

# “STOPPING THE NUCLEAR CASCADE— TERROR SPONSORING STATES AND NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION”

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# Stopping the Coming Nuclear Cascade

- The Road Block of Conventional Wisdom
- The Poisonous Coalition of the Terror Masters
- China, North Korea and Iran: The Proliferation Axis
- Will Diplomacy Be Enough?
- Global Zero?
- How Much Time Do We have?
- Nuclear Deterrence, Missile Defense, Forensic Detection, Technology Denial, Money Divestment
- Energy Fuel Choice
- Long Range Strike
- What's At Stake?

# FUTURE PROSPECTS

- ***In the next few years the United States may face a cascade of nuclear weapons proliferation as Iran and North Korea permanently elude the stricture of nuclear arms control and become full-fledged nuclear powers, with the ability to deliver such weapons intercontinental distances.***

# The New Nuclear Threat

- Most nuclear terror assessments assume a terror group will be the sole source of any such an attack;
- Most commentary assumes if states through IAEA rules keep nuclear material away from terror groups, that avenue of attack is closed....
- Very few “connect the dots” and conclude that a state such as Iran even as a member of the NPT and nominally under IAEA rules, will use this framework as camouflage to actually build nuclear weapons...and
- Then then create a special “nuclear terror group” for the purpose of surreptitiously delivering a nuclear terror attack on the United States.

# Terrorism: Conventional Wisdom

- ***For many terrorism is primarily "Al Qaeda, and its affiliates".***
- ***This narrow view of terrorism sees this as primarily the outgrowth of "grievances" with the US and the "West", especially Israel. Fix the grievances and terrorism ends.***
- **“Chickens have wings; terrorist organizations have partners in crime” (Shoshana Bryen, American Thinker, May 26, 2013)**
- **On October 5, 2010, former U.S. President Clinton said solving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would take away much of the motivation for terrorism around the world.**

# The Poisonous Coalition

- Over a decade ago, the legendary head of the Northern Alliance, the primary force that defeated the Soviets said this: “Al Qaeda...was just one element in a ‘poisonous coalition’” Massoud explained, that included “*Pakistani and Arab intelligence agencies; impoverished young students bused to their deaths as volunteer fighters from Pakistani religious schools; exiled Central Asian Islamic radicals; ... and wealthy sheikhs and preachers who jetted in from the Persian Gulf.*”

# Goals of Terrorist Coalition

- ***The terrorist poisonous coalition we face today is made up of both terror master states and their affiliated terror groups. It will not be persuaded to abandon its goals by moral suasion or good deeds. Its goals include hegemonic control over the Islamic world, being the broker of the petroleum resources of the Persian Gulf and Caucasus (the latter once described by a senior Russian official as "our patrimony"), and a coercive ability to render US military power impotent to challenge its ambitions.***

# China as Terror Master

- ***On China, one national security expert explained recently, "We assume the PRC is going to fully adopt accepted international economic and security norms".***
- ***But in "Coping With the Rise of China", Aaron Freiberg questions whether the PRC is willing to agree to such "rules of the road".***

# China as Terror Accomplice

*Claudia Rosett details PRC complicity in supporting the Iranian and North Korean missile and nuclear programs. Rosett describes this “axis of proliferation” explaining “both countries have become adept at exploiting routes to weapons of mass destruction in the evolving global web of illicit proliferation activities. In these webs, China has played a huge role...as a provider of equipment and technology”.*

# New York Indicts Chinese Firm

According to an indictment unsealed in Manhattan on Tuesday, the Chinese company sold tungsten, high-strength steels and exotic metals to the Defense Industries Organization, an arm of the Iranian military, from 2006 to 2008. (NY Times, April 7, 2009)

# RUSSIA: RESET OR ROGUE ACCOMPLICE?

- Russia is the biggest arms supplier to both Iran and Syria, supplying advanced weaponry and chemical weapons stocks.
- Russia continues to modernize across the board its nuclear weapons;
- It has threatened to use nuclear weapons against our NATO allies some 15 times in the past 5 years;
- It has routinely blocked or watered down UN security council measures against Iran and Syria;



# KPA LONG TERM STRATEGY



# North Korea

- ***Their goals are deadly. As the highest ranking North Korea defector disclosed in a private interview, Pyongyang's nuclear weapons will be the shield behind which they will use force to reunify the Korean peninsula.***

# The Terror Masters

- Country Reports on Terrorism, US Department of State:
- “Iran is the most significant state sponsor of terrorism...”
- Government organs of the Tehran regime are identified as “directly involved in the planning and support of terrorist attacks...”
- Both Iran and Syria routinely provide “safe haven substantial resources and guidance to terrorist organizations”. “Terror Inc.”

