



**USAF COUNTERPROLIFERATION CENTER**  
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**Issue No. 992, 27 March 2012**

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Times of Israel – Israel

## Israeli Spies ‘Step Up Missions into Iran Seeking Proof of Nuclear Plans’

*The Sunday Times: Israeli special forces clad in Iranian uniforms infiltrate regularly from base in northern Iraq*

By Bracha Kurtzer and Associated Press (AP)

March 25, 2012

Israeli “spies” are scouring Iran’s nuclear bases for evidence that its nuclear program is operating to create weapons, Britain’s Sunday Times reported in a detailed article Sunday. The intelligence gathering has been going on for years, it said, but has been stepped up of late.

The Israeli “special forces” allegedly operate out of a base in northern Iraq, and regularly infiltrate Iranian soil in order to gather evidence of its nuclear weapons program.

According to the report in the London paper, the Israeli operatives dress up as Iranian soldiers and monitor radioactivity at various suspicious locations. Their mission is to find “smoking gun” evidence that Iran’s nuclear program is aimed at production of weapons. They reportedly use “sensitive equipment” to measure levels of radioactivity and to gather evidence of nuclear weapons-related testing.

Black Hawk helicopters are used to ferry “commandos disguised as members of the Iranian military,” the paper reported, and they travel inside Iran in Iranian military vehicles.

The paper said the missions have been going on for years, facilitated thanks to Israel’s good relations with the semi-autonomous Kurds in northern Iraq. Of late, though, the scouting has been stepped up — focusing on the Parchin military base not far from Tehran, which has attracted UN attention (including IAEA suspicions that Iran has tried to cover up nuclear activities there), and an enrichment site at Fordow outside Qom.

The Sunday Times suggested that the cross-border operations might signify an imminent Israeli military strike. Prior to Israel’s strike at a Syrian reactor in 2007, it noted, Israeli troops carried out a clandestine mission to collect information at the site.

Israel’s leaders say a nuclear-armed Iran is an existential threat. Iranian leaders often demonize Israel. Defense Minister Ehud Barak has said he is willing to give sanctions and negotiations a few more months to deter Iran from trying to obtain nuclear weapons, but suggests that, if efforts fail, Israel could strike this year. Iran insists it is pursuing nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, but warns it will strike back if attacked.

In Israel, surveys show that a majority oppose a solo Israeli attack on Iran without American military cooperation.

Retired Israeli military and intelligence leaders have advised against striking Iran, arguing, among other reasons, that Israel doesn’t have enough bomb shelters or gas masks to absorb a possible Iranian counterattack.

<http://www.timesofisrael.com/report-israeli-spies-search-iran-for-proof-of-nuclear-plans/>

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Jerusalem Post – Israel

## Diplomats: Iran Nuclear Talks Likely Next Month

*Iran, powers may resume talks in mid-April, according to diplomatic sources; EU's Ashton's spokesman: "nothing decided yet."*

By REUTERS

March 27, 2012

VIENNA - Iran and six world powers are expected to resume in the next few weeks long-stalled talks about the Islamic state's disputed nuclear program, diplomatic sources said on Tuesday.



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One Western diplomat said he expected a meeting to be held on April 13-14, while another envoy said those dates had not been confirmed and a third suggested later in the month was possible. The venue was unclear, they said.

A spokesman for European Union foreign policy chief Catherine Ashton, who handles dealings with Iran on behalf of the big powers, said "nothing has been decided yet" regarding the time and place for a meeting.

The last meeting over the nuclear work that Iran says is peaceful but the West suspects has military links took place in Istanbul in January 2011, when the two sides failed even to agree on an agenda.

It is "hard to be optimistic given Iran's track record at previous talks," one Western diplomat said when asked about the prospects for progress in the dispute.

Two weeks ago, Iran welcomed new nuclear negotiations with six world powers - the United States, Russia, France, Germany, Britain and China - saying the two sides should set "the date and venue" of the talks.

That overture came a week after Ashton accepted Iran's offer of further discussions in a bid to reach agreement on the future of Iran's nuclear activities.

Ashton would lead the talks with Iran on behalf of the six powers, which earlier this month called on Iran "to enter, without pre-conditions, into a sustained process of serious dialogue, which will produce concrete results."

Iran has repeatedly rejected Western accusations that its nuclear energy program is a cover for developing nuclear weapons, saying its goals are entirely peaceful, and has ruled out suspending uranium enrichment.

The United States and the EU have imposed tough sanctions on Iran's banking and energy sectors in an effort to pressure it to abandon the uranium enrichment program, which can have both civilian and military purposes.

<http://www.jpost.com/IranianThreat/News/Article.aspx?id=263627>

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AsiaOne News – Singapore

## **Obama: Unclear Who Is Running North Korea**

By Agence France-Presse (AFP)

Sunday, March 25, 2012

SEOUL - US President Barack Obama said Sunday it was unclear who was "calling the shots" in North Korea under its new young leader and stepped up demands for Pyongyang to abort its planned rocket launch.

Obama stood with South Korean President Lee Myung-Bak to present a united front against the communist North, hours after staring into what he termed a "time warp" as he visited the last land border left over from the Cold War.

The US leader also had some unusually public criticism of China for its failure to induce its North Korean ally to open its nuclear programme to inspections and end years of "provocations" and "bad behaviour".

"It is hard to have an impression of Kim Jong-Un, in part because the situation in North Korea still appears unsettled," Obama said of the man proclaimed "great successor" after the death of his father Kim Jong-Il last December.

"It is not clear exactly who is calling the shots and what their long-term objectives are," he told a press conference, in Washington's frankest assessment yet of Pyongyang's murky power politics.

His comments deepened speculation about the elevation of Jong-Un, aged in his late 20s, and raised the alarming prospect of a power struggle in a volatile and erratic nation armed with nuclear weapons.

What was clear, Obama said, was that the North's leaders "have not yet made that strategic pivot where they say to themselves, 'What we are doing isn't working. It is leading our country and our people down a dead end'."

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The president earlier got an up-close look into the isolated Stalinist state when he climbed a clifftop observation post 25 metres from the demarcation line that has divided the Koreas for six decades.

After squinting through high-powered binoculars from behind a bulletproof screen over a border guarded by mines, barbed wire and tank traps, Obama said he had stared into a “time warp”.

He then turned towards a huge North Korean flag flapping in the stiff breeze at half-mast to mark the 100th day since Kim Jong-Il’s death, and to a horizon dotted with rudimentary buildings peeking through the haze.

The visit, during which Obama told some of the 28,500 US troops guarding South Korea that they stood at “freedom’s frontier”, was meant as a firm show of unity with Seoul and appeared partly aimed at Kim Jong-Un. Obama, in South Korea for a 53-nation nuclear security summit, joined Lee to stiffen a call for North Korea to halt a satellite launch next month to mark the 100th anniversary of the birth of founding leader Kim Il-Sung.

“North Korea will achieve nothing by threats or by provocations,” Obama said, adding that Pyongyang would deepen its isolation by firing off a rocket.

Washington says this would really be a missile test that would flout UN resolutions and scupper a recently agreed US food aid deal.

Lee was equally blunt.

“President Obama and I have agreed to respond sternly to any provocations and threats by the North and to continually enhance the firm South Korea-US defence readiness,” he said.

Obama also delivered an unusually blunt critique of China’s unsuccessful attempts to rein in its volatile neighbour, which has defied the world for years by developing nuclear weapons despite a punishing battery of sanctions.

His comment came a day before he is due to meet Chinese President Hu Jintao for talks in Seoul, and appeared to be another sign of Obama’s increasing frustration with Beijing as he sets his sights on a second White House term.

Though he said he sympathised with China’s desire for stability on its border, Obama argued that efforts to “paper over” North Korea’s repeated belligerence and defiance had not worked.

“My suggestion to China is that how they communicate their concerns to North Korea should probably reflect the fact that the approach they have taken over the last several decades has not led to a fundamental shift in North Korea’s behaviour,” Obama said.

He also delivered a scathing assessment of life in North Korea, saying it was decades behind its southern neighbour and would remain so until it made a “strategic” pivot and accepted offers of help in return for ending its nuclear programme.

Obama said the North was guilty of a long cycle of provocations designed to win concessions from the West.

“President Lee and I have agreed from the start of our relationship that we are going to break that pattern,” Obama said.

<http://www.asiaone.com/News/Latest%2BNews/World/Story/A1Story20120325-335618.html>

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Baltimore Sun

## **Obama to China: Help Rein in North Korea**

By Alister Bull and Matt Spetalnick, Reuters

Sunday, March 25, 2012



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SEOUL (Reuters) - U.S. President Barack Obama urged China on Sunday to use its influence to rein in North Korea instead of "turning a blind eye" to its nuclear defiance, and warned of tighter sanctions if the reclusive state goes ahead with a rocket launch next month.

"North Korea will achieve nothing by threats or provocations," a stern-faced Obama said after a tour of the heavily fortified border between the two Koreas resonant with echoes of the Cold War.

Such a launch would only lead to further isolation of the impoverished North, which much show its sincerity if on-again-off-again six-party aid-for-disarmament talks are to restart, Obama told a news conference in the South Korean capital.

Seoul and Washington say the launch will be a disguised test of a ballistic missile that violates Pyongyang's latest international commitments. North Korea says it merely wants to put a satellite into orbit.

Even as Obama warned North Korea of the consequences of its actions, he spoke bluntly to China, the closest thing Pyongyang has to an ally, of its international obligations.

Obama said Beijing's actions of "rewarding bad behavior (and) turning a blind eye to deliberate provocations" were obviously not working, and he promised to raise the matter at a meeting with Chinese President Hu Jintao in Seoul on Monday.

