

The Defense of Our Country: Combining Counter-Proliferation, Counter-Terrorism, Deterrence, and Defense Budgets



**PRESENTED BY PETER HUESSY, PRESIDENT,
GEOSTRATEGIC ANALYSIS, AND NATIONAL
SECURITY FELLOW, AFPC**

**PRECISION STRIKE ANNUAL REVIEW, MARCH
20, 2012, , FT. WALTON BEACH, FLORIDA,
LUNCHEON ADDRESS**

FIVE POINTS

2

- 1. Need a Comprehensive Strategy – NSDD 75
- 2. Poisonous Coalition-State Sponsors of Terrorism
- 3. Key Attributes: Missiles, Kaplan, Monsoon
- 4. Who do the Terror Groups Work For, [not who works for AQ, Hamas, Hezbollah, FARC – single gravest intelligence failure]
- 5. Practical Guide to Strategy – Global Zero vs. Nuclear Terrorism/EMP

Cold War Proliferation History

3

- *NPT and Test Ban
- *Extended Deterrence
- *NATO, ASEAN
- India, Pakistan
- South Africa, Brazil, Argentina....
- IAEA, Nuclear Suppliers Group
- Primarily looking for illicit technology transfers

Cold War Deterrent History

4

- *MAD, Mutual Assured Destruction, Flexible Response, Counter-Force, Correlation of Forces, Strategic Instability
- *SALT: Mutual Build-Up/Roadmap
- *Primarily Related to Western Europe/Fulda Gap, crisis becoming conflicts

The UN "Watch Dogs"...

5



Legacy of Détente and Peaceful Coexistence

6

- Soviets shifted from confrontation across the Fulda Gap to Wars of National Liberation after failure of the Korean War
- Vietcong, FARC, FMLN, Sandinistas, PLO, Black September, Red Brigades..
- Withdrawal from Indochina: Laos, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Angola, Mozambique, South Yemen, Libya, Syria, Aden, Congo, Madagascar, Seychelles, Nicaragua and Grenada
- This was NOT “containments” most successful decade

Reagan Era

7

- Identified Soviet Union as primary state sponsor of terrorism
- Terrorism as a state directed enterprise
- NSDD-75: Military Strategy: The U.S. must modernize its military forces – both nuclear and conventional – so that Soviet leaders perceive that the U.S. is determined never to accept a second place or a deteriorating military posture. Soviet calculations of possible war outcomes under any contingency must always result in outcomes so unfavorable to the USSR that there would be no incentive for the Soviet leaders to initiate an attack.

NSDD-75

8

- Use all tools to bring down Soviet Empire including energy (oil \$); technology (Mulroney); military (El Salvador, PK, SDI); diplomacy (arms control); economic (Reaganomics, stop technology transfer); Support Solidarity; Pope John Paul II, Thatcher, Kohl
- This was NOT CONTAINMENT

Terrorism Today

9

- Massoud, the Northern Alliance:
“A poisonous coalition: Pakistani and Arab intelligence agencies; impoverished young students bused to their death as volunteer fighters from Pakistani religious schools; exiled Central Asian Islamic radicals trying to establish bases in Afghanistan for their revolutionary movements; and wealthy sheikhs and preachers who jetted in from the Persian Gulf with money, supplies, and inspiration.”

Coalition Today

10

- Iran, Syria, NK, Venezuela, China, Pakistan ISI and Russia
- Khan network, “Nukes ‘R Us”
- PA, Hamas, Hezbollah, Abu Sayef, AQ, FARC
- Do we want a MAD relationship with these guys?
- Proliferate missiles and nuclear weapons from Pakistan/NK to Iran, NK, Libya, Iraq

Organized State Terrorism

11

RAWRZ INVESTOR'S BUSINESS DAILY
2011©

THERE IS NO CONNECTION
BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND
THE TALIBAN OR THE
HAQQANI NETWORK.



www.investors.com/cartoons

Law Enforcement Approach to Terrorism

12

- Richard Lowry, the editor of the National Review, in his book “Legacy”: “In the administration’s debate over how to respond to the bombing of the Khobar Towers, in which 19 American service-members were killed, the Saudi ambassador to the United States told our FBI director that the White House wanted to, quote, ‘avoid confrontation at all costs,’ and use, quote, ‘the law enforcement approach to terrorism only,’ in part out of fear that identifying state sponsors of terror would require us to face the daunting dilemma of whether to actually go to war or pretend war was not necessary.”

