuclear Proliferation International History Project, of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, is the leading network of scholars on emerging nuclear history.
3. For an insightful article on this, see Francis J. Gavin, “Politics, History and the Ivory Tower-Policy Gap in the Nuclear Proliferation Debate,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (2012), pp. 573–600.
4. Curtin’s speech was significant because it reflected a realization in Australian political and defense circles that Australia was deemed dispensable by Britain.
5. This argument is made by Jacques E. C. Hymans, *The Psychology of Nuclear Proliferation: Identity, Emotions, and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006).
6. This conclusion was even explicitly acknowledged in a 1981 Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence report: *Threats to Australia’s Security: Their Nature and Probability* (Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra), pp. 18, 74, 133.

## Chapter 2

1. Most of the evidence showing *actual efforts* to acquire or develop the bomb has already been documented by Jim Walsh and others. For a comprehensive review of the history of efforts, assessments, bureaucratic processes, and debates on the nuclear option in Australia, see Jim Walsh, "Surprise Down Under: The Secret History of Australia's Nuclear Ambitions," *Nonproliferation Review* (Fall 1997), pp. 1–20; Richard Broinonowski, *Fact or Fission?: The Truth about Australia's Nuclear Ambitions* (Scribe Publications, Melbourne, 2003); Wayne Reynolds, *Australia's Bid for the Atomic Bomb* (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2000); Wayne Reynolds, "Rethinking the Joint Project: Australia's Bid for Nuclear Weapons, 1945–1960," *Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (1998), pp. 853–857; Michael Carr, "Australia and the nuclear question. A survey of government attitudes, 1945–1975," Unpublished master's thesis, University of New South Wales, 1979.
2. The policy adopted by Menzies government was that Australia should conform to "overall British strategic policy." "Strategic Basis of Australian Defence Policy"; Minute by Defence Committee at Meeting held on the 7th and 12th January". Addendum No. 4/1959. NAA: A4940, CS 83/2/5.
3. 1962 Strategic Basis. Strategic Basis papers were guidance documents prepared by the defense establishment and endorsed by the defense chiefs of staff or defence committees. They would outline the environment, challenges, and opportunities informing Australian defense policy and provide recommendations to the government of the day.
4. The prospect of limited war with an "unpredictable" Indonesia was consistently assessed as a real possibility until about 1964.
5. 1953 Strategic Basis; 1956 Strategic Basis; 1962 Strategic Basis; 1963 Strategic Basis; 1964 Strategic Basis. In 1953, Minister for External Affairs Richard Casey identified "communist imperialism based on the mainland of China" as the primary threat to regional peace and stability. Cited in Neville Meaney, *Australia and the World: A Documentary History from the 1870s to the 1970s* (Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1985), p. 593. For an overview of Australia's fears of China, see, for example, Alan Watt, *The Evolution of Australian Foreign Policy, 1938–1965* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1967), pp. 247–248; Alan Dupont, *Australia's Threat Perceptions: A Search for Security* (Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, Canberra, 1991), pp. 58–59.
6. Sentiments expressed in a letter from Defence Minister Philip McBride to Prime Minister Menzies, January 7, 1955. NAA: A1209/23, CS 57/5729.
7. See also Memorandum of discussion with Mark Oliphant, June 27, 1955. NAA: A1838/1, CS 720/3. Ernest Titterton, professor of nuclear physics at the Australian National University, was another strong advocate of Australia getting the bomb. See Ernest Titterton, *Facing the Atomic Future* (F. W. Cheshire, Melbourne, 1956), p. 135.
8. John Gorton, Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Debates (Senate), May 8, 1958.