# IRAN

- **“If Iran acquires nuclear weapons, we will live in a new world. That is the fundamental issue we must now face. And our only choice is either to prevent it or pay the price of not having prevented it.” Henry Kissinger, May 2006**



# Will Diplomacy Stop Iran's Nuclear Ambitions?

- “A nuclear Iran would not resemble any other nuclear power. There could be no stable “balance of terror” involving that Islamic Republic. Unlike nuclear threats of the cold war, which were governed by mutual assumptions of rationality and mutual assured destruction, a world with a nuclear-armed Iran could explode at any moment. Although it might still seem reasonable to suggest a postponement of preemption until Iran were more openly nuclear, the collateral costs of any such delay could be unendurable.”
- **Louis Rene Beres, *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 8<sup>th</sup>, 2007**

# Diplomacy II

- ***Some believe that by "emphasizing diplomacy" we could stop the threatened nuclear break-out. But as Angelo Codevilla explains, "Emphasizing diplomacy is inherently meaningless. To speak thus is to pretend either that the... issues are trivial or that words can make them so. Such pretense enables the further pretense that the speaker is not on either side, rather on the side of peace." ("Advice to War Presidents: A Remedial Course in Statecraft", 2009)***

# Future Choices Are Not Between Diplomacy and Force:

- “A free standing diplomacy is an ancient American illusion. History offers few examples of it. The attempt to separate diplomacy and power results in power lacking direction and diplomacy being deprived of incentives.” Henry Kissinger, 1/21/07
- “Diplomacy without the threat of force is but prayer”, former Senator Malcolm Wallop, farewell Senate address, October 1994

# Current Conventional Wisdom

## Option 1

- Global Zero: Eliminate all nuclear weapons
- Russia and China show no interest
- North Korea and Iran pursuing nuke weapons
- Pakistan and India, China and Russia fully modernizing their nuclear forces
- Clark Murdock CSIS Study says no connection between US-Russian Arms Control deals and less proliferation

# Global Zero: Counter Proliferation Tool?

- ***To counter this unease, advocates of fewer nuclear weapons claim that our good moral example--further reducing our nuclear deterrent--will make it easier for American officials to argue with foreign officials to help with Iran and North Korea. They ask, "How can the US ask others to give up nuclear weapons when it hasn't yet?" When asked about the idea of the US going to zero, the late North Korean dictator Kim Jong Il is supposed to have replied: "Sure, you first".***

## Conventional Wisdom #2 on Arms Control and Missile Defense 2002

- ***In 2002 the New York Times wrote:***
- ***“Missile defense plans the US was pursuing reflected a “new primacy of unfettered American self-interest” which would “demolish the scaffolding of arms control agreements”.***
- ***Arms control official Jack Mendelsohn, called missile defense supporters “the deceivers”, seeking to kill the “constraints of arms control treaties”.***
- ***Ironically, between 2002-8, after the US withdrew from the ABM Treaty, the US deployed over 1000 missile defense interceptors and simultaneously cut our deployed nuclear weapons by nearly seventy percent.***

## Conventional Wisdom #3: Nuclear Weapons Did Not Stop and 9/11

- ***Even others argue that since nuclear weapons did not stop 9/11 they then have no utility.***
- ***By that logic, our conventional forces, Coast Guard, immigration service, and police--since none stopped 9/11-- should be eliminated as well.***

# A New Comprehensive Strategy

- US Security Policy Must Confront Nuclear Cascade Across Board

Nuclear Deterrence—Stop bad stuff from being used and being proliferated

Missile Defense—Intercept Bad Stuff

Nuclear Forensics—Detect Bad Stuff

Denial—Interdict Bad Stuff

Divestment—Take Money Away that Buys Bad Stuff

# Nuclear Deterrence

- US nuclear Triad sustainment critical to maintain deterrence and crisis stability
- Extended deterrence for 31+ allies is critical to stopping proliferation
- No Evidence reductions in our nukes cause reductions in Iran-NK-China nukes
- Deterrence critical to avoid the use of nuclear weapons by any of the nuclear powers