"I believe that China is very sincere that it does not want to see North Korea with a nuclear weapon," he told a news conference in Seoul before a global summit on nuclear security. "But it is going to have to act on that interest in a sustained way."

It was Obama's sharpest message yet to China to use its clout with North Korea in a nuclear standoff with the West, and dovetails with recent calls for Beijing to meet its responsibilities as a rising world power.

In an election year when Republicans have accused Obama of not being strong enough with Beijing, talking tough on China is seen as a potential vote-winner after three years of troubled diplomacy in dealings with Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

China is host to the six-party talks, which involve Japan and Russia as well as the two Koreas and the United States.

#### DMZ TOUR

Obama earlier visited a U.S. base on the edge of the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) as a solemn North Korea came to a halt to mark the 100th day after "Dear Leader" Kim Jong-il's death.

"You guys are at freedom's frontier," Obama, wearing an Air Force One bomber jacket, told about 50 troops crammed into the Camp Bonifas mess hall at one of the world's most heavily fortified frontiers.

He spent about 10 minutes on a camouflaged viewing platform at the DMZ, talking with some of the soldiers on guard and peering with binoculars across the border into North Korea as flags flapped loudly in the brisk, cold wind.

The White House cast Obama's first visit to the DMZ, which has bisected the peninsula since the end of the Korean War in 1953, as a way to showcase the strength of the U.S.-South Korean alliance and thank some of the nearly 30,000 American troops still deployed in South Korea.

The 4-km (2.5-mile) wide DMZ was drawn up at the end of the 1950-53 civil conflict, which ended in a truce that has yet to be finalized with a permanent peace treaty, leaving the two Koreas in effect still at war.

#### ROCKET LAUNCH CONDEMNED

Washington has condemned next month's planned rocket launch as a violation of North Korea's promise to halt long-range missile firings, nuclear tests and uranium enrichment in return for a resumption of food aid.

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Obama said that if the North goes ahead with the rocket launch, a February food aid deal could fall apart and Pyongyang could face a tightening of international sanctions.

Obama said he was sympathetic to China's concerns that too much pressure on North Korea could create a refugee crisis on its borders, but insisted Beijing's approach over the decades had failed to achieve a "fundamental shift" in Pyongyang's behavior.

South Korea's Yonhap news agency quoted a military official on Sunday as saying the main body of the rocket had been moved to the launch site on North Korea's west coast. The launch will coincide with big celebrations marking the 100th anniversary of the birth of the state's founder, Kim Il-sung.

North Korea's defiance is clouding Obama's much-touted nuclear disarmament agenda, which is also being challenged by Iran's persistence with nuclear research in the face of sanctions and international criticism.

Obama will join more than 50 other world leaders on Monday for a follow-up to the inaugural nuclear security summit he organized in Washington in 2010 to help combat the threat of nuclear terrorism.

While North Korea and Iran are not on the guest list or the official agenda, they are expected to be the main focus of Obama's array of bilateral meetings on the sidelines.

#### NORTH KOREA MOURNS

Obama's visit coincided with the end of the 100-day mourning period for Kim Jong-il, who died in December. Tens of thousands of people crammed into Kim Il-sung Square in central Pyongyang to mark the occasion.

The state's new young leader, Kim Jong-un, the third member of the Kim family to rule the state, bowed before a portrait of his father at the palace where he lies in state. He was joined by his uncle, Jang Song-thaek, and military chief Ri Yong-ho.

Standing alongside South Korean President Lee Myung-bak, Obama told reporters it was difficult to get an accurate impression of how the succession process was going because it was not clear who was "calling the shots" in the North.

The young Kim himself made a surprise trip to the DMZ in early March. He looked across the border through binoculars and told troops to "maintain the maximum alertness since (they) stand in confrontation with the enemy at all times".

*Additional reporting by Jack Kim in Seoul; Editing by Jeremy Laurence and Nick Macfie.*

[http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/nation-world/sns-rt-us-korea-north-obamabre82o07w-20120325\\_0,1779562,full.story](http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/nation-world/sns-rt-us-korea-north-obamabre82o07w-20120325_0,1779562,full.story)

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The Jakarta Post – Indonesia

## **NKorea Readies Rocket's Main Body to Launch Site: Official**

By Kim Yoon-mi, Asia News Network and The Korea Herald, Seoul  
Sunday, March 25, 2012

North Korea has transported the main body of a long-range rocket to a launch site in the northwestern part of the reclusive state, a South Korean official said Sunday.

"South Korean and US military authorities understand that North Korea has moved the main body of a long-range missile to Dongchang-ri in preparation for launch," said a South Korean military official according to Yonhap News.

A train moved the main body to the launch facility in Dongchang-ri, Cholsan County, North Pyongan Province, the official said.



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The move indicates that Pyongyang is taking further steps to put a satellite into orbit using a long-range missile between April 12 and 16, another South Korean government official said.

"It is an expected move, as the North already declared that it could launch a satellite as early as April 12," the official told The Korea Herald on condition of anonymity.

"The North showed a similar pattern of preparation when they launched a missile in April 2009," he said.

News reports said the Japanese government decided on Friday to deploy three Aegis warships to intercept the North Korean rocket.

"I have ordered officials to prepare to deploy the PAC-3 and Aegis warships," Japan's Defense Minister Naoki Tanaka told reporters.

Pyongyang's planned rocket launch is to celebrate the 100th year since the birth of the North's founder Kim Il-sung on April 15.

The international community including the US, China, Russia, Japan and EU have called on the North to withdraw its plan, saying it will breach the UN Security Council Resolutions banning any launch of ballistic missiles.

Previously, North Korea launched rockets from the Musudan-ri facility on the eastern side of the peninsula.

The Dongchang-ri facility has a larger launch tower than that in Musudan-ri, allowing larger rockets including intercontinental ballistic missiles to be fired.

Located 70 kilometers away from the Yongbyon nuclear complex, the Dongchang-ri facility is more accessible to nuclear materials. (nvn)

<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2012/03/25/nkorea-readies-rocket-s-main-body-launch-site-official.html>

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London Guardian – U.K.

## **South Korea Warns It may Shoot Down North Korean Rocket**

*Fears over suspected missile test overshadow international nuclear security summit in Seoul*

By Agencies in Seoul

Monday, 26 March 2012

South Korea has warned it might shoot down a North Korean rocket if it passes over its territory, as worries about what Washington calls a long-range missile test overshadowed an international nuclear security summit.

"We are studying measures such as tracking and shooting down [parts] of a North Korean missile in case they stray out of their normal trajectory" and violate South Korean territory, said Yoon Won-shik, a spokesman at the South's defence ministry.

He called the launch "a very reckless, provocative act" that undermines peace on the Korean peninsula.

Yoon said North Korea had moved the main body of the rocket into a building at a site near the village of Tongchang-ri in North Phyongan province and that it was making preparations for a launch. The South Korean and US military were closely monitoring the situation, he added.

Nearly 60 world leaders have gathered in Seoul to talk about ways to keep nuclear material out of the hands of terrorists. But North Korea has dominated attention since announcing this month it would send a satellite into space aboard a long-range rocket.

North Korea calls the launch part of its peaceful space programme and says a new southerly flight path is meant to avoid other countries; previous rockets have been fired over Japan. Washington and Seoul, however, say the

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multistage rocket is meant to test delivery systems for long-range missiles that could be mounted with nuclear weapons.

Barack Obama and his South Korean counterpart, Lee Myung-bak, urged North Korea in a joint news conference on Sunday to immediately halt its launch plans, warning they would deal sternly with any provocation. Obama said the move would jeopardise a deal settled last month in which the US would ship food aid to the North in exchange for a nuclear freeze.

The launch preparations come as North Koreans and new leader Kim Jong-un mark 100 days since the death of Kim's father, Kim Jong-il, and prepare to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the birth of the late Kim Il-sung, the North Korean founder, on 15 April.

China's President Hu Jintao met with his South Korean counterpart on Monday and "shared concerns" about the rocket announcement, Lee's office said in a statement. South Korea "asked China to actively make efforts for the cancellation of North Korea's rocket launch plans, and the two sides agreed to continue to closely co-operate", it said.

Hu Jintao said he hoped there would be no reversal of the easing tensions on the Korean peninsula, state media said.

"At present the situation is very complicated and sensitive. We do not hope to see a reversal of the hard-won momentum of relaxation of tension on the peninsula," Hu said, according to the official Xinhua news agency.

Hu also called on all parties to remain calm and exercise restraint to avoid increasing tensions.

In a sign of Beijing's concern, China summoned North Korea's ambassador earlier this month to warn of threats to peace in Asia and called on all sides to exercise "cool and restraint".

The UN security council condemned North Korea's last long-range rocket launch in 2009. Pyongyang responded by abandoning six-nation nuclear disarmament talks and, weeks later, carried out its second nuclear test.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/mar/26/south-korea-shoot-down-north-korea-rocket?newsfeed=true>

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Korea Times – South Korea

March 26, 2012

## **China Promises to Try to Dissuade N. Korea from Rocket Launch: Official**

China promised Monday to keep trying to dissuade North Korea from its planned long-range rocket launch, expressing "deep concern" that the move could have negative effects on peace on the Korean Peninsula and efforts to resume six-party nuclear talks, an official said.

Chinese officials made the remarks during summit talks between South Korean President Lee Myung-bak and Chinese President Hu Jintao. Hu was in Seoul to attend the Nuclear Security Summit, a global anti-nuclear terrorism conference set to open later Monday.

"Expressing deep concern, the Chinese leadership said it is urging North Korea to give up the satellite launch and focus on development of the lives of ordinary people," Kim Tae-hyo, a senior presidential security official, told reporters during a briefing on the summit.

The Chinese side has tried to contact North Korea many times on the issue and already conveyed concern to Pyongyang, Kim said.

