"THE GROWING NUCLEAR CASCADE—TERROR SPONSORING STATES AND NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION"

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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.

Terrorism: Conventional Wisdom

- Terrorism is, according to the administration, primarily "Al Qaeda, and its affiliates". With the death of Osama bin Laden, terrorism has often been described as nearly eliminated.
- Coupled with this narrow view of terrorism is a paradigm that sees the phenomenon of terrorism as primarily the outgrowth of "grievances" with the US and the "West", especially Israel. Fix the grievances and terrorism ends.

China as Terror Master

- On China, it is assumed they are trying to stop proliferation. One top 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 Frieberg questions whether the PRC is willing to agree to such "rules of the road".
- Others such as Claudia Rosett have detailed Chinese 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".

North Korea

• Their goals are deadly. As the highest ranking North Korea defector disclosed in a private interview, the substance of which was made available to me, Pyongyang's nuclear weapons will be the shield behind which they will use force to reunify the Korean peninsula.



KPA LONG TERM STRATEGY





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

The Terror Masters

- Country Reports on Terrorism, 2007, 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." May 6, 2007, Washington Times

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.

Will Diplomacy Stop Iran's Nuclear Ambitions?

- "Iran's latest defiance of the International Atomic Energy Agency says it all: Further diplomacy has no chance of stopping Iran's nuclear program. Neither will UN sanctions have any effect.
- "Unless there is a timely defensive first strike at pertinent elements of Iran's expanding nuclear infrastructures, it will acquire nuclear weapons. The consequences would be intolerable and unprecedented.
- "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." *The Christian Science Monitor, May* 8th, 2007

Beyond Diplomacy

- US Security Policy Confronting Cascade
- Missile Defense—global and layered
- Extended Nuclear Deterrence—key to nonproliferation of allies
- Divestment, Sanctions, PSI, Open-Fuel Standard/End OPEC

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."

Conventional Wisdom on Arms Control and Missile Defense 2002

- For example, in 2002, the editor of the New York Times
- wrote missile defense plans the US was pursuing reflected a "new primacy of unfettered American selfinterest" which would "demolish the scaffolding of arms control agreements".
- Others such as 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.

Missile Defenses

- By 2014, the US and its allies will have deployed 1400 interceptors on land and sea capable of shooting down rockets of all ranges;
- Cooperative Allies include Japan, Israel, Germany, Italy, England, Denmark, Australia, Taiwan, ROK, Poland, the Czech Republic, Romania and Bulgaria, (22 Nations)
- Since September 2005, US and allies have conducted some 35 Successful tests of hit to kill technology including 29 successful consecutive tests
- "Missile Defenses Are a Key Non-Proliferation Tool", Paula DeSutter, Assistant Secretary of State, April 10, 2006

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.

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".

Nuclear Weapons 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.

Nuclear Deterrence

- US nuclear Triad sustainment critical to maintain deterrence
- Extended deterrence is critical to stopping proliferation
- No Evidence reductions in our nukes cause reductions in Iran-NK-China nukes
- Counter -Proliferation Requires Defense and Deterrence

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 their nuclear clocks are running at a speed only known to them. Our clock in responsenuclear deterrence and missile defense--has its own speed, but it has been slowed in recent years.

"If we wait, it will be too late" Senator Kelly Ayotte, 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 60 months since construction started on the Canadian side of the border
- The TAPS was constructed in 27 months—Trans Alaskan Pipeline System—Initially Approved 50-49 July 14 initially; After oil embargo: 85-5 November 13, 1973

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

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 elsewhere which now has "terror free investing"
- Legislation has been introduced 29 states, passed in 17 such in Georgia, Illinois, California, Maryland, City of New York, eliminated \$18 billion in investments

Proliferation Security Initiative, PSI

- On October 4th, 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 A.Q. Khan network for the creation of nuclear weapons material. The destination: Libya
- This led to the establishment of the PSI

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.
- 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.
- 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.

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.