9. 1956 Strategic Basis paper. See, for example, paras. 25–41; 1957 Strategic Basis paper, para. 4.
10. Fears about British military withdrawal in this context were buttressed, as then Secretary of Defence Sir Arthur Tange expressed, by a lack of faith in allied security guarantees. See Wayne Reynolds, *Australia's Bid for the Atomic Bomb*, p. 178. No specifications were made regarding the use of British nuclear weapons to deter aggression against Australia (1956 Strategic Basis), and no collective military plans were made for Southeast Asia in the event of global nuclear war. See also Neville Meaney, *Australia and the World: A Documentary History from the 1870s to the 1970s* (Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1985), p. 667.
11. This was noted in a report entitled "Atomic Energy (Civil Defense)," May 30, 1956, NAA: A1838/276, CS 720/10/8.
12. 1954 Strategic Basis paper. This was also the opinion of the Joint Planning Staff (Defence Committee minute), January 13, 1955, NAA: A2031, CS 8/1955.
13. T. B. Millar, *Australia in Peace and War: External Relations since 1788* (Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1978), Second edition, p. 170.
14. Robert Menzies, Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Debates (House of Representatives) April 4, 1957.
15. Report by the Australian High Commission in the United Kingdom, Views of the United Kingdom Chiefs of Staff, July 31, 1952. "ANZUS Council, 1st Meeting, Honolulu, August 1952—Brief for Australian Delegation," NAA: A10576, CS2.
16. This does not mean that senior officials in the United States did not (and do not) seriously contemplate the use of nuclear weapons. Declassified documents show the opposite to be true. See, for example, Desmond Ball, "U.S. Strategic Forces: How Would They Be Used?," *International Security*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Winter 1982–1983), pp. 31–61.
17. Australian Military Forces Minute Paper. "AHQ Directive—Nuclear Warfare," Deputy Chief of the General Staff (1956). In "Department of the Army—Atomic Warfare Policy Statements," NAA: A6456, CS R029/016.
18. A number of elements contributed to this perception. One important factor was US testing of its nuclear devices. David Holloway, *Stalin and the Bomb: The Soviet Union and Atomic Energy, 1939–1956* (Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 1994), p. 162. Another was the nature of NATO war planning in the 1950s, which inspired the Australian defence establishment to plan in the same manner. Note to James Plimsoll from Defence Liaison Branch, January 12, 1955, NAA: A1838/269, CS TS691/1. It was noted that "nuclear weapons . . . are being increasingly introduced into the armament of the great powers for employment in all aspects of offensive and defensive warfare." Memorandum by Defence Committee, "Nuclear Weapons for the Australian Forces," p. 3. February 6, 1958, NAA: A1209/80 CS 58/5155.
19. Memorandum by the Defence Committee, "Nuclear Weapons for the Australian Forces," February 6, 1958, NAA: A1209/80, CS 58/5155.
20. Moreover, even as late as the second half of the 1960s, the government was expressing serious reservations about the effectiveness of any future regional

- agreement for the limitation of the spread of nuclear weapons. See Anthony Ross and Peter King, *Australia and Nuclear Weapons: The Case for a Non-Nuclear Region in South East Asia* (Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1966), p. 93.
21. Defence Committee Minute, January 13, 1955. NAA: A2031, CS 8/1955.
  22. Memorandum by the Defense Committee, "Nuclear Weapons for the Australian Forces," February 6, 1958, NAA: A1209/80 58/5155, p. 3.
  23. Ibid.
  24. Ibid.
  25. Note by Malcolm Booker, "Thermonuclear Isolation," August 6, 1956, NAA: A1838/269, CS TS852/10/4/2.
  26. 1956 Strategic Basis paper.
  27. Richard Casey, Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates (House of Representatives), May 2, 1957.
  28. Report, "UK Defence Policy in Southeast Asia, Prime Minister's London Discussions, 1957," NAA: A1209/23, CS 57/5380.
  29. Report from Arthur Tange, the Australian Embassy in Washington, DC, to the Department of External Affairs, "The Role of Conventional and Nuclear Forces," June 10, 1955. In "UK-U.S. Defense Policy (NATO General Statement of Policy)," NAA: A4968, CS 25/16/18.
  30. Joint Intelligence Committee report, NAA: A816/31, CS 14/301/713, C(M)(56)35; 1962 Strategic Basis (see, for example, para. 40); 1956 Strategic Basis (attached intelligence assessment).
  31. Letter from Tange to acting Secretary of Defence, January 22, 1958, NAA: A 571/71, CS58/667.
  32. Cablegram from Tange to Australian Embassy in Washington, DC, June 16, 1965, NAA: A4968/2, CS 25/16/18.
  33. However, unbeknownst to Australian policy-makers, the United States had already begun devising plans for the use of nuclear weapons in East Asia, and even provisions for the circumstances in which they might be used in assisting allies. See, for example, "Far East Command Standing Operating Procedure No. 1 for Atomic Operations in the Far East Command," January 11, 1956, Document no. FEC AGJ 370.2. Available at: <http://nautilus.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/Far-East-Command-Standing-Operating-Procedure-No.-1-for-Atomic-Operations-in-the-Far-East-Command-1956.pdf>; F. J. Dyson, R. Gomer, S. Weinberg, and S. C. Wright, *Tactical Nuclear Weapons in Southeast Asia (U)*, (Institute for Defense Analyses, Washington, DC, 1967).
  34. Special comments on the paper on machinery for Australian-US Defense Co-Operation, At the first meeting of the ANZUS Council, August 15, 1952, In "ANZUS [Australia New Zealand United States] Pacific Security Council," first meeting, Honolulu, August 1952. Cabled reports of proceedings, NAA: A5954, CS 1419/18.
  35. A number of excellent works on the history of US thinking about nuclear weapons and strategy already exist. See, for example, Samuel R. Williamson and