It is rare for China to take such a clear-cut position on a North Korean provocation.

Beijing, one of the veto-holding permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, is Pyongyang's last-remaining major ally and main aid provider. China has a track record of trying to protect Pyongyang despite international criticism that it is too soft on the North.





North Korea announced it will launch what it says is a satellite-carrying rocket next month, a claim widely seen as a pretext that Pyongyang has long used to disguise ballistic missile tests banned under a U.N. Security Council resolution.

Military officials in Seoul said Sunday that North Korea is believed to have moved a long-range rocket to the launch site in Dongchang-ri in the country's northwest for final preparations for the threatened liftoff set for between April 12 and 16.

During Monday's summit, South Korea and China shared an understanding that the planned rocket launch could have adverse effects on peace on the Korean Peninsula and efforts to restart the Chinese-hosted six-party talks aimed at ending North Korea's nuclear programs, Kim said.

Kim said that the two sides also agreed to resume working-level talks on demarcating exclusive economic zones in waters between the two countries, a move aimed at defusing a row over control of Ieodo, a submerged rock outcrop off Korea's southern island of Jeju.

They also agreed to resume negotiations on a bilateral free trade pact at an early date, he said.

Additionally, the sides agreed to work out the issue of North Korean defectors closely and smoothly, with China trying to understand Korea's position on the matter, and South Korea trying to take China's position into consideration, Kim said. (Yonhap)

[http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2012/03/371\\_107703.html](http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2012/03/371_107703.html)

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London Guardian – U.K.

## **Obama: US and China Will Co-Ordinate Response to North Korea Rocket Launch**

*President tells Seoul summit that China and US share interest in preventing nuclear proliferation*

By Justin McCurry in Osaka

Monday 26 March 2012

The US and China have agreed to co-ordinate their response if North Korea goes through with a planned rocket launch next month, a day after Barack Obama urged Beijing to use its influence to rein in its unpredictable ally.

Speaking at the start of a two-day summit on nuclear security in the South Korean capital, Seoul, the US president said China and the US had a shared interest in preventing nuclear proliferation.

"We both have an interest in making sure that international norms surrounding non-proliferation, preventing destabilising nuclear weapons, is very important," he said.

Obama and the Chinese president, Hu Jintao, did not elaborate on how they would respond to a North Korean missile launch, which is expected to take place between 12 and 16 April to coincide with the centenary of the birth of the country's founder, Kim Il-sung.

"The two leaders agreed to co-ordinate closely in responding to this potential provocation, and if necessary consider what steps need to be taken following a potential launch," a senior White House aide told Reuters.

But the early show of unity is a step forward after the US leader chided China, North Korea's biggest benefactor, on Sunday for failing to exert more pressure on the North to abandon its nuclear weapons programme.

During bilateral talks on Monday, Hu told Obama that the North Korean issue remained "very sensitive", according to China's official Xinhua news agency. "We do not hope to see a reversal of the hard-won momentum of relaxation of tension on the [Korean] peninsula," Hu was quoted as saying.



But Ben Rhodes, Obama's deputy national security adviser, said North Korea had previously ignored Chinese concerns about its nuclear and missile programmes.

"China has expressed those concerns before and North Korea has continued on with its behaviour," he said. "China needs to look at whether it needs to be doing more above and beyond the types of messages and warnings it's been giving to the North Koreans."

South Korea and Japan have said they will shoot down the missile if it passes over their territory. "We are preparing measures to track the missile's trajectory and shoot it down if, by chance, it deviates from the planned route and falls into our territory," a South Korean defence ministry spokesman said.

The North insists that the rocket, whose main component has reportedly been moved to a launch site in the country's north-west, is designed to carry an observation satellite into orbit.

The US, South Korea and Japan, however, say the launch would violate a UN ban on missile activity as the same technology could be used to develop long-range missiles, including those capable of striking the US mainland, possibly within five years.

The show of unity by the US and China, however ambiguous, will not be welcomed in Pyongyang, according to North Korea experts.

Shin Jong Dae, a professor at the University of North Korean Studies in Seoul, says North Korean provocations are partly motivated by a desire to divide the US and China over their response.

"North Korea doesn't want to see an improvement in Sino-US relations, so to rupture relations between China and US, it opts for military adventurism, just as it did with the sinking of the Cheonan, bombing Yeonpyeong island and conducting missile tests," he said.

Shin added that China's main concern was avoiding political instability in the North. "The best-case scenario for China is a stable North Korea without nuclear weapons. The worst-case scenario is an unstable North Korea. But if China can't achieve that ideal, then it will at least try to avoid the worst possible alternative. That means it will tolerate a North Korea with nuclear weapons, as long as it remains stable."

The planned launch has put on hold a deal reached last month that would have required North Korea to suspend long-range missile tests and its uranium enrichment programme in return for 240,000 tonnes of US food aid.

In a speech to students at Hankuk University in Seoul, Obama warned North Korea's new leadership under Kim Jong-un not to invite "more isolation" by developing nuclear weapons.

"By now it should be clear," he said. "Your provocations and pursuit of nuclear weapons have not achieved the security you seek, they have undermined it. Instead of the dignity you desire, you are more isolated."

His comments may also have been directed at Republicans who are seeking to exploit what they see as Obama's failure of diplomacy on North Korea in an election year.

"The United States doesn't want to do anything that will result in North Korea conducting nuclear tests or missile launches or anything that would be detrimental to the Obama administration," said Kim Hyun Wook, a professor at the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security in Seoul.

"If that happens, there could be criticism from Republicans of Obama that his diplomatic efforts with North Korea have failed. Obama doesn't want that; it would make his re-election more difficult."

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/mar/26/us-china-north-korea-rocket>

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AsiaOne News – Singapore



## **N. Korea Says It Will Never Give Up Rocket Launch**

Agence France-Presse (AFP)  
Tuesday, Mar 27, 2012

SEOUL - North Korea said Tuesday it would go ahead with its satellite launch, snubbing a call from US President Barack Obama to drop the plan and accusing him of a "confrontational mindset".

"We will never give up the right to launch a peaceful satellite, a legitimate right of a sovereign state and an essential step for economic development," a foreign ministry spokesman told the official KCNA news agency.

The spokesman was responding to Obama's comments Sunday and Monday during a visit to South Korea.

The US leader said his country was not hostile to the North's people but denounced the rocket launch scheduled between April 12-16.

The US and other countries say it would in fact be a long-range missile test banned under UN resolutions.

"The US head of state said he had no hostile intention towards us," the spokesman said.

"But if that remark is genuine, he should abandon the confrontational mindset that tries to block us, and should have the courage to admit that we have as much right to launch our satellite as other countries do."

The North said it would judge whether Obama's remarks disavowing hostility were genuine "or just another hypocrisy" depending on whether his country applies a double standard to the satellite launch.

It said it had invited foreign experts including those from the US National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), along with overseas reporters, to witness "a scientific space technology project that has nothing to do with any military purpose".

Obama has said any launch would jeopardise a US-North Korean deal reached only last month, under which the North agreed a partial nuclear freeze and a missile test moratorium in return for US food aid.

The North insists its satellite launch is not a missile test.

There was no reason to conduct such a test at this time "after labouring so much to reach an agreement with the US and when the whole political atmosphere is favourable", it said.

A satellite launch to mark the 100th anniversary of the birth of founding president Kim Il-Sung had been ordered by his son and successor Kim Jong-Il, it said.

Jong-Il died in December and was succeeded by his own son Jong-Un.

South Korea also fiercely opposes the launch, saying it is intended to test technology to deliver a nuclear warhead.

"If North Korea pushes ahead, it will pay for what it has done," said Unification Minister Yu Woo-ik.

The exercise seemed to be part of North Korea's strategy to be recognised eventually as a nuclear-armed state, he said.

While the North's foreign ministry statement was measured, the country's Uriminzokkiri website took sharper aim at Obama's trip, which began Sunday with a visit to the tense inter-Korean border.

The US leader peered into the North through binoculars and told US troops the contrast between the two Koreas could not be starker.

Uriminzokkiri, in a editorial dated Monday and seen Tuesday, said Obama made his "provocative and violent remarks" while North Koreans were holding memorial events marking the 100th day since Kim Jong-Il's death.

The US leader "viciously defamed our sacred passion to commemorate the leader", it said.



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"This is another indication of the extreme anti-North aggression dominating Obama's mind and such disrespectful provocation against our 100th day of mourning can never be tolerated," it added.

<http://news.asiaone.com/News/AsiaOne%2BNews/Asia/Story/A1Story20120327-336078.html>

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Times of India – India

## **India Concerned over Security of Pakistan's Nuclear Programme**

Press Trust of India (PTI)

March 24, 2012

SEOUL: Ahead of the Nuclear Security Summit here next week, India today voiced concerns over Pakistan's nuclear programme saying it has "very little confidence" on the capabilities of its western neighbour on securing its atomic assets.

"We have very little confidence that their nuclear programs are secure or will stay safe," sources said when asked about the security of atomic materials in Pakistan.

The possibility of "insider threat" was the prime concern among the Indian establishment and building capacities would be the key element in India's pitch at the Nuclear Security Summit which begins here on Monday.

"The real problem is the insider threat," the sources said talking about Pakistan's nuclear programme.

The sources cautioned that the fissile material could get into the hands of terrorists, who could use it to make dirty bombs.

They said an insider could be a person having legitimate reason to hold and control nuclear materials but who could also do the same for illegitimate purposes.

Multilateral meetings, like the Nuclear Security Summit, help in building capacities and building cooperation with countries but each country needs to shoulder the responsibility of protecting its own nuclear assets.

