

# 2007 The Strategic Outlook

Strategic Lessons, Regime Change  
Proliferation Threats, the Intel  
Record, Defense Budgets, & Deficits

# Outline

- I. Cold War Lessons
- II. Post Cold War Lessons
- III. Past and Present of “Regime Change”
- IV. The Intel Record
- V. Counter Proliferation Lessons
- VI. Major Issues?
- VII. Iran As a Test Case
- VIII. The Role of the Media
- Addendum: Some Budget Numbers

# The Ultimate in Precision Strike

- It was 1980. The Russell Senate Office Building, Room 222. Hearings on Strategic Nuclear Modernization. The Chairman of the JCS, USAF General David Jones, was asked by Senator John Stennis: “What would the US do if faced with a nuclear armed Libya?”
- The General replied: “Call Qaddafi and keep him on the phone for thirty minutes.”

# STRATEGIC LESSONS: Cold War Targeting

- **Defined Frontier of the Fulda Gap and 38<sup>th</sup> Parallel in Korea**
- **Nuclear Deterrence Targeted Key Nuclear Forces, Industrial Sites, Conventional Tank Armies**
- **Amount of firepower required to destroy targets exponentially reduced—2 B-2 can do the job with JDAMs of 75 aircraft**
- **1996 attack on Libya required 100 combat and support aircraft + 2 carrier battle groups**
- **Only 15% of current Congressional Members in House/Senate in 1991**

# Post-Vietnam Cold War Conflicts: Precision Strike Role\*

- Capture of the Mayaguez, (1975); Iran Embassy Takeover, (1979); Sandinista's take over Nicaragua, (1979); FMLN seeks overthrow of El Salvador, (1979-90); Beirut Barracks destroyed, (1983); Grenada Liberated, (1983); Afghanistan Mujadeen receive Stingers\*, (1983); Embassy in Lebanon Bombed, (1983); Libyan\* strikes in response to Berlin disco bombing, (1986); Lockerbie Pan Am (1988); and expulsion of Iraq from Kuwait\*, (1991).

# Post-Cold War Conflicts

- **Less Defined Borders and Frontiers**
- **Significant Requirement for Elegant Precision and Intelligence in Some Areas**
- **Haiti, Somalia, Kosovo, Iraq, Afghanistan**
- **Non and Counter Proliferation of WMD rises to most serious threat**
- **USSR nuclear weapons: we knew where they were**
- **We have little if any quality information about nuclear programs in Libya, Iraq, Iran and North Korea**

# Is the US Guilty of Pushing Regime Change?

- In the 1970s there were 16 nations that were taken over by communist regimes; another 6 went from allied with the US to adversary, most notably Iran. President Carter had campaigned on a platform of ending US support for allied third world dictators in Korea, the Philippines, Chile, Nicaragua and El Salvador. Largest recipient of US foreign assistance in 1979 after Israel and Egypt: the Sandinistas government of Nicaragua

# Regime Change 2007

- Iran Seeks to Overthrow Israel, Lebanon and Iraq.
- North Korea Seeks Unification of Korean Peninsula under North Korean Rule
- Question: Why Should the US Be Giving These Guys a “Security Guarantee?”

# Regime Change 80's

- Nicaragua and Grenada ended communist tyrannies
- The Warsaw Pact and Communism ended in Eastern Europe: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Russia, Bulgaria, East Germany, the Baltic's
- Soviet occupation ended in Afghanistan
- Cubans Removed from Angola

# THE INTELLIGENCE RECORD

- **A recent article concluded that the use of PGM's and other precision strike capabilities was complicated by the requirement for elegant intelligence:**
- **The fundamental condition of launching a successful attack or inspection is knowledge of "where".**
- **"Without information about the location of hidden nuclear material and installations, no meaningful inspections are feasible". H. Blix, Washington Quarterly, Autumn 1992**