- Steven Rearden, *The Origins of U.S. Nuclear Strategy, 1945–1953* (St. Martin's Press, New York, 1993); Martin Sherwin, *A World Destroyed: Hiroshima and Its Legacies* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA, 2003), Third edition; Stephen Younger, *The Bomb: A New History* (HarperCollins, New York, 2009); Elbridge Colby, "U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy and Policymaking: The Asian Experience," in Tom Nichols, Douglas Stuart, and Jeffrey McCausland (Eds.), *Tactical Nuclear Weapons and NATO* (Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, Carlisle, PA, 2012), pp. 75–105.
36. Stephen Younger, *The Bomb*, p. 51. For an overview of the process of nuclear war planning in the United States during this period, see David Rosenberg, "U.S. Nuclear War Planning, 1945–1960," in Desmond Ball and Jeffrey Richelson (Eds.), *Strategic Nuclear Targeting* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 1986), pp. 35–57.
  37. A. Wohlstetter and F. Hoffman, *Defending a Strategic Force after 1960* (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, 1954), p. 4.
  38. See, for example, Samuel Williamson and Steven Rearden, *The Origins of U.S. Nuclear Strategy, 1945–1953* (St. Martin's Press, New York, 1993).
  39. Margaret Gowing, *Independence and Deterrence: Great Britain and Atomic Energy, 1945–1952, Policy Making*, Vol. I (St. Martin's Press, New York, 1974), p. 310.
  40. Simon Duke, *U.S. Defense Bases in the United Kingdom: A Matter for Joint Decision?* (St. Martin's Press, New York, 1987), pp. 47–56.
  41. For more recent works on American nuclear weapons in Europe, see, for example, Tom Sauer, "Ceci N'est Pas Une . . . American Nuclear Weapon in Belgium," *European Security*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (2014), pp. 58–72; Liviu Horowitz, "Why Do They Want American Nukes? Central and Eastern European Positions Regarding U.S. Nonstrategic Nuclear Weapons," *European Security*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (2014), pp. 73–89.
  42. NSC 73/4, FRUS 1950, I, 378. US Department of State. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1945–1954* (annual volumes). Washington, DC: GPO, 1967–1985.
  43. See Robert S. Norris, William M. Arkin, and William Burr, "Were They Were," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (November/December 1999), p. 30.
  44. See, for example, Charles Wolf, *The Uses and Limitations of Nuclear Deterrence in Asia* (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA, 1964).
  45. For a comprehensive overview of the various debates on this issue, see Desmond Ball, *Politics and Force Levels: The Strategic Missile Program of the Kennedy Administration* (University of California Press, Oakland, 1980).
  46. William Kaufmann, *The McNamara Strategy* (New York, Harper & Collins, 1964).
  47. Testimony of Robert McNamara, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, *Nuclear Test Ban Treaty* (1963), p. 150. Cited in Desmond Ball, *Politics and Force Levels*, p. 84.
  48. General LeMay, Senate Appropriations Committee, *Department of Defense Appropriations for 1963*, p. 186.