Concerns over nuclear security have heightened, particularly in the wake of the Fukushima accident, as officials fear that fissile material from such crippled reactors could fall in wrong hands if proper steps were not taken to secure it.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh is expected to unveil before the Summit the steps India has taken to tackle challenges of nuclear terrorism.

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/India-concerned-over-security-of-Pakistans-nuclear-programme/articleshow/12393748.cms>

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Yonhap News – South Korea

March 26, 2012

## **Pakistan PM Denies Link to N.K. Nuke Program**

ISLAMABAD, March 25 (Yonhap) -- Pakistan's Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani said allegations that Islamabad cooperated with North Korea's nuclear program were unfounded and represented a thing of the past.

In an interview with Yonhap News Agency on Thursday, the premier said the matter has been investigated with Pakistan officially denying any involvement in Pyongyang's weapons program.

"There had been some disinformation and allegations during the past, but now it is a closed chapter that we have already denied," the policymaker stressed.

**Issue No. 992, 27 March 2012**

*United States Air Force Counterproliferation Research & Education | Maxwell AFB, Montgomery AL*  
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The comments come as South Korea prepares to host the second Nuclear Security Summit (NSS) on Monday and Tuesday.

The South Asian country has on occasion received flak because of suspicions that it may have played a role in helping Pyongyang build nuclear weapons. Pakistan, which has been in an arms race and has territorial disputes with neighboring India, started its own nuclear weapons program in 1972 and conducted its first known nuclear test in May 1998.

North Korea detonated two nuclear devices in 2006 and in 2009, despite condemnation by the international community.

Gillani said that in the upcoming NSS gathering, there is a need for the world to come up with a strategy to safeguard fissile materials that can be used for weapons of mass destruction.

The prime minister said his country has developed very effective command and control systems to protect nuclear materials, and claimed Pakistan will share this knowhow in the future with the rest of the world.

The political leader said international cooperation is important because nuclear safety requires wide, concerted efforts by many countries.

Gillani, meanwhile, said that Pakistan has maintained excellent relations with South Korea since normalization of diplomatic ties in 1983 and wants to expand economic cooperation.

He asked for more South Korean investment in such areas and infrastructure building.

The prime minister will be present at the Seoul FSS that will be attended by representatives from 58 nations and four international organizations, including 45 heads of state.

<http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/national/2012/03/25/64/0301000000AEN20120325002800320F.HTML>

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Daily News & Analysis – India

## **Obama Voices Concern over Safety of Pak's Nuclear Arsenal**

Tuesday, March 27, 2012

Press Trust of India (PTI)

SEOUL, (PTI): US President Barack Obama on Tuesday voiced concern over safety of Pakistan's nuclear arsenal, saying the world cannot allow non-state actors and terrorists to get their hands on the nuclear weapons and end up destroying cities.

"We can't afford to have non-state actors and terrorists to get their hands on nuclear weapons that would end up destroying our cities or harming our citizens," Obama told reporters alongside Pakistani Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani before the two leaders held private talks on the sidelines of the nuclear security summit here.

The West is concerned over the safety of Pakistan's nuclear weapons as it remains vulnerable because the atomic facilities are located in areas where "Taliban and al-Qaeda are more than capable of launching terrorist attacks."

In their first meeting since the killing of Osama bin Laden in a covert US raid on Pakistani soil last May, the two leaders tried to rescue a troubled anti-terror alliance which has been full of mistrust and recriminations in recent times.

The bilateral ties plunged to an all time low in November when a cross-border NATO air raid killed 24 Pakistani soldiers, prompting Islamabad to curtail ties with the US and launch a parliamentary debate on new terms of engagement with Washington.

"There have been times - I think we should be frank - in the last several months where those relations have experienced strains," Obama told reporters.

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Obama said it was important for the both countries to have candid and open talks.

Obama said he expects Pakistan's review of bilateral ties will result in a "balanced approach that respects Pakistan's sovereignty but also respects our concerns with respect to our national security and our needs to battle terrorists who have targeted us in the past."

During the debate on new terms of engagement with the US, angry Pakistani lawmakers have demanded an American apology and taxes on NATO convoys into Afghanistan.

"We want to work together with you," Gilani told Obama, in an effort to rebuild the strained Pak-US ties.

The two leaders also expressed a desire to stabilise and secure the situation in the war-torn Afghanistan.

"I also wanted to express to the Prime Minister my appreciation for his recognition that it's in both of our interests, and indeed in all of our interests, to see an Afghan-led reconciliation process that needs to take place," Obama said.

On his part, Gilani said, "Pakistan wants stability in Afghanistan. If there is stability in Afghanistan, there is stability in Pakistan. And we both, Afghanistan and Pakistan, want to work together with you for peace, prosperity and progress across the world."

"We are committed to fight against extremism and terrorism. It is in the interest of Pakistan, for a stable, peaceful, prosperous, independent and sovereign Pakistan," he said.

[http://www.dnaindia.com/world/report\\_obama-voices-concern-over-safety-of-pak-s-nuclear-arsenal\\_1668176](http://www.dnaindia.com/world/report_obama-voices-concern-over-safety-of-pak-s-nuclear-arsenal_1668176)

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Xinhua News – China

## **Russia Says Iran Nuclear Issue No Excuse for U.S. Missile Defense**

March 24, 2012

MOSCOW, March 23 (Xinhua) -- Russia is convinced that the Iran nuclear issue could be resolved by negotiations, not by the deployment of U.S.-led NATO missile defense facilities, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergei Ryabkov said on Friday.

"It is better to resolve these problems by negotiations with political means, and not to attempt to cover oneself from a threat under some umbrella even based on the cutting-edge technology," Ryabkov told a scientific conference.

"I do not believe that Iran, under such severe sanctions and attention focused by all world intelligence services, can secretly create any nuclear weapons and use them," the diplomat said.

He said that the Western countries thought there would be no other way to defend themselves against such arms except for building a missile defense system.

Russia should be prepared for the worst case scenario, Ryabkov said, adding that Moscow would keep looking for further agreement with the United States.

On Thursday, Russian Deputy Defense Minister Anatoly Antonov said Russia did not consider Iran an enemy, but opposed any attempt of the Islamic republic to develop nuclear arms.

The United States and its Western allies suspected Iran of trying to acquire nuclear weapons through its controversial nuclear program, which Tehran insists is for civilian purposes only.

Russia has called for the resumption of negotiations between Iran and major mediators including Russia, the United States, France, Britain, China and Germany.

[http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/world/2012-03/24/c\\_131486133.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/world/2012-03/24/c_131486133.htm)



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The Moscow Times – Russia

## **Window on Missile Shield Closing Fast, Russia Says**

25 March 2012

(Reuters, AP)

President Dmitry Medvedev said Friday that time is running out for the West to secure Russia's agreement to a missile defense shield in Europe.

"No one has explained to me why we should believe that the new missile defense system in Europe isn't directed against us," Medvedev said at a security conference.

Medvedev is unconvinced by NATO's argument that the shield is intended as protection against a missile attack by countries such as Iran.

NATO has said it wants to cooperate with Russia on the missile shield, but it has rejected Moscow's proposal to run it jointly.

"I will say honestly that no matter how warm relations between me and my colleagues are, no matter how advanced relations between Russia and NATO member states are, we will have to take that into account and, under certain circumstances, respond," Medvedev said.

"The main thing is that we must hear one simple thing, hear it and receive confirmation: 'Respected friends from Russia, our missile defense is not aimed against Russian nuclear forces.' This must be affirmed not in a friendly chat over a cup of tea or a glass of wine but in a document."

Deputy Prime Minister Dmitry Rogozin was more hawkish in his remarks at the conference, saying the NATO shield has an "openly anti-Russian vector."

"Missile defense isn't the best way to ensure security," he added. "Those who are smart know that the defensive arms race is no better than the offensive arms race. Strengthening of the shield entails strengthening of the sword."

Rogozin also said the new Russian missiles have been fitted with systems that would allow them to penetrate any prospective missile defense.

Some experts and U.S. officials say Russia is overplaying any potential threat.

Former U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry backed up Rogozin's remarks, saying he believes the Russians could penetrate any ballistic missile defense the United States might build.

He added, "It is a major, major tragedy that Russian concerns about U.S. ballistic missile defense have had such a corrosive effect on U.S.-Russian relations."

<http://www.themoscowtimes.com/news/article/window-on-missile-shield-closing-fast-russia-says/455423.html>

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Times of Oman – Oman

## **Obama Warns N. Korea, Iran on Nuclear Ambitions**

By Agence France-Presse (AFP)

Monday, 26 March 2012

N. Korea: US President Barack Obama urged North Korea's leaders Monday to "have the courage to pursue peace" and said Iran was running out of time to end its own nuclear standoff with the world.



Obama, in an unusually direct appeal to Pyongyang's new leaders, said Washington had "no hostile intent" and was ready to take steps to improve relations.

"But by now it should be clear, your provocations and pursuit of nuclear weapons have not achieved the security you seek, they have undermined it," he said in a major speech at Hankuk University in Seoul.

"Instead of the dignity you desire, you are more isolated. Instead of earning the respect of the world, you have been met with strong sanctions."

If the North's leaders continue down the same road, it will lead to "more broken dreams, more isolation and ever more distance between the people of North Korea and the dignity and opportunity they deserve", he said.

Obama, who is visiting South Korea for a 53-nation nuclear security summit starting later Monday, has sharply criticised North Korea's plan for a rocket launch next month.

The North says it will launch a peaceful satellite. The United States and other nations say a disguised missile test would breach UN resolutions and a US-North Korea deal reached last month.

That deal -- offering major food aid in return for a partial nuclear freeze and a missile test moratorium -- is now in jeopardy.