State Sponsors of Terror

13

- At the time, Dale Watson, who was an executive assistant director of the FBI for counterterrorism, was asked about Khobar Towers. What would you do if there was a state sponsor behind this? In his view, he answered, the administration's attitude is look the other way. When asked why? Well because to admit a state sponsor was behind terror attacks against the United States is an implicit understanding that states are at war with us.

The Terror Masters

14

- Our friend Robert McGuinness in the Washington Times writes “The leaked documents demonstrate Tehran routinely equipping and training Iraqi militia, and Iranian agents and soldiers operating inside Iraq killing American forces.”

Proliferation and Jihad: Whose the Cowboy?

15



A Poisonous Coalition

16

- Syria facilitates transfer of jihadis to Iraq, major protector of Hezbollah in Lebanon...
- Pakistan ISI gives sanctuary, financing and weapons to Taliban and AQ
- We have forensic evidence that Iran arms, funds and directs armed attacks in both Iraq and Afghanistan...
- FARC, Venezuela, Hezbollah, Mexican oil pipelines....

Terrorism as a Tool of State-Craft

17

- Once we recognize that terrorism is a tool of state-craft, used by governments, intelligence services, militaries and other state entities, we can see al-Qaeda, Hezbollah, Hamas, Abu Sayef, FARC and ELN for who they are: tools of our mortal enemies rather than as reform seeking jihadis or guerrillas looking to redress historical grievances. And terrorism, just like in the Cold War, is the most convenient weapon for governments *precisely because it breaks the string of attribution that would otherwise make retaliation and deterrence possible.*

Nukes, Missiles and Terrorism

18

- NPT, DTRA and Nunn-Lugar very valuable tools for cooperative countries...
- START process irrelevant to nuclear proliferation: Iran and NK do not look to the US for moral guidance on whether to adopt “Global Zero”
- As both Kim Jong Il and Ahmadinejad have noted: “You first”
- Missile technology spreads to dozens of countries and to state sponsored terrorist groups.

The Conventional Approach

19

- Take North Korea, when it exploded one of its nuclear weapons the UN experts quickly said: “We encourage the three countries most threatened: Taiwan, South Korea and Japan, to reaffirm their commitment to the NPT and to their non-nuclear status.” (NY Times)
- That must have gotten Kim Jong-Il's attention.
- North Korea may have conducted two covert nuclear weapons tests in 2010, according to a fresh analysis of radioisotope data (2/3/12).

North Korea.....

20



Motivation?

21

- Grievance Theory of Terrorism: "Mommy They Made Me Do It" ..
- "President Clinton has said that solving the Palestinian problem could result in Syria ending the support for the Lebanese militant group Hezbollah, Iran turning back its controversial nuclear program." He said it would take away the impetus for terror in the whole world, not just the region, the whole world. In fact the ex-president said it would have more impact, quote, "by far than anything else that could be done."

Perspectives Matter

22



Conventional Wisdom....

- If you remember, in February of 2002 the Uncle Ben's advertisement executive Charlotte Beers was hired by the U.S. Department of State: She produced commercials, and I'm quoting, "To show Muslims they do not need to kill us to get our attention".
- This grievance theory is a companion to the romantic description of such "rebels" to the point where the US Ambassador to Saudi Arabia called OBL the "Che Guevara" of the Muslim world

More Conventional....

24

- GPS/Zakaria: 9/11/2001: “What explained this monstrous evil? I wrote my columns for Newsweek ...I would write a full-length essay explaining the roots of this rage against America. The result was a Newsweek essay titled, ‘Why They Hate Us? and I asked Why are they so enraged? What do they want? What will stop them from hating us?”
- Roosevelt, December 7, 1941: Why do the Japanese hate us?

What Should We Do?

25

- A full and unblinking look at state terrorism would require the adoption of a counter strategy, a full-spectrum counter terrorism and counter proliferation policy;
- Nuclear modernization, Divestment, economic sanctions, nuclear forensics, DTRA and Nunn-Lugar, missile defense, border and maritime security, the Proliferation Security Initiative, immigration reform and energy reform.
- Proper support for Defense Budgets....