# Fragile Extended Deterrence

- ***Our allies see the rapid modernization of nuclear forces in China and an across the board modernization of Russian nuclear forces. At the same time, North Korea tests another nuclear weapons and launches a 3-stage, solid fueled rocket capable of reaching the west coast of the United States. And Iran continues apace seeking nuclear weapons.***

# The Bargain of Nuclear Deterrence

- \$23 billion/year buys deterrence; 70 years perfect record;
- 400 conflicts in some 62 countries as of summer 2013 without major nuclear powers using such weapons
- Current Triad of 500+ nuclear platforms guarantee survival of forces and crisis stability
- Adversary must conclude—“Not Today Comrade”
- 31+ nations rely on US extended deterrent—major counter pressure to allied proliferation

# Missile Defenses

- By 2014, the US and its allies will have deployed 1400 interceptors on land and sea;
- Cooperative Allies include Japan, Israel, Germany, Italy, England, Denmark, Australia, Taiwan, ROK, Poland, the Czech Republic, Romania and Bulgaria, (22 Nations)
- Since September 2001, US and allies have conducted some 64 Successful tests of hit to kill technology
- “Missile Defenses Are a Key Non-Proliferation Tool”, Paula DeSutter, Assistant Secretary of State, April 10, 2006

# MDA OCTOBER 2013 FACT SHEET

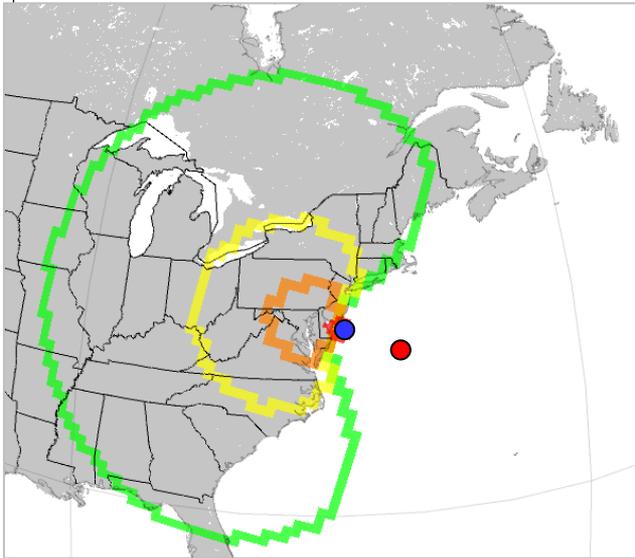
- **Overall Test Record**
- 64 of 80 hit-to-kill intercept attempts have been successful across all programs since the integrated system began
- development in 2001
- o Includes Aegis Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD), Ground-based Midcourse Defense (GMD), Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD), and PATRIOT Advanced Capability-3
- 43 of 55 hit-to-kill intercept attempts have been achieved for THAAD, Aegis BMD, and GMD test programs since 2001

# Interceptors Defended Areas

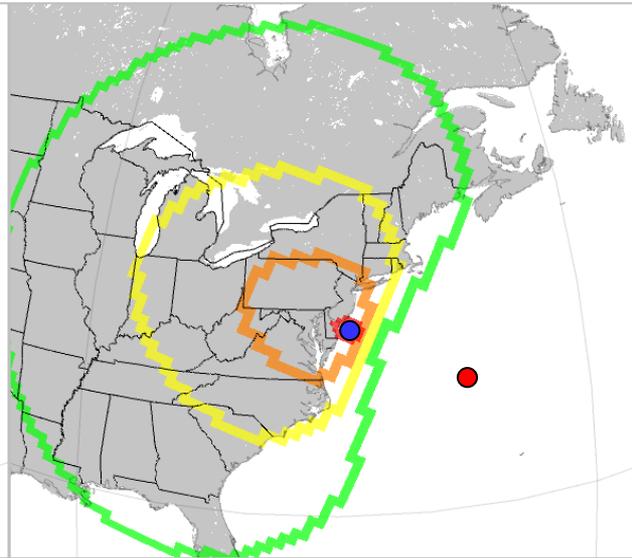
The air burst is usually several hundred to a few thousand feet (100 to 1000m) above the hypocenter. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Air\\_burst](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Air_burst)