# 1981 USSR/TERRORISM

- Former USAF Secretary Reed in “At the Abyss” notes CIA Director Casey asked for a CIA assessment of USSR connection to terrorism. The reply: The USSR is opposed to terrorism. Evidence presented: Copies of editorials in Pravda and Tass broadcasts

# The Intel Record, (cont)

- **Haiti: Aristide was a “democrat”**
- **Somalia: Adide could be a peace partner**
- **Kosovo/Bosnia: Milosevic in 1995 was our peace partner—**
- **Iran’s Khomeini “Is a Saint”, (Amb Young;) “Is a Moderate”, SecState Vance);**
- **Iraq: Missing the transfer of WMD to Syria and the \$100 billion oil for palaces scam**
- **NK: Missed the Uranium Enrichment Facility; lack of sound intel led to faulty Agreed Framework**
- **Missed Pakistani and Indian nuclear bomb tests**
- **Misjudged Iraqi nuclear program circa 1991**
- **Missed Extent of the Libyan nuclear weapons program**
- **Missed Extent of the Iranian nuclear weapons program**
- **Missed Khan network and nuclear weapons cartel**

# Counter Proliferation Lessons?

- **Good target identification not there re: Iran, Iraq, North Korea, Libya, nuclear programs**
- **Makes military options perhaps less useful or credible**
- **But taking such options off the table forces negotiations into an arms control cul de sac, e.g., the Agreed Framework deals with Iran and North Korea**
- **Proliferation Security Initiative: Extraordinary success re: Khan network and Libyan program**
- **Interdiction of Sudanese freighter carrying explosives with the equivalent power of the nuclear bomb dropped on Hiroshima; interdiction of ship carrying 13000 centrifuges for Libya**

# Lessons of Proliferation

- David Kay: “The threat from Iraq is even more serious not because of stockpiles of weapons—which still remain unaccounted for—but because Iraq had become prior to its liberation a ‘terrorists bazaar’ where weapons of mass destruction know-how and technology could be stolen, bought or smuggled.” [Testimony before the SASC, January 2004]

## In This Context, What Then With Congress and Defense Budgets?

- Ten: (Remember issues are not just budgetary in nature—i.e., \$s, but also involve the time which will be devoted to them)
- 1. Future Direction of Strategic Nuclear Forces, especially RRW and Conventional Ballistic Missile: Giving a long range precision, prompt strike capability with a conventional payload

## Issues, (cont)

- 2. Cost and Timeline for deployment of space assets especially following the Chinese ASAT test; issue of “weaponization of space”, the MDA space-based test bed, the ASAT test bed at Redstone, and USAF Space Programs

# Issues

- 3. Tactical Aircraft, specifically proposed reductions in F-22 and relationship to JSF
- 4. Transfer, cancellation and Supplement of Some DOD technologies such as the High Altitude Airship, Predator and Global Hawk for domestic homeland security
- 5. Missile Defense: \$9B for missile defense which is .021% of the Defense Budget and .003% of the Federal Budget, especially European Third Site

# Issues

- 6. Has the intel reform bill reformed intel?  
[For the record: no]
- 7. Replenishment of forces worn out, especially Marines and Army—future budgets big impact; how to determine
- 8. Acquisition Reform: Time to deploy; cost estimating, unit costs.

# Issues

- 9. Quality of Life Issues: Health Care; Post-Service Care; In Theater Availability of Weapons/Supplies outside of FOBs.
- 10. What is the relationship of the Balanced Budget proposals to Defense Spending and Overall Discretionary Spending? Long Term Budget Review entitlements and interest being greater % of budget. CBO: Expiration of tax rate reductions leads to projected \$170B surplus in 2012; Administration budget will show \$170 billion surplus with tax rate reductions maintained

# Are We Serious About the Threats We Face?

- “Iran is hell bent on becoming a nuclear power!”  
Tom Lantos, HFRC Chair
- “With the government of Iran, even deterrence is questionable let alone arms control”, R. James Woolsey, former DCI
- “These are crazed ideologues at the center of the Iranian regime—theocratic, totalitarian, genocidal maniacs.” Ibid
- “Iran must know the world will not back down”,  
former Senator John Edwards