There will be "no more rewards for provocations. Those days are over," Obama told the North's leaders, urging them to "have the courage to pursue peace and give a better life to the North Korean people".

The untested Kim Jong-Un was proclaimed "great successor" after his father Kim Jong-Il died in December. But Obama said Sunday it was unclear who was "calling the shots" under the new young leader.

Obama stressed Iran -- suspected of pursuing atomic weapons -- has the right to peaceful nuclear energy but time and again it had taken "the path of denial, deceit and deception".

"There is time to solve this diplomatically, but time is short," said Obama, who will discuss the issue with the leaders of Russia and China late Monday.

"Iran must act with the seriousness and sense of urgency that this moment demands. Iran must meet its obligations."

Obama in 2009 outlined his vision of a world without nuclear weapons and chaired the first nuclear security summit in 2010, dedicated to keeping plutonium and highly enriched uranium (HEU) out of the hands of terrorists.

Since then, the US leader said, nations like Kazakhstan had moved nuclear material to more secure locations. Mexico and Ukraine had removed all HEU from their territory.

"All told, thousands of pounds of nuclear material have been removed from sites around the world -- deadly material that is now secure and can never be used against a city like Seoul," he said.

Global authorities were also breaking up black markets, with countries such as Georgia and Moldova seizing HEU from smugglers.

Obama, who ordered the raid that killed Al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden last year, said that with his death and other blows to the group "a terrorist organisation that has actively sought nuclear weapons is now on the path to defeat".

But there was still much to be done. Just the smallest amount of plutonium could kill hundreds of thousands and spark a global crisis.

"The danger of nuclear terrorism remains one of the greatest threats to global security," Obama said.

Obama said he expects dozens of nations to announce they had fulfilled the promises made two years ago, during the two-day Seoul follow-up summit.





He highlighted the United States moving forward with Russia to eliminate enough plutonium for about 17,000 nuclear weapons.

The two countries were reducing atomic arsenals under the New START Treaty.

Obama said Washington would also seek talks with Russia on a new step -- reducing not only strategic nuclear warheads, but also tactical weapons and warheads in reserve.

Obama said he would discuss the issue with Russia's incoming President Vladimir Putin when they meet in May.

"I'm confident that, working together, we can continue to make progress and reduce our nuclear stockpiles," he said.

<http://www.timesofoman.com/innercat.asp?cat=&detail=2066&sec=news>

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London Telegraph – U.K.

## **Barack Obama Admits US Has 'More Nuclear Weapons than We Need'**

*President Barack Obama admitted on Monday that America has "more nuclear weapons than we need" and pledged to seek another far-reaching disarmament agreement with Russia.*

By David Blair

26 March 2012

A Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty signed in 2010 binds Russia and the US to cut their arsenals to a maximum of 1,550 deployed nuclear warheads each by 2018.

But speaking in South Korea after a summit on nuclear security, Mr Obama said that more cuts could be made.

"My administration's nuclear posture recognises that the massive nuclear arsenal we inherited from the Cold War is poorly suited to today's threats, including nuclear terrorism," he said.

The administration was now conducting a "comprehensive study of our nuclear forces," added Mr Obama, saying: "Even as we have more work to do, we can already say with confidence that we have more nuclear weapons than we need."

America currently has about 1,950 deployed nuclear warheads, compared with 2,430 for Russia. However, the Russian stockpile is deteriorating rapidly, with the number of operational warheads falling every year.

As such, Russia could probably meet the limits in the existing treaty simply by allowing its arsenal to decay at its present rate. The US, by contrast, will have to make actual cuts to meet the agreed limits.

Mr Obama's domestic critics argue that nuclear disarmament deals impose a disproportionate obligation on America. Nonetheless, he promised to seek another agreement when he meets Vladimir Putin, Russia's returning president, in May.

"I firmly believe that we can ensure the security of the United States and our allies, maintain a strong deterrent against any threat, and still pursue further reductions in our nuclear arsenal," said Mr Obama. "We'll continue to seek discussions with Russia on a step we have never taken before: reducing not only our strategic nuclear warheads, but also tactical weapons and warheads in reserve."

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/barackobama/9167771/Barack-Obama-admits-US-has-more-nuclear-weapons-than-we-need.html>

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Reuters U.S.



## Obama Assures Medvedev More Flexibility After Election

Monday, March 26, 2012

SEOUL (Reuters) - President Barack Obama was caught on camera on Monday assuring outgoing Russian President Dmitry Medvedev he will have "more flexibility" to deal with contentious issues like missile defense after the U.S. presidential election.

Obama, during talks in Seoul, urged Moscow to give him "space" until after the November ballot, and Medvedev said he would relay the message to incoming Russian president Vladimir Putin.

The unusually frank exchange came as Obama and Medvedev huddled together on the eve of a global nuclear security summit in the South Korean capital, unaware their words were being picked up by microphones as reporters were led into the room.

U.S. plans for an anti-missile shield have bedeviled relations between Washington and Moscow despite Obama's "reset" in ties between the two former Cold War foes. Obama's Republican opponents have accused him of being too open to concessions to Russia on the issue.

Leaning toward Medvedev, Obama was overheard asking for time - "particularly with missile defense" - until he is in a better position politically to resolve such issues.

"I understand your message about space," replied Medvedev, who will hand over the presidency to Putin in May.

"This is my last election ... After my election I have more flexibility," Obama said, expressing confidence he will win a second term.

"I will transmit this information to Vladimir," said Medvedev, Putin's protégé and long considered number two in Moscow's power structure.

The exchange, parts of it inaudible, was monitored by a White House pool of television journalists as well as Russian reporters listening live from their press center.

Russia strongly opposes the U.S.-engineered bulwark being built in and around Europe against ballistic missiles.

The United States insists it is intended as protection against a missile attack by countries such as Iran, but Russia says it fears the system could weaken its nuclear deterrent.

The White House, initially caught off-guard by questions about the leaders' exchange, later released a statement recommitting to implementing missile defense "which we've repeatedly said is not aimed at Russia" but also acknowledging election-year obstacles on the issue.

"Since 2012 is an election year in both countries, with an election and leadership transition in Russia and an election in the United States, it is clearly not a year in which we are going to achieve a breakthrough," U.S. deputy national security adviser Ben Rhodes said.

"Therefore, President Obama and President Medvedev agreed that it was best to instruct our technical experts to do the work of better understanding our respective positions, providing space for continued discussions on missile defense cooperation going forward," he said.

*Reporting By Matt Spetalnick; Editing by Robert Birsel*

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/03/26/us-nuclear-summit-obama-medvedev-idUSBRE82POJ20120326?feedType=RSS>

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SpaceWar.com



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## Panetta Says No 'Unilateral' US Nuclear Cuts

By Staff Writers

Ottawa (AFP) March 27, 2012

Defense Secretary Leon Panetta said there would be no "unilateral" reductions in the US nuclear arsenal, after President Barack Obama said his country had more of the weapons than it needed.

"The president is always interested in trying to see what we can do to reduce our nuclear arsenal," Panetta told reporters Monday on a flight to Ottawa, where he was to meet with his Canadian and Mexican counterparts.

"We've gone through a nuclear review and presented options to him, but let me be very clear that those options are in no way unilateral. They're all based on potential bilateral negotiations with the Russians."

Speaking at a nuclear summit in South Korea earlier on Monday, Obama had said that -- with more than 1,500 deployed nuclear weapons and 5,000 warheads -- the United States had "more nuclear weapons than we need".

"I firmly believe that we can ensure the security of the United States and our allies, maintain a strong deterrent against any threat, and still pursue further reductions in our nuclear arsenal," Obama said.

Obama said the United States would seek talks with Russia on reducing not only strategic nuclear warheads, but also tactical weapons meant for use on the battlefield and warheads in reserve.

He said he would discuss the issue with Russia's incoming President Vladimir Putin when they meet in May.

A new Strategic Arms Reductions Treaty (START), which entered into force in 2011, limits each side to 1,550 deployed warheads and 700 deployed long-range missiles -- including those fired from submarines -- and heavy bombers.

The treaty, which replaced a 1991 accord that expired in 2009, is seen as one of Obama's most significant foreign policy achievements.

[http://www.spacewar.com/reports/Panetta\\_says\\_no\\_unilateral\\_US\\_nuclear\\_cuts\\_999.html](http://www.spacewar.com/reports/Panetta_says_no_unilateral_US_nuclear_cuts_999.html)

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Los Angeles Times

## Obama Clarifies Hot Mic Comment Made to Russian President

By Kathleen B. Hennessey

March 27, 2012

SEOUL -- President Obama pointed to an uncooperative Congress and hotly contested presidential election for his decision to put talks with Russian leaders over a missile program on hold, a rare instance of a president acknowledging domestic political limitations while on the international stage.

"The only way I get this stuff done is if I'm consulting with the Pentagon, with Congress, if I've got bipartisan support," Obama told reporters from the Nuclear Security Summit on Tuesday, the last day of his three-day trip for the meeting. "And frankly, the current environment is not conducive to those kinds of thoughtful consultations."

Obama was seeking to clarify a remark he made a day earlier while posing for cameras with Russian President Dmitri Medvedev. Apparently unaware of how close reporters' microphones were, Obama can be heard on footage of the meeting responding to a comment from Medvedev by saying he would have more "flexibility" after the election. A White House official quickly issued a statement saying Obama was referencing top-level negotiations over the defense missile system, a weapons program intended to protect Europe but strongly opposed by the Russians who believe it is aimed at them.

Deputy National Security Adviser Ben Rhodes cited elections in both countries as the reasons why 2012 "is clearly not a year in which we are going to achieve a breakthrough."

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The “hot mic” incident quickly became an opening for Obama's Republican critics, many of whom have long been skeptical of the president’s commitment to the missile defense program. Others pounced on the president for his apparent confidence about his chances for reelection.