## Generic interceptor defended areas.

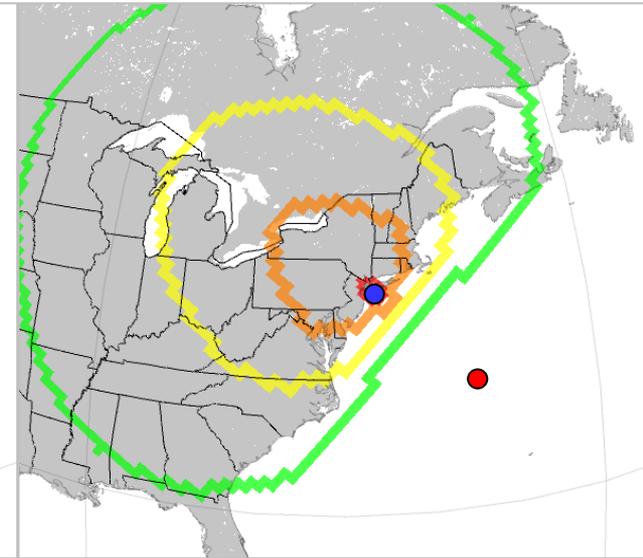
Threat 300 km from coast



Threat 700 km from coast



Interceptor near New York



Interceptor Velocity  
1.5 km/s  
2.5 km/s  
3.5 km/s  
4.5 km/s

- Threat Launch
- Generic Interceptor

Threat: Generic minimum energy trajectories

Interceptor: Single stage, 60 sec. burn time.

First launch: 30 sec. after threat burnout.

No radar limitations. No errors.

Minimum intercept altitude: 100 km (except 1.5 km/s, which can intercept down to the ground)

# EMP Gravest Threat

- The two EMP Commission reports Since 2006, North Korea has had at least three apparently successful nuclear tests and orbited a satellite, thus fulfilling the basic technological needs for an intercontinental ballistic missile that can deliver a nuclear warhead against the U.S.
- Miniaturizing a warhead to fit on a missile is not an overwhelming technical obstacle. Far greater technological challenges are building and testing nuclear weapons and developing a long-range missile that can send a satellite into orbit. Compared with these feats, warhead miniaturization is easy.
- North Korea needs only one ICBM capable of delivering a single nuclear warhead in order to pose an existential threat to the U.S. The Congressional Electromagnetic Pulse Commission, the Congressional Strategic Posture Commission and several other U.S. government studies have established that detonating a nuclear weapon high above any part of the U.S. mainland would generate a catastrophic electromagnetic pulse.
- An EMP attack would collapse the electric grid and other infrastructure that depends on it—communications, transportation, banking and finance, food and water—necessary to sustain modern civilization and the lives of 300 million Americans.
- R. James Woolsey and Peter Pry, Wall Street Journal, May 21, 2013

# Detection: Nuclear Forensics

- “Every week, a group of experts from agencies around the government - including the C.I.A., the Pentagon, the F.B.I. and the Energy Department - meet to assess Washington's progress toward solving a grim problem: if...a nuclear bomb is detonated in an American city, could the United States determine who detonated it and who provided the nuclear material? [Note:An EMP explosion leaves no residue to measure].....
- “So far, the answer is maybe. That uncertainty lies at the center of a vigorous, but carefully cloaked, debate ...It focuses on how to refashion the American approach to nuclear deterrence...”

# Proliferation Security Initiative, PSI

- On October 4<sup>th</sup>, 2003, the US and its allies intercepted and boarded a German freighter, “The BBC China”, carrying 13,000 centrifuges from Malaysia being sold by the Pakistani A.Q. Khan network for the creation of nuclear weapons material. The destination: Libya
- This led to the establishment of the PSI

# 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of PSI

- "The PSI is an important tool in our efforts to break up black markets, detect and intercept WMD materials in transit, and use financial tools to disrupt this dangerous trade. It is an innovative and proactive approach to preventing proliferation that relies on voluntary actions by states that are consistent with their national legal authorities and relevant international law and frameworks. PSI participants use existing authorities — national and international — to put an end to WMD-related trafficking." 2010 QDR

# Disinvestment

- Follow The Money
- The State of Maryland Retirement and Pension System has invested in 101 Companies with ties to terror sponsoring and proliferation states
- How Much? \$1,925,716,152.24
- These companies are involved in \$23 billion in projects in Iran, North Korea, the Sudan and North Korea, Syria
- Legislation has been implemented in Missouri, Louisiana and 23 states which now have some degree of “terror free investing”
- Legislation has been introduced 29 states, such as in Georgia, Illinois, California, Maryland, City of New York, eliminated \$18 billion in investments
- Sanctions on Iranian banking and energy sectors are a more well-known aspect of “divestment” ...