# Is Congress Going to Get Serious?

- Getting Serious About the Strategic Threats We Face Requires an Informed Citizenry That Understands....
- “A freestanding 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

# The Response....

- “The whole concept of moving against Iran is bizarre.” Senator Jay Rockefeller, Chairman, SSCI /123
- “Diplomacy is sitting down for a couple of days and talking about our families and our hopes, building relationships...” Retired General Wesley Clark on how to deal with Iran’s nuclear facilities

# The Dinosaur Media: Concentrating on the Right Stuff?

- Three Pigs Trigger Fire in Siberia, AP 1/10
- Artist Hopes to Float Giant Banana Over Texas, AP 1/7
- Hollywood Women Say They Are Too Busy to Shave Armpits, AP 12/6
- Tijuana Police Issued Slingshots, MSNBC, 1/22
- UK Government is Failing Sex Workers, Reuters, 1/11
- Man Loses Nose in Circumcision Ceremony, News.com 1/9

# The Media's View of the World

- “The Islamists were the one hope for Somalia”, Time Magazine 1/8
- “Nothing has Changed to Warrant More Troops” and “Once again Bush is sending too few soldiers”, Margaret Carlson, Time, same column, 1/11
- “Kim Il Sung: Enigmatic ‘Great Leader’ of North Korea Dies at 82” David Sanger , NY Times
- “Pinochet, 91, Dictator who Ruled by Terror in Chile, Dies”, Jonathan Kandell, NY Times
- “Castro’s regime a work in progress, US tars Castro as dictator.” Marc Lacey, NY Times

# Castro's Obituary

- “Kindly Medical benefactor Dies, Called Dictator by CIA”

# Media Comprehension

- “What’s harder to explain is why though crime has fallen so sharply, prison admissions have risen.” Chicago Tribune  
1/11/07

# What The Media Didn't Tell You

- “We could support a surge of American combat forces to stabilize Baghdad and speed up the training and equipping mission...” Iraq Support Group, 12/7/06

## And...

- “When asked if there is a comprehensive strategy to combat terrorism you responded it would be ‘silly’ to believe a comprehensive strategy could be developed to combat terrorism.” Congressman Shays letter to NSC adviser Richard Clarke, July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2000, submitted to the 9/11 Commission

# We Are in Danger of Becoming A Country That Does Not Believe In Itself....

- “You have to understand. I did not want the US to win in Vietnam,” Senator George McGovern in a conversation with James Webb, former Secretary of the Navy as relayed in a 1995 article by Senator Webb.
- “Quit looking for a way to win. We can’t win.”, Michael Moore, November 2006
- “What’s so bad about losing a war?”, G. Seib, Wall Street Journal. December 2006
- “Losing in Vietnam Helped us Win the Cold War.” Larry Korb, National Review Conference, 1/27/07

# In Part Because....

- When Christopher Hitchens asked the late ABC Newsman Peter Jennings whether the Gulf War 91 would be considered a victory for the United States, Jennings replied:
- “That’s only true if we say so.”
- Claremont Review of Books, “Theater of War” by Christopher Hitchens, Winter 2006/07



IT'S TIME FOR CHANGE! LET'S SHOW AMERICA DEMOCRATS ARE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY!

HERE! HERE!

YEAH!



WE WILL PASS TOUGHER MEASURES TO FIGHT TERRORISM!

ACTUALLY, WE'RE AGAINST THE PATRIOT ACT.

NO PROFILING.



UH... THEN WE'LL USE ADVANCED TECHNOLOGIES TO LISTEN IN ON TERRORISTS' PLANS!

WE'RE AGAINST THE NSA PROGRAM.

DTTO ON BANK TRANSFERS.



UM... THEN WE'LL CAPTURE TERRORISTS AND MAKE THEM TALK!

ABSOLUTELY NOT!

TERRORISTS HAVE RIGHTS TOO!