Obama's attempt to push back against the criticism was notable for the president’s open mingling of domestic politics and diplomacy while far from U.S. shores.

Obama took care to emphasize that he believed there was no time for a deal, given the complicated and “painstaking” process of negotiating on a point of considerable friction between the two countries. But he zeroed in quickly on the politics at home, returning to themes that are driving his reelection effort -- his fights against an intractable Congress and a bitter political climate in Washington.

"I don't think it's any surprise that you can't start that a few months before presidential and Congressional elections in the United States," Obama said, noting that Russia had recently held elections and was going through a political transition.

As he wrapped up work at the summit, Obama’s remarks threatened to step on the main purpose of the trip, to discuss his initiative to lock down nuclear material. Obama was asked about it as he announced progress on an effort to clean up and remove nuclear material from a former testing ground in Kazakhstan, the former Semipalatinsk Test Site. As he discussed his political challenges, Medvedev and Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev stood by listening, although it was unclear how much they understood.

The president appeared primed for the question. He opened his remarks with a joke: “First of all, are the mics on?”

<http://www.latimes.com/news/politics/la-pn-obama-defends-hot-mic-comment-20120326,0,7890746.story>

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Federal Times

## **U.S. Military Goes On Cyber Offensive**

By ZACHARY FRYER-BIGGS

March 26, 2012

Confronted with 10 million cyber attacks per day, the Defense Department is changing its tack.

The offensive cyber weapons that have long been wielded by centralized authorities, but whose existence was rarely acknowledged, are being distributed to regional combatant commanders as part of a new emphasis on deployment and deterrence.

"Our capabilities represent key components of deterrence," Army Gen. Keith Alexander, National Security Agency and U.S. Cyber Command (CYBERCOM) chief, wrote in prepared remarks delivered to the House Armed Services subcommittee on emerging threats and capabilities as part of a routine budget hearing on Tuesday. The initiative did not come up during the hearing.

"I can assure you that, in appropriate circumstances and on order from the National Command Authority, we can back up the department's assertion that any actor threatening a crippling cyber attack against the United States would be taking a grave risk," he wrote.

Part of that aggressive posture comes in the form of arming combatant commanders — allowing for broader access to capabilities, more rapid action and the pairing of traditional kinetic attacks with newly developed cyber capabilities.

Although Alexander only alluded to the effort in his prepared remarks, it was confirmed by sources.

CYBERCOM will establish Cyber Support Elements (CSEs) at all six combatant commands.



Thus far, U.S. Central Command in the Middle East is the only command with a fully operational element, while U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM) has a partial element, a CYBERCOM spokesman confirmed.

These support elements will provide technical capability and expertise, part of an effort to improve the integration of cyber attack capabilities, a source with knowledge of the efforts said.

"We are currently working closely with two of the geographic combatant commanders," Alexander wrote. "Our goal is to ensure that a commander with a mission to execute has a full suite of cyber-assisted options from which to choose, and that he can understand what effects they will produce for him."

A CYBERCOM spokesman confirmed that these options include offensive capabilities as well as defensive capabilities designed to protect systems, but said the details of the offensive capabilities are classified.

A source with knowledge of the effort at PACOM said the process is in its infancy there, as the infrastructure is still being developed and the integration of CYBERCOM personnel into mission planning is still being determined.

Alexander also wrote that CSEs are expected to be deployed at U.S. Africa Command and U.S. Southern Command within the next six months.

Although deterrence has served as a crucial policy for national security in a variety of domains, most notably nuclear, some experts inside and outside of the military question the likelihood of success if the concept is applied to cyber.

"For deterrence to work, adversaries are expected to think and act rationally," said Air Force Gen. William Shelton, commander of Air Force Space Command, speaking at the CyberFutures conference on Thursday. "There's no guarantee that these players can be regarded as rational actors."

Shelton said that because of the difficulties in attribution, the U.S. would have a hard time proving it could find and harm attackers, diminishing the impact of touting offensive capabilities.

"How do we put our own capabilities on display to show what could happen to our adversaries if they took unacceptable action against us in cyber space?" he said. "But without disclosure of a credible threat, our deterrent capacity is pretty weak."

Showing capabilities is a problem, said Jeff Moulton, a researcher at the Georgia Tech Research Institute, because of the ability of adversaries to adjust.

"Once you use that arrow in that quiver, once you use that exploit, once you use that particular tactic, you're showing your hand," he said. "Cyber attacks, cyber exploits are disposable assets. You use them once and they're pretty much gone, because once you do it people are very quick, they'll figure it out, and they'll learn how to block it for next time."

As U.S. cyber strategy shifts, combat planning with the newly positioned weapons at the combatant commands is also changing. The new tools, now more readily accessible, are becoming a more integrated part of mission planning.

But there are reservations, Shelton told a group of reporters following his speech.

"When you develop a kinetic weapon, you do extensive testing to develop a probability of kill with that particular weapon," Shelton said. "We don't have that same assurance yet with cyber capabilities. There's a little bit of a decision here on the part of combatant commanders as to how much he or she is willing to rely upon that particular objective being accomplished by a cyber capability."

Providing cyber capabilities to combatant commanders notably differs from the traditional operational structure, in which most commands must coordinate with CYBERCOM, which in turn deploys cyber capabilities.

Before CYBERCOM was stood up in 2010, offensive capabilities resided with the NSA. But the transition away from reliance on the intelligence agency and toward local capability is a logical progression, said Chris Coleman, director of cybersecurity for the public sector at Cisco, as the NSA was never intended to engage in combat.



"The NSA is an intelligence agency, so the fact that they're transitioning combat tools over to CYBERCOM and eventually the combatant commanders makes perfect sense," he said. "It's what they should be doing."

Still, the murky legality of cyber warfare means the application of cyber tools is being hampered, experts said.

Alexander testified with Teresa Takai, the Pentagon's chief information officer, and Madelyn Creedon, the assistant secretary of Defense for global strategic affairs. All three said DoD is developing rules of engagement for cyber and should conclude the process soon.

"I think we're making progress," Alexander said at the hearing. "But we also note that the risks that face our country are growing faster than our progress."

<http://www.federaltimes.com/article/20120326/DEPARTMENTS01/203260301/>

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Bloomberg Businessweek

## **World Leaders Vow to Secure Loose Nuclear Material by 2014**

By Jonathan Tirone

March 27, 2012

World leaders pledged to secure all vulnerable nuclear material by 2014 and to boost security to keep the ingredients for atomic weapons out of the hands of terrorists.

U.S. President Barack Obama, his Russian counterpart Dmitry Medvedev and leaders from more than 40 nations set out the goals in a communiqué at the conclusion of a two-day nuclear security summit in Seoul.

Countries will accelerate swapping out high-enriched uranium, the key ingredient in nuclear bombs, for low-enriched uranium at research facilities vulnerable to sabotage or attack, according to the non-binding document. The leaders promised to share more information on smuggling and atomic stockpiles. They first pledged to clean up loose material in 2010.

"I would not characterize these as small steps," U.S. Secretary of Energy Steven Chu said today at a press briefing in the South Korean capital. "We are working very aggressively. There's actually a lot of action happening. The world is actually becoming a more secure place."

The six-page communiqué, drafted over the course of a year by nuclear envoys from participating countries, focuses on steps that countries can take to secure nuclear material. Early drafts of the document showed that some nations wanted to recognize international legal agreements, like the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, as essential to the fight against terrorism. That language was scotched in the week before the summit convened.

### **'Non-State Actors'**

The communique called on countries to "maintain effective security of all nuclear material, which includes nuclear materials used in nuclear weapons, and nuclear facilities under their control, and to prevent non-state actors from acquiring such materials and from obtaining information or technology required to use them for malicious purposes."

"I would have liked to hear an overall plan for improving nuclear-material security worldwide in a uniform way," said Kenneth Luongo, who with the Department of Energy helped secure atomic material in Russia after the Soviet Union disintegrated. "We need something that's a lot better across the board."

Kazakhstan, Russia and the U.S. said in a statement at the summit they would finish cleaning up nuclear-weapons material from the former Soviet Union's Semipalatinsk nuclear-bomb test site. Belgium, France, South Korea and the U.S. said in a separate statement that they're working to create new low-enriched uranium fuel.



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### **'Effective Veto'**

"The downside of multilateral negotiation is that you're always going to devolve to the lowest common denominator," said Miles Pomper, a senior researcher at the Center for Non-Proliferation Studies, in an interview today in Seoul. "The countries with the least incentive to make progress have an effective veto."

Obama said today at the summit that there are "still too many bad actors" in the world trying to get their hands on nuclear material, which could result in a terror attack that kills large numbers of people. The U.S. leader inaugurated the first nuclear security summit in Washington DC in 2010.

"These dangerous materials are still vulnerable in too many places," he said. "It would not take much, just a handful or so of these materials, to kill hundreds of thousands of innocent people and that's not an exaggeration, that's the reality that we face."

The legacy of the Soviet Union's breakup, inadequate atomic stockpile controls and the proliferation of nuclear-fuel technology mean the world has lost precise count of atomic material, which could be used to make a weapon.

### **Weapons-Grade Material**

There are at least 2 million kilograms (4.4 million pounds) of stockpiled weapons-grade nuclear material left over from decommissioned bombs and atomic-fuel plants, according to the International Panel on Fissile Materials, a nonprofit Princeton, New Jersey research institute that tracks nuclear material. That's enough to make at least 100,000 new nuclear weapons on top of the 20,000 bombs already in weapon-state stockpiles.

Some nations wanted the summit to "affirm that full and effective implementation" of nuclear treaties "has a vital role in promoting international peace and security," according to a previous draft of the statement, which was written on Feb. 21 and obtained by Bloomberg News.