# Open Fuel Standard/Energy Policy

- Developing an open fuel standard for all automobiles sold in America
- Luft and Korin: **Turning Oil Into Salt: Energy Independence Through Fuel Choice**
- **Developing of all US fuel capability including methanol from coal and natural gas, fracking and all competitive alternatives would drive a stake through the heart of OPEC**
- **Dropping oil prices would un-fund terrorist sponsoring states**

# Long Range Prompt Conventional Strike

- The development of a prompt, global conventional strike capability critically important
- Technology would give the US and its allies an important tool in the anti-terrorist tool kit
- Prompt global strike (PGS) would allow the United States to strike targets anywhere on Earth with conventional weapons in as little as an hour.
- This capability may bolster U.S. efforts to deter and defeat adversaries by allowing the United States to attack high-value targets or “fleeting targets” at the start of or during a conflict.

# But....The Nuclear Clocks Are Ticking...

- How Much Time Do We Have to Stop, Contain or Rollback Nuclear Proliferation and its Twin Challenge of Nuclear Terrorism?
- Nuclear State-Terrorism will probably be unannounced and surreptitious—making warning very difficult and attribution highly unlikely....

# Telling Time: The Ticking of Nuclear Clocks

- ***Many experts believe we will know when the nuclear cascade gets worse. But the nuclear programs of China, North Korea and Iran are not advertised. There is no Congressional Record where such plans are revealed.***
- ***The former Israeli UN ambassador Dore Gold has explained the “bad guys” nuclear clocks are running at a speed only known to them. Our clocks in response--nuclear deterrence, missile defense, forensic detection, denial, and sanctions/divestment –have their own speed.....***

# Our History Clocks

- We won World War II in 44 months
- Israel built, deployed and used Iron Dome in 39 months from inception
- General Bernard Schriever put Minuteman in the field from initial R&D in 48 months
- But, the US took 27 and 30 years, respectively, to pass legislation to build a national missile defense and then get rid of the ABM Treaty (July 1972 to July 1999 and June 2002) from the time the treaty was signed into law

“If we wait, it will be too late” Senator Kelly Ayotte, (R-NH), March 19, 2013

- ***It is not as if the United States cannot accomplish great things in very short periods of time.***
- ***After all, as R. James Woolsey has noted, we won World War II in 45 months. Draft passed Sept 16, 1940; House vote: 203-202***
- ***But the Keystone Pipeline is now under review for the 60<sup>th</sup> month since construction started on the Canadian side of the border***
- ***The 800 mile TAPS was constructed in 27 months—Trans Alaskan Pipeline System—Initially Approved 50-49 July 14; After the 1973 oil embargo Senate approved 85-5 November 13, 1973***

# IMPLICATIONS....

- If the threat of “terrorism” is not primarily loose bands of “jihadis”, but state sponsors of terror, the implications for US policy are serious. Iran and Syria seek to create their own “empires”, whether it is masters of a region, the Middle East or the Islamic world.
- As a country, we have to decide whether we believe such objectives can be contained or deterred, or whether ending this empire of terror should be our objective. And most critically, we have to face squarely the question: how much time do we have to accomplish these tasks?

# Implications.....

- Their accomplices, including North Korea, China, Russia, and Venezuela seek power and are willing to use whatever means necessary including the use of terrorist force. The Russians see the energy resources of the Caspian as their “patrimony”; China seeks to “lock-up” energy supplies for its 1.3 billion people and is willing to seek partnership with nuclear armed states to do so, whether Iran or Pakistan; North Korea seeks to reunify the peninsula with military force backed by nuclear weapons; while Venezuela and its “Marxist” allies in the Americas seek partnerships with drug cartels, terror groups and others to do America harm.

# City on a Shining Hill

- ***Nearly a quarter of a century ago, President Reagan called upon us to always remember our calling to recreate every generation that "Shining city on the Hill".***
- **He warned us our liberty could vanish in one generation if not protected.**
- ***To protect our people, to "provide for the common defense" is indeed our highest calling.***