49. On the development of concept of massive retaliation and flexible response and how and to what extent they were actually applied to designing US nuclear posture, see Desmond Ball, "The Role of Concepts and Doctrine in U.S. Strategic Nuclear Force Development," in Bernard Brodie, Michael D. Intriligator, and Roman Kolkowicz (Eds.), *National Security and International Stability* (Center for International and Strategic Affairs, University of California Los Angeles, Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain, Cambridge, MA, 1983), pp. 42–52.
50. Desmond Ball, *Politics and Force Levels*, pp. 190–191.
51. Air Marshal McCauley would report that the Air Force intended on acquiring the capacity to deliver nuclear weapons. Report by joint planning staff, January 10, 1955. NAA: A4968/2.
52. Cable from Chifley to Bruce, September 4, 1945, NAA: A461/2, C373/1/4.
53. For a full account of this cooperation, see Wayne Reynolds, *Australia's Bid for the Atomic Bomb*, pp. 25–47.
54. For an excellent history of the project, see Peter Morton, *Fire across the Desert: Woomera and the Anglo-Australian Joint Project, 1946–1980* (Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1989).
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.
56. Desmond Ball, *A Suitable Piece of Real Estate: American Installations in Australia* (Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, 1980).
57. Bill Bryson, *Downunder* (Doubleday, New York, 2000), p. 6.
58. For a more detailed account of the history of this conflict, see P. Dennis and J. Grey, *Emergency and Confrontation: Australian Military Operations in Malaya and Borneo 1950–1966*. Official History of Australia's Involvement in Southeast Asian Conflicts 1948–1975, Vol. 5 (Allen and Unwin and the Australian War Memorial, Sydney, 1996).
59. The 1962 Strategic Basis, for example, recommended that "the acquisition of nuclear weapons would vastly increase our offensive and defensive strength, and enhance the value of our contributions in operations under collective arrangement," p. 21.
60. Joint Planning Committee report, September 19, 1956, Submission 522 and Decision 656, February 22, 1957. The Joint Planning Staff agreed with this assessment, and stressed that Australia should have the means necessary to keep in step with "powerful friends," NAA: A816/31, CS 14/301/713; Minute by Defense Committee at Meeting held on Thursday, February 6, 1958, "Nuclear Weapons for the Australian Forces—Plutonium Production in Australia." The committee expressed the view that the possession by Australia of a low-yield nuclear capability would "vastly increase our defensive and offensive strength for national defense" and contribute to collective security arrangements. NAA: A2031, CS 18/1958; 1962 Strategic Basis, p. 21.
61. Joint Planning Committee, September 19, 1956, Submission 522 and Decision 656, February 11, 1957. The Joint Planning Staff agreed with this assessment, and stressed that Australia should have the means necessary