North Korea dropped out of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 2003 while Iran has been accused of violating its statutes by seeking an atomic-weapons capability. They didn't attend the summit. Other nations like India, Israel and Pakistan aren't members of the treaty and did attend.

"The scope that was agreed in this summit is a bit small," Chang Sang Ku, president of the Korea Institute of Nuclear Nonproliferation and Control, who is a Korean delegate to the Seoul Nuclear Security Summit, said in an interview. "But considering that security issues should be approached in collaboration with global partners, we can say that we have achieved meaningful outcomes on technical matters."

The next summit on nuclear security will be held in the Netherlands in 2014.

<http://www.businessweek.com/news/2012-03-27/world-leaders-pledge-to-secure-loose-nuclear-material-by-2014>

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Washington Post

OPINION

## **Preventing a Nuclear Iran**

By Michael O'Hanlon and Bruce Riedel

March 23, 2012

To contain Iran, or to preempt? That is, at present, the question. President Obama's recent dismissal of containment as an option would seem to stack the deck. Unless Iran pauses its uranium enrichment activities, an Israeli or U.S. strike against its nuclear facilities looks likely by next year.

Containment always looks better in theory, or in retrospect, than it works in practice. Our four-decade containment of the Soviet Union included several near misses, including the Berlin crisis and the Cuban missile crisis. And given the Iranian regime's willingness to resort to terror tactics — even on U.S. soil — and President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's

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purported remarks about wiping Israel off the map, there are clear downsides to relying on Iranian rationality and trusting that the regime can be deterred.

On the other hand, preemption doesn't look great, either. The Iranian regime, while dangerous, does not have suicidal tendencies. And the consequences of any airstrike against Iran's enrichment facilities at Qom and Natanz would probably not be limited to direct counterattacks by Iranian agents and proxies against U.S. or Israeli forces in the region: International economic sanctions and arms bans against Iran are likely to be weakened and International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) monitors ejected from the Islamic republic. And for what? A one- to three-year delay, not destruction, of the Iranian bomb program — as well as greater consensus within Iran to pursue the nuclear option.

The good news is that there is a third approach: constriction. Essentially, we would continue to delay and minimize the scale of Iran's nuclear program as we have been doing through sanctions and other means. We would keep doing this indefinitely, even if Iran gets a nuclear weapon.

Force would not be categorically ruled out under such a policy. But it would have to pass a cost-benefit test. Near-term strikes against the uranium-enrichment centrifuge installations fail that test. But in the future, factors might be different. Large reactors that are able to produce bomb-grade plutonium could be reasonable targets down the line. They are easy to see and virtually impossible to place underground.

Under a constriction policy, we would continue to do our utmost to prevent Iran from getting the bomb. But we would recognize that even if Iran had a handful of bombs, the balance of power in the Middle East in both nuclear and conventional terms would still tilt overwhelmingly toward Israel.

If Iran continues to inch toward the bomb, our policy should take a page from how the international community has handled North Korea the past two decades. The first Bush administration believed that Pyongyang probably had one or two bombs, yet neither President George H.W. Bush nor President Bill Clinton threatened war over that capability. In 1994, however, when North Korea threatened to reprocess plutonium for more bombs and build large reactors that could create the material for several dozen a year, Defense Secretary William Perry was emphatic that a North Korean nuclear arsenal could not be tolerated. His warning was heard loud and clear in Pyongyang, and the agreed framework resulted.

After the George W. Bush administration mishandled the North Korean nuclear problem in 2002 and 2003, Pyongyang reprocessed enough plutonium for six to eight weapons. Yet two decades into its own nuclear age, North Korea remains a minimal nuclear power with, at best, a small deterrent of last resort.

Of course, achieving this outcome with North Korea required a negotiated accord, and the agreement was flawed. But it capped the North's nuclear ventures for many years. There is little near-term prospect of reaching an agreement with Iran. But we can pursue the same goal with other means. Non-military methods have already slowed Iran's nuclear program by two to three years relative to expectations that were common in 2008-09 about how long it would take Tehran to produce its first bomb. That is every bit as much as we could hope to slow Iran with an airstrike campaign — without weakening the international consensus to keep simultaneously tightening sanctions and without giving Iran an easy excuse to expel inspectors.

Some will argue that Iran is more dangerous than North Korea. While in some ways that's true, Iran is arguably more calculating. North Korea has made several unprovoked attacks on South Korea, such as the strike against the frigate Cheonan in 2010. Yet because of agreed international policies, Pyongyang still does not have enough fissile material to test adequately whether its nuclear-armed warheads could survive missile flight and atmospheric reentry.

Under a policy of constriction, if Iran ejected IAEA inspectors from existing facilities in a manner globally recognized as brazen and threatening, we might multilaterally conduct a strike. What we would *not* do is decide in May, or November, or next March, that the incremental process of increased enrichment had exhausted our collective patience and lash out with a strike that would quite possibly help Iran as much as it hurt it.

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Incremental Iranian progress toward a bomb, or even a few, is not reason enough to upend an international policy that is slowing the Tehran regime's pursuit of nuclear capabilities much more than was once thought possible. We have a choice besides containment and preemption — and it looks a lot like the policy we have been following in recent years.

*Michael O'Hanlon is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and co-author of "Bending History: Barack Obama's Foreign Policy." Bruce Riedel is a senior fellow in the Saban Center in the foreign policy program at Brookings and the author of "Deadly Embrace: Pakistan, America, and the Future of the Global Jihad."*

[http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/preventing-a-nuclear-iran/2012/03/23/gIQA25iZWS\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/preventing-a-nuclear-iran/2012/03/23/gIQA25iZWS_story.html)

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Korea Herald – South Korea  
OPINION/Editorial  
March 25, 2012

## Curbing Nuclear Terrorism

Leaders of 53 nations and four international organizations have gathered in Seoul for a two-day summit on expanding and deepening international cooperation in thwarting nuclear terrorism.

The threat of nuclear terrorism loomed large following the 9/11 attacks on the United States. But global efforts to address it had remained low-key until U.S. President Barak Obama energized them.

In a speech in Prague in 2009, Obama presented his vision of a world free of nuclear weapons. One initiative he proposed at the time was a global summit on nuclear security to deal with the growing danger of nuclear terrorism.

Obama noted that while the threat of global nuclear war had decreased with the end of the Cold War, the risk of a nuclear attack had rather increased as the existing nuclear nonproliferation regime could not rein in malicious non-state actors. To curb the threat posed by terrorist groups, he pledged to secure all vulnerable nuclear material around the world within four years.

Obama hosted the first Nuclear Security Summit in Washington in 2010. The inaugural meeting adopted a communique and a work plan, setting out 50 cooperative tasks in 11 fields. Each participating state was expected to carry them out on a voluntary basis.

The Seoul summit is the second meeting aimed primarily at reviewing and assessing the progress that participating states have made since the Washington conference. During the two years, significant progress has been made. For instance, several countries have eliminated their stockpiles of highly enriched uranium.

Yet the nuclear terrorism threat has not noticeably abated. For one thing, large amounts of HEU and separated plutonium still remain unsecured. Experts estimate that some 1,600 tons of HEU and 500 tons of plutonium are scattered around the world. This volume is large enough to produce some 126,000 nuclear weapons.

Hence the Seoul meeting will encourage participating states to ratchet up their commitment to eliminating or reducing fissile material stockpiles. Leaders attending the summit need to make bold and specific commitments to realize the vision of a world without nuclear weapons.

As with the Washington conference, the Seoul summit will focus on the three key dimensions of nuclear security — response to terrorism, protection of nuclear material and facilities, and prevention of illicit trade in nuclear material.

Yet it needs to expand the scope of discussions to deal with issues that were not covered in the inaugural summit. One such issue concerns radiological terrorism.

The destructive impact of radiological terrorism is much weaker than that of nuclear terrorism. Yet the threat of radiological terrorism warrants more attention as terrorist groups can easily obtain the materials needed for so-called "dirty bombs" by combining them with conventional explosives.

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Japan's nuclear catastrophe a year ago has made it necessary to discuss nuclear security together with nuclear safety. Nuclear security is about preventing intentional terrorist attacks, while nuclear safety focuses on preventing natural disasters and unintended human errors.

But a terrorist attack on a nuclear power plant could create a situation not much different from that caused by a safety lapse or a natural disaster. Both incidents also require similar response measures. Hence it is necessary to discuss the ways in which efforts in both areas can reinforce each other.

It is worth noting that Korea, as host of the important global security forum, intends to make contributions of its own by sharing its state-of-the-art technologies with participating states.

One important task in securing vulnerable nuclear material concerns the conversion of research reactors from high-enriched to low-enriched uranium fuel. Korea is the only country in the world to develop high-density low-enriched uranium powder that can replace HEU as fuel for research reactors. This technology can help participating states minimize their use of HEU.

Korea has also developed a radiological material monitoring technology that can track radioactive sources in real time using GPS. This technology can significantly enhance accounting capabilities.

The Seoul summit carries great meaning for Korea in many ways. For instance, it can be seen as global recognition of the high standards Korea has maintained in nuclear nonproliferation, security and safety.

The summit also reflects Korea's elevated standing in the international arena. In 2010, Korea hosted the G20 summit, establishing itself as a major participant in global discussions on economic and financial cooperation. The nuclear summit in Seoul will help Korea play leadership role in international security discussions. We hope the Seoul summit bears ample fruit.

<http://www.koreaherald.com/opinion/Detail.jsp?newsMLId=20120325000036>

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Korea Times – South Korea  
OPINION/Op-Ed  
March 25, 2012

## **Obama's Option for Koreas**

By Moon Chung-in and John Delury

Pyongyang's announcement to launch a satellite into outer space has, in one stroke, smashed hopes of a thaw in U.S.-North Korea relations, generating a palpable sense of despair among many longtime proponents of talking to the North.