THEN WE'LL FIND A SPECIAL PLACE TO LOCK THEM AWAY FOREVER!

SORRY, NO GITMO.

HABEAS CORPUS



WE'LL KILL BIN LADEN?

WE'RE AGAINST THE DEATH PENALTY.

MAYBE WE COULD DRESS HIM UP LIKE A FETUS?



KAUFZ



1993: TERRORISTS ATTACK THE WORLD TRADE CENTER, KILLING 6 AND INJURING MORE THAN 1000.



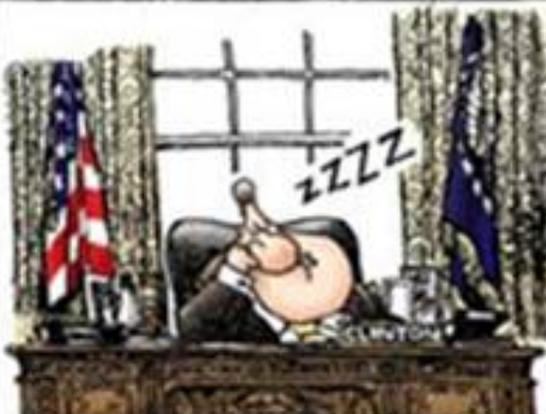
1995: TERRORISTS BOMB U.S. HEADQUARTERS IN RIYADH, SAUDI ARABIA, KILLING 5 AMERICANS.



1996: TERRORISTS BOMB AL-KHOBAR TOWERS, KILLING 19 U.S. SERVICEMEN AND WOUNDING 300.



1998: TERRORISTS BOMB UNITED STATES EMBASSIES IN KENYA AND TANZANIA, KILLING 24.



2000: TERRORISTS ATTACK THE USS COLE, KILLING 17 SAILORS AND INJURING 39.



2006: ABC NRS 9/11 MINI-SERIES.

THE PATH TO 9/11

www.investors.com/cartoons

# Addendum: Revenue/Deficits

- Last year of Bush 41, revenue to USG climbed: \$63 billion/yr; 2005, revenue under Bush 43 will grow \$177b; FY06 revenue grew \$250 billion
- 93-4, revenue climbed \$104 and \$93billion/yr
- 95-99, revenue climbed \$121b/year
- Stock Market Bubble burst reduced revenue which had climbed from \$25b/year to 100b \$/year, (this after a cut in the capital gains tax); current estimates indicate \$80+ billion a year
- Growth in revenue in past two years \$500 billion

# Revenue/Deficits

- Now for the period Oct 1999 through October 2002, thus taking into account the stock market/dotcom bubble burst, the recession and 9/11, revenue which started at \$2.025 trillion declined to \$1.853 trillion; the trend line was that the revenue would have increased over that period of time to \$2.425 trillion

# Revenue/Deficits

- Now, from October 2002, during the build-up to the liberation of Iraq, through December 2006, annual revenue will grow from \$1.853 trillion to \$2.557 trillion, growing this year by \$225+ billion.

# Deficits/Revenue

- They key here: The recession of 2000-1 was combined with two other factors not present during 1981-2 and 1990-1: the collapse of the .Com stock market and 9/11.
- It has taken five years to again reach the revenue levels of 2000; tax rate reductions account for only 22% of this; as can now be seen, an economy growing at 3.5%+ is now generating \$250 billion more revenue A YEAR even under lower tax rates.

# SPENDING

- Spending for October 1999 through September 2001 averaged \$1.8 trillion
- Spending after 9/11 BUT prior to Iraq averaged \$2.1 trillion
- Spending went up \$140 billion, (FY2004) \$130 billion, (FY 2005), \$95 billion (FY06) and \$125 billion, (FY07-projected)..

# SPENDING

- FY04: 2.293 Trillion
  - FY05: 2.472 Trillion
  - FY06: 2.709 Trillion
  - FY07: 2.770 Trillion(projected)
- 
- Growth: \$179 billion, \$238 billion, \$61 billion