- to keep in step with “powerful friends.” NAA: A816/31, CS 14/301/713; Report, “British Commonwealth Discussions: Preliminary Meeting of Planners,” August–September 1953, NAA: A5954/20, CS 1452/6; Minute by Defense Committee at Meeting held on January 7 and 12, 1959, “Strategic Basis of Australian Defense Policy,” Addendum no. 4/1959, p. 18. And “Nuclear Weapons for the Australian Forces—Plutonium Production in Australia,” Minute by Defense Committee at Meeting held on Thursday, February 6, 1958. The committee expressed the view that the possession by Australia of a low-yield nuclear capability would “vastly increase our defensive and offensive strength for national defense” and contribute to collective security arrangements. NAA: 2031, CS 18/1958.
62. 1953 Strategic Basis, para. 62.
  63. “SEATO Military Planning—Use of Nuclear Weapons—Study of Circumstances under Which Nuclear Weapons Might Be Used in Pursuit of SEATO Plans,” 1962, NAA: A1945, CS 249/7/50.
  64. Discussion with Professor Hugh White, Canberra, March 5, 2010.
  65. Report, “Strategic Planning in Relation to Co-Operation in British Commonwealth Defense—The Basic Objectives of British Commonwealth Defense Policy and General Strategy,” NAA: A2031, CS86/1950.
  66. Savingram from the Department of External Affairs to Australian Embassy in Washington, “Political and Strategic Situation in the Pacific Area and the Role of the United States, Australia, and New Zealand in the Maintenance of Security,” July 18, 1952. In “ANZUS First Pacific Security Council, 1st Meeting,” NAA: A5461, CS1/4/2A, Part 1.
  67. Alan Stephens, *Going Solo: the Royal Australian Air Force, 1946–1971* (AGPS Press for the Royal Australian Air Force, Canberra, 1995), pp. 106–107.
  68. Cited in Alan Stephens, *Going Solo*, p. 95.
  69. “New Form of War,” *Age*, March 7, 1947; “New Weapons Basis for Our Defense,” *Herald*, March 7, 1947.
  70. For a terrific account of this enterprise, see Peter Morton, *Fire across the Desert*.
  71. For details of this, see Jim Walsh, “Surprise Down Under.” Air Chief Marshal Frederick Scherger had also made an informal request to the British to acquire tactical nuclear weapons.
  72. Report, “Netherlands New Guinea,” 1958, in “ANZUS—Council Papers for the Minister [South East Asia, Indonesia, West New Guinea, Disarmament, Nuclear Weapons],” NAA: A10299, CS A16.
  73. Bill Hayden, *Hayden, an Autobiography* (Angus & Robertson, Pymble, NSW, 1996), p. 459.
  74. Report on United Kingdom Defense Policy report. Defense Committee, January 15, 1955, in “UK-U.S. Defense Policy (NATO General Statement of Policy),” NAA: A4968, CS 25/16/18.
  75. Appendix I to Annex 1, 1956 Strategic Basis paper.
  76. *Ibid.*, p. 4, underline in original.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
78. Letter from Tange, Secretary of External Affairs, to Sir Philip McBride, acting Minister for External Affairs, June 9, 1954. "Geneva Conference—Indo China. Action in the Event of Overt Chinese Communist Aggression—United States' Proposed Minute for Adoption by Members of the ANZUS Treaty," NAA: A5954, CS 2297/5.
79. This point was made by Marshall Green, Regional Planning Adviser, Far East. In "United States of America—Defense—Guided Missiles Project—Intercontinental Ballistic Missile," 1958. NAA:A1838, CS 250/11/8.
80. "Review of ANZAM Planning by United States Joint Chiefs of Staff." File No. 4 from Mr Casey's discussions in Washington at ANZUS Council meeting, 1955, NAA: A5954, CS1465/1.
81. *Ibid.*
82. This was also the subject of discussion between Menzies and Acheson. Reports, "Linking of ANZAM Planning with United States Planning," "The Relation of the Military Machinery to Other Established Regional Machinery," "ANZUS Council: Background Information on NATO, 29 July 1952," "ANZUS Council, 1st Meeting, Honolulu, August 1952—Brief for Australian Delegation," NAA: A10576, CS 2.
83. Report, "Southeast Asia. Defense Talks. Tripartite Chiefs of Staff Talks, Washington D.C.," in "ANZUS Council, 1st Meeting, Honolulu, August 1952—Brief for Australian Delegation," January 11, 1952, NAA, A10576, CS 2.
84. "ANZUS—Council Papers for the Minister [South East Asia, Indonesia, West New Guinea, Disarmament, Nuclear Weapons]," 1958, NAA: A10299, CS A16.
85. Inward cablegram from Australian embassy in Washington, DC, June 5, 1954. Text of informal "talking paper" given by Dulles to Munro and Spender. In "Geneva Conference—Indo China. Action in the Event of Overt Chinese Communist Aggression—United States," Proposed minute for adoption by members of the ANZUS Treaty, NAA: A5954, CS 2297/5.
86. *Ibid.*
87. Brief for Australian delegation attending 1st ANZUS Council meeting in Honolulu, August 1952. "ANZAM Area. Review of Major Decisions and Issues," NAA: A10576, CS 2.
88. News cable from US Ambassador to Australia Pete Jarman, to Austemba from Austcon, regarding 1st ANZUS Council meeting, November 25, 1952, NAA: A5461, CS1/4/2A.
89. Text of personal message, Anthony Eden to Richard Casey, May 22, 1954. In "Indo-China situation—ANZUS Council Proposal for Military Studies File No. 1," NAA: A5954, CS 2297/1.
90. 1956 Strategic Basis, p. 12.
91. T. B. Millar, *Australia in Peace and War*, pp. 142–145.