Defense Budgets for Dummies

26

- August Agreement Capped All Domestic Discretionary Spending at \$1.127 trillion adjusted 2% per year for ten years
- Security Spending in FY12 and FY13 protected by a Firewall between defense and non-defense
- SecSpe is DOD, DOE/Nuclear, Coast Guard, State, Veterans
- Defense is 3% of GDP and 13.8% of the Federal Budget
- Defense Takes 100% of the Budget Cuts

Our Fiscal Situation

27

- Tax Revenue: FY2008: \$2.55 Trillion
- Tax Revenue: FY 2012: \$2.33 Trillion
- US Spending: FY 2012: \$3.59 Trillion
- Medicare & Medicaid: \$832 Billion
- Social Security: \$732 Billion
- Income Security: \$395 Billion
- Federal Pensions: \$214 Billion
- All Federal/State/Local Government Spending: \$6.67 Trillion

Fiscal Situation—More Fun...

28

- Personal Debt= \$13.4 Mortgage and \$2.5 Trillion Consumer
- Federal Debt--\$15.407 Trillion; Annual Deficit: \$1.260 Trillion
- Total National Assets: \$76.75 Trillion
- Imported Oil: \$424 Billion; \$170B OPEC
- Iran Expenditures Terrorism/Year: \$18 Billion/\$80 billion annual revenue
- Unfunded USG Unfunded Liability:

\$117,797,928,527,545

Let Us Look at Two Policy Paths: (1) Pursue Zero Global Nukes or (2) Defend vs.EMP Threat

29

- Global Zero
- Undoes extended deterrence and promotes proliferation;
- Adds incentives to build-up....
- Adds incentives to prompt launch as platforms recede in #....
- Unnerves allies and risks adventures by adversaries

WHAT SHOULD OUR PRIORITY BE?

30

- Seek Global Zero Nuclear Weapons
- \$21 Billion Year is Entire Nuclear Deterrent Costs
- Reducing to 1000 warheads from current New START level of 1550 might save as little as <\$1 billion a year...
- US has reduced its deployed nuclear weapons from 12000 in 1981 to 1550 by 2017 – lowest level since Eisenhower administration....
- Pakistan, India, NK and possibly Iran have pursued nuclear weapons status during this drawdown
- Every other nuclear weapons power is modernizing their arsenal – Putin 400 new missiles; China new mobile ICBM, new submarine, new IRBM--

What About Defending Against EMP and Taking Down the Iranian Regime?

31

- Nuclear Device can be GIVEN by the IRGC, to a terrorist group, (David Sanger, NY Times, 2011)
- Iran Shahab 3=Pakistan's Shaheen 2: Both 2000Kilometer range; the latter can carry a nuclear warhead; deployed in Venezuela
- Detonate over 70-100 kilometers over the East Coast, shutdown Boston to Atlanta
- Hans Ruhle, former Ministry of Defense, FRG, says North Korea tested two nuclear weapons in 2010 for the Iranians – a uranium enrichment bomb design...

Nuclear Threats/EMP

32

- An EMP can paralyze, perhaps beyond recovery, the national critical infrastructures (power, communications, transportation, banking and finance, food and water) that sustain modern civilization and the lives of the American people.
- The cost would be in the trillions and could end life as we know it in the United States....
- A single nuclear device detonated over Manhattan would cost multiple trillions of dollars and immediately kill 250,000 people (Diamond/Huessy 2009)

EMP Policy Challenges

33

- 1. CONUS Missile Defense--\$1 billion FYDP
- 2. Grid Protection--\$600 million (One Time)
- 3. Maritime Domain Awareness--\$600 million (FYDP)
- 4. Sanctions (SWIFT Banks) --\$0
- 5. Divestment \$0
- 6. Energy at \$30/B: Flex fuel, Zubrin/Korin/Luft {SAVE \$400 Billion Year}
- 7. Democracy Assistance--\$10's Millions
- 8. PSI -Currently Funded; add Navy Ships
- 9. Cyber warfare --\$1-2 Billion
- 10. Military Strikes-Prompt Global Strike: Technology: \$400 million

Conclusion

34

- Terrorism is State Sponsored: A Poisonous Coalition
- Coalition Seeks Nuclear Weapons and Ballistic Missiles
- Traditional rules governing US-USSR in Cold War largely irrelevant....especially pursuit of global zero and further cuts...
- Entire arsenal of policies needed for non-cooperative countries
- Regime change highest priority, (Condi Rice)
- Match Policy with Threat

Some Folks Have Differing Perspectives

35



911 Boat Lift

36

*In case I'm not the only one who was unaware of this ...
really remarkable!*

<http://www.road2resilience.com/video-boatlift-a-911-tale-of-resilience/>