### Chapter 3

1. Alexander Lanoszka, "Protection States Trust?: Major Power Patronage, Nuclear Behavior, and Alliance Dynamics" (PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2013).
2. John Gorton, Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Debates (Senate), May 8, 1957.
3. Inward cablegram, Department of External Affairs, I43178. 1965. In "United Nations—Nuclear Weapons—Policy and Capability of Certain Powers—Indonesia." NAA, A1838, CS 919/12/10 Part 1.
4. Statement by Indonesian Brigadier-General Hartono, Director of the Army Equipment Department. Cited in an inward cablegram from the Australian embassy in Jakarta, November 17, 1964. In "United Nations—Nuclear Weapons—Policy and Capability of Certain Powers," NAA: A1838, CS 919/12/10, Part 1.
5. US State Department, Addendum INR Contribution National Intelligence Assessment 4-65. "The Likelihood of Further Nuclear Proliferation." November 4, 1965.
6. Joint Intelligence Committee Assessment, "Indonesian nuclear capacity," September 24, 1965. NAA: A1838, CS 919/12/10 Part 1.
7. A detailed examination of Indonesia's brief consideration of the bomb can be found in Robert Cornjeo, "When Soekarno Sought the Bomb: Indonesian Nuclear Aspirations in the Mid-1960s," *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Summer 2000), pp. 31–43. For a detailed overview of the past and present status of Indonesia's nuclear technology infrastructure, see *Preventing Nuclear Dangers in Southeast Asia and Australasia* (International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, 2009).
8. Inward cablegram to the Department of External Affairs from the Australian embassy in Jakarta, August 5, 1965. In "United Nations—Nuclear Weapons Policy and Capability of Certain Powers—India," NAA: A1838, CS 919/12/9 Part 1.
9. Inward cablegram from Australian embassy in Washington, DC, "The Guam Doctrine," August 10, 1969, NAA: A5882, CS CO818.
10. See a note from Petheridge to Booker. "It may be a little rash to assume that Japan will continue to remain committed to peaceful policies." In "Australian Nuclear Capability," November 23, 1967. NAA: A1838, CS TS919/10/5 Part 1, "Non Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons"; Cablegram, November 28, 1967. In "The Strategic Nuclear Balance, Nuclear Weapons Development and Use—General," NAA:A1838, TS681/6, Part 6.
11. 1953 Strategic Basis, p. 5.
12. For a thorough examination of the "missile gap" issue, see Edgar Bottome, *The Missile Gap* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, Rutherford, NJ, 1971).
13. Denis Healey, "The *Sputnik* and Western Defense," Address at Chatham House, December 17, *International Affairs*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (1957), pp. 148–149.

14. Nicholas McKenna, Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Debates (Senate), May 23, 1963.
15. Cable from the Secretary to the Acting Secretary, American embassy in Canberra to Washington, April 6, 1968. The National Security Archive. Available at: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ebb253/index.htm>.
16. Memorandum of Conversation, United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, "Consultations with Australians on NPT and Status of Interpretations on Articles I and II 24 April 1968." The National Security Archive. Available at: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ebb253/index.htm>.
17. Comment by Bill Pritchett, in "Non Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons," April 22, 1968, NAA: A1838, CSTS919/10/5, Part 8.
18. Outward cablegram to the Australian delegation to the United Nations, New York, May 6, 1968. NAA: A1838, CS 250/9/11, Part 1.
19. Tony Mulvihill, Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Debates (Senate), May 9, 1968.
20. Don Willesee, Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Debates (Senate), May 23, 1963.
21. Briefing to the Department of External Affairs from the Australian High Commission in New Delhi. December 1, 1964. In "United Nations—Nuclear Weapons Policy and Capability of Certain Powers—India," NAA: A1838, CS 919/12/9 Part 1.
22. The 1975 Strategic Basis stated more explicitly than previous Strategic Basis papers that "the possibility of nuclear proliferation in the coming decades must now be taken into account by Australian policy."
23. Department of Defense report on implications of Indian nuclear explosion, "India—nuclear weapons development and use." June 3, 1974, NAA: A1838, TS697/2/5 Part 2.
24. Robert McNamara, cited in William Kaufmann, *The McNamara Strategy* (Harper & Collins, New York, 1964), p. 116.
25. This does not mean that nuclear weapons were not considered as instruments of deterrence in the pre-order vision, but rather that they are not considered as "conventional" war-fighting tools.
26. 1959 Strategic Basis, para. 54.
27. Briefing for the President, SIOP-62. Cited in Scott Sagan, "SIOP-62: The Nuclear War Plan Briefing to President Kennedy," *International Security*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Summer 1987), p. 35.
28. For a more detailed discussion of China in US nuclear war planning, see Hans Kristensen, Robert Norris, and Matthew McKinsie, "Chinese Nuclear Forces and U.S. Nuclear War Planning," The Federation of American Scientists and The National Resources Defense Council, Washington, DC, November 2006; Ron Huisken, "Nuclear Weapons in China-U.S. Relations: A Resilient Connection," *Global Change, Peace and Security*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (October 2009).
29. Memorandum by the Commandant of the Marine Corps for the Joint Chiefs of Staff on Review of the NSTL/SIOP-62 and Related Policy Guidance, Serial 0003B1961, February 8, 1961.

30. Comments by I. B. Ferguson, July 1963, in "SEATO Military Planning—Use of Nuclear Weapons," NAA: A1945, CS 249/7/50.
31. Comments, in "ANZUS—Council Papers for the Minister [Southeast Asia, Indonesia, West New Guinea, Disarmament, Nuclear Weapons]," 1958, NAA: A10299, A16.
32. Outward cablegram from the Australian mission to the United Nations to the Australian embassy in Washington, DC, 1963, NAA: A1945, CS 249/7/50. "SEATO Military Planning—Use of Nuclear Weapons—Study of Circumstances under Which Nuclear Weapons Might Be Used in Pursuit of SEATO Plans."
33. Comments. Attachment to Joint Planning Committee Agendum no. 88/63. "SEATO Military Planning—Use of Nuclear Weapons—Study of Circumstances under Which Nuclear Weapons Might Be Used in Pursuit of SEATO Plans," NAA: A1945, CS 249/7/50. In this same file, an outward cablegram from the Australian mission to the United Nations to the Australian embassy in Washington, DC, noted remarks by Dean Rusk that while the United States wanted to avoid nuclear war, the credibility of the deterrent "required that the enemy accept the possibility that the U.S. would use such weapons." The cablegram also noted, as an example of a threshold for use of nuclear weapons, that China should not be allowed to destroy Saigon and Bangkok. Sentiments about SEATO needing a nuclear component to remain credible are also expressed in the 1962 Strategic Basis:

The present military strength of SEATO nations, including their nuclear capability, would be adequate to defend non-communist South East Asia from any scale of attack, but only provided that a prompt political decision would enable nuclear weapons to be used with timeliness and effect. The conventional military strength immediately available in South East Asia to the SEATO member nations would be insufficient to meet more than a limited scale of communist attack, and even then prompt re-enforcement of that conventional military strength would be essential. The weakness of the allied military position in South East Asia would therefore lie in the degree of dependence placed on a nuclear capability rather than on conventional forces.

(1962 Strategic Basis, p. 11)

34. Ibid.
35. Record of discussions between Garfield Barwick and Dean Rusk, May 9, 1962. Outward cablegram to the Australian mission to the United Nations in New York, June 15, 1962. In "SEATO Military Planning—Use of Nuclear Weapons," NAA: A1945, CS 249/7/50.
36. Comments. Attachment to Joint Planning Committee Agendum no. 88/63, 1962. "SEATO Military Planning—Use of Nuclear Weapons—Study of Circumstances under Which Nuclear Weapons Might Be Used in Pursuit of SEATO Plans," NAA: A1945, CS 249/7/50.

37. Report, 1963, "Significance of the ANZUS Treaty," 1964, In "United States of America—Relations with Australia—Defense—General." NAA: A1838, CS 250/9/11, Part 1.
38. Report, "Significance of the ANZUS Treaty," 1964, in "United States of America—Relations with Australia—Defense—General," NAA: A1838, CS 250/911 Part 1.
39. 1968 Strategic Basis, para. 6. This is mentioned in other strategic basis papers, but much more emphasis is given in the 1968 document.
40. 1968 Strategic Basis, pp. 2–3.
41. 1968 Strategic Basis, p. 32.
42. Comment for the Minister by J. K. Walker, First Assistant Secretary in the Department of External Affairs, February 26, 1963. "Australia's Strategic Situation." Attachment to 1962 Strategic Basis.
43. Here there was specific reference to hostilities involving Australia defending New Guinea. Minute by Defense Committee including Arthur Tange and Frederick Scherger. Note attached to 1962 Strategic Basis.
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47. 1962 Strategic Basis, Ad Hoc Working Party submission, Part III.
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49. Ibid.
50. Robert Menzies, Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Debates (House of Representatives), April 21, 1964.
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83. Cablegram, "Non-Proliferation Treaty" March 15, 1968, NAA: A1838, CS 919/12/2, Part 2.
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## Chapter 4

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5. Lance Barnard, Ministerial Statement, Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Debates (House of Representatives), August 22, 1974.
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7. 1968 Strategic Basis.
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9. 1971 Strategic Basis, p. 33.
10. “Australian Strategic Assessments and Defense Policy Objectives,” 1976, cited in Brian Toohey and Marianne Wilkinson, *The Book of Leaks: Exposes in Defense of the Public’s Right to Know* (Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1987), p. 229.
11. Report, “Significance of the ANZUS Treaty,” 1964. In “United States of America—Relations with Australia—Defense—General.” NAA: A1838, CS 250/9/11, Part 1.
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Australia is located in an area where United States' power is unlikely to be openly challenged. It is not credible in the prevailing global circumstances that, assuming there were a Soviet or Chinese interest to be served, either would regard the potential gains from exerting pressure or threat against Australia as justifying the risk to their present relations with the U.S. and with other powers.

(p. 42)

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34. National Security Study Memorandum 69, July 14, 1969. From Henry Kissinger to the Secretary of Defense and the Director of Central Intelligence, "U.S. Nuclear Policy in Asia." US Department of State, Office of the Historian. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976*, Volume XVII, *China, 1969–1972*, Document 18. Available at: <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v17/d18>.
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41. 1962 Strategic Basis, para. 68.
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56. “Australia to Sign Atom Pact,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, February 19, 1970, pp. 1, 6.
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83. This conclusion was even explicitly acknowledged by a 1981 Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defense. See *Threats to Australia’s Security: Their Nature and Probability* (Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1981), pp. 18, 74, 133.
84. A statement by Malcolm Fraser in 1969 (who later became prime minister in 1975) neatly encapsulated the government’s response to the question of the limits of US END and the security of Australia. “I think there may be another assumption underlying your question namely that the U.S. would maintain its own security ultimately, and that it wouldn’t ultimately affect the United States if the security, independence of other free world countries were threatened.” He also argued against defining the parameters of END because establishing such boundaries would ultimately weaken the guarantee in the first place. Transcript of interview between Tony Charlton, and the Hon. Malcolm Fraser, MP, Minister for Defense, GTV9, December 2, 1969. NAA: A1838 (A1838/2), CS 919/10/5, Part 30.
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## Chapter 5

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3. 1975 Strategic Basis, p. 73.
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5. Philip Baxter, *Ranger Uranium Environmental Inquiry, Transcript of Proceedings* (Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1975), pp. 2033–2094.
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13. Here the 1975 paper refers to preceding paragraphs discussing the Guam Doctrine.
14. 1975 Strategic Basis, pp. 4–5, 38–39, 61.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
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