The surprise decision made a mockery of the Feb. 29 "Leap Day Deal," the first major foreign relations decision of the Kim Jong-un leadership and the first deal yet reached with the Obama administration.

Tough counter-reactions are already moving in quickly from all sides. Washington said the deal would be abrogated. President Obama's visit to the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) and South Korea's Cheonan anniversary military exercises have taken on added gravity. President Lee Myung-bak will use the Nuclear Security Summit to corral world leaders into sending a unified message of condemnation to Pyongyang.

Tokyo is readying Patriot missiles on Okinawa to shoot down any stray North Korean rocket parts. Moscow criticized the launch, and even Beijing summoned the North Korean ambassador to express concern. By Chinese standards, that's the equivalent of reading Pyongyang the riot act.

Such outraged responses are understandable. In addition to violating U.N. Security Council Resolution 1874, the launch is a direct breach of the trust that was just being built in the process of the February agreement. But even long-time



North Korea watchers are surprised at the sudden reversal, and the fact that Pyongyang scuttled a deal from which it had not yet benefited. The explanation for this puzzle lies in North Korean domestic political legitimacy building.

Kim Jong-il proclaimed that 2012, the 100th anniversary of Kim Il-sung's birth, marks North Korea's emergence as a strong and prosperous nation. The space launch can serve as a dramatic symbol of this new era, overshadowing the dark reality of economic hardship.

Given South Korea's repeated failure to launch a satellite, it is a rare propaganda asset in Pyongyang's rivalry with Seoul. But by jeopardizing the U.S. deal, the launch actually reveals the depth of the trap created by the Kim Il-sung's ideology of self-reliance (*juche*) and Kim Jong-il's policy of military first (*songun*). This is precisely the kind of dilemma North Korea faces in transitioning to a new era of security plus prosperity.

The North's dilemma creates conundrums for Washington, testing the Obama administration's stomach for dealing with the land of lousy options. There were, after all, much more provocative ways to celebrate April 15 — including a third nuclear test or military clash in the West Sea. From an American perspective, the announcement is a slap in the face. But by the standards of domestic politics in Pyongyang, the space launch seems the most moderate option, one that leaves a crack open for further negotiation.

The consensus view among experts — even many advocates of engagement — is that this launch is the final straw, and there is no reason to continue dealing with Pyongyang. But in our view, the U.S. must keep its priorities straight, and pursue them through proactive and preventive, rather than punitive, diplomacy.

Washington's goal is control of nuclear materials and weapons; missiles without nuclear warheads constitute a lesser threat. Firm, steady gains in monitoring and dismantling North Korea's nuclear program may justify concessions on the rocket launch.

So to break the impasse, President Obama should send an envoy to Pyongyang to discuss the deteriorating situation — someone senior enough for the first *tete-a-tete* with Kim Jong-un.

Even announcing that idea buys everyone some time, cools tempers, and puts the U.S. back in the driver's seat. Such a gesture helps legitimize the regime and therefore represents a valuable gift to the Kim Jong-un regime, giving those who seek improved relations with the U.S., like the foreign ministry, some leverage *vis-a-vis* hard-liners.

President Obama needs to play a much more complex game of leveraging the situation to move Pyongyang toward moderation, cooperation, and eventual denuclearization — and he needs a direct channel to the highest level in the North. Walking away, while justified, plays into the wrong hands.

Obama's envoy to Pyongyang could put North Korea in a reactive position by floating bold initiatives, such as an offer to launch North Korea's satellite on its behalf (as once suggested by Kim Jong-il). Russia and China might also volunteer. Even North and South Korea could one day work together to develop a peaceful space program, turning a regional crisis into an inter-Korean opportunity.

The U.S. envoy could also press to renew missile talks, which were close to a breakthrough when Madeleine Albright met directly with Kim Jong-il in late 2000, before being scuttled by the George W. Bush administration (Wendy Sherman, now under-secretary of state, was with Albright in Pyongyang and knows this history better than anyone).

North Korea is at the crossroads of sticking with "military-first" politics, or striving to become a normal, integrated state under the new leadership. Tough reactions to the satellite, while justified, are likely to empower North Korean hardliners, while undercutting those who favor opening, reform, and economic betterment.

Especially now, with a new leadership, any North Korea policy must factor in their domestic political dynamics. While in Seoul, President Obama has an opportunity to put the brakes on the rapidly deteriorating situation by presenting imaginative new policy initiatives. The alternative is all too predictable.



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[http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/opinion/2012/03/137\\_107630.html](http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/opinion/2012/03/137_107630.html)

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Korea Times – South Korea  
OPINION/Editorial  
March 26, 2012

## **Nuclear Insecurity**

*World leaders need action, not rhetoric*

Leaders of 57 nations and international organizations are in Seoul to strengthen cooperation and enhance nuclear security. The participants represent 80 percent of the world's population and 90 percent of the global economy.

The attendees at the biennial event are discussing the twin goals of stopping the spread of nuclear weapons and using nuclear energy safely and peacefully.

U.S. President Barack Obama's initiative for a new global partnership for global nuclear security was timely. He has set ambitions high. There is no indication that global nuclear insecurity has lessened, at least in the eyes of ordinary people since the first summit two years ago in Washington.

North Korea and Iran are eyesores to the global commitments to nuclear non-proliferation challenges. Following the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks on the United States concerns grew over nuclear terrorism.

Major nuclear powers, including the United States, China, Russia and France, should set a model for nuclear disarmament to encourage such countries as North Korea and Iran to go down the path of nonproliferation.

North Korea and Iran have become a testing case for Obama's commitment to secure all vulnerable nuclear materials.

China is crucial in encouraging the North's denuclearization. Sticks will not be enough. Carrots are necessary to prevent their going nuclear.

In the Sunday summit between Presidents Lee Myung-bak and Obama, they urged the North to scrap its plan to launch a long-range rocket next month. But they failed to prioritize issues in dealing with the Stalinist state. Seoul and Washington should prioritize controlling nuclear materials and weapons over rockets. As Yonsei University professors Moon Chung-in and John Delury stated in The Korea Times Op-Ed Monday, missiles without nuclear warheads constitute a lesser threat.

The Seoul Communique, to be produced today, should include verifiable, not political and rhetorical, pledges to reduce stocks of weapons-grade nuclear materials.

The statement should include how to protect nuclear facilities from accidents or terrorists. Illegal trading of nuclear materials should be stopped.

The Fukushima accident one year ago sent shockwaves worldwide. The disaster showed that human beings have limits in ensuring the 100-percent safety of nuclear power plants. Furthermore, terrorists can easily destabilize the world through attacks on nuclear power plants.

Each country needs to communicate with the people proactively on the safety of nuclear energy and plants.

Transparency of nuclear information is crucial as Japan might have controlled the damage following the Fukushima accident through candid announcements on the real situation there.

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Policymakers tend to hide key facts out of blind concern that their candid information might amplify public concern and cynicism. The opposite is true. Frank communication with the people would lessen undue public anxiety.

The Seoul summit should not be an event full of rhetoric and technical jargon. Obama's vision of a world free from nuclear weapons should become a reality.

World leaders need action before Black Swan nuclear disasters take a toll on human beings. This is time for caution against nuclear complacency.

[http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/opinion/2012/03/202\\_107740.html](http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/opinion/2012/03/202_107740.html)

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New York Times  
OPINION/Op-Ed Contributor  
International Herald Tribune  
March 26, 2012

## **What Iran Can Learn From Kazakhstan**

By NURSULTAN NAZARBAYEV

The threat from nuclear terrorism is one of the greatest our world faces. If terrorist groups manage to get their hands on material to make nuclear or radioactive weapons, they will not hesitate to use them. The resulting death toll and damage would be unimaginable.

The security of nuclear materials was high on the agenda of the first Nuclear Security Summit in Washington in 2010. This week, along with President Obama and the leaders of 50 other countries, I will be traveling to Seoul for the second summit to report on progress. We will see how we can further improve measures to keep safe nuclear material and to stop its illegal trade.

The nuclear threat strikes a deep chord within Kazakhstan. For four decades, our country was used as the backdrop for nuclear tests. By the time the Semipalatinsk site was closed, there had been nearly 460 explosions, including 116 nuclear bombs exploded above ground. Although it has been well over 20 years since the last test, their devastating impact is still being felt.

Many thousands of our people have died early because of their exposure to radioactive fallout. Cancer rates and birth abnormalities remain far higher in the affected region than in the rest of the country. Children continue to be born with mental and physical defects. This tragic legacy helps explain the passionate commitment of our people to help lift the shadow of nuclear weapons from our world.

Such was the feeling among our people that we closed the Semipalatinsk site even before we became an independent country on the breakup of the Soviet Union 20 years ago. With independence, we became the world's fourth-largest nuclear power. One of our first acts as a sovereign nation was voluntarily to give up these weapons.

Since then, we have worked tirelessly to encourage other countries to follow our lead and build a world in which the threat of nuclear weapons belongs to history.

We consider nuclear safety as consisting of three integral components. It is not only about the protection of humanity from nuclear weapons, but also about counteracting potential nuclear terrorism and ensuring the safety of nuclear energy. This is why we actively support disarmament measures, including efforts to strengthen the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and to persuade countries to ratify the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Over the years Kazakhstan has ensured the security of all nuclear materials on its territory and fully complied with the voluntary commitments made in Washington.

We must understand that it is not easy for countries to give up their nuclear arsenal or to renounce the intention of developing their own weapons. The truth is that if just one nation has nuclear weapons, others may feel it necessary to

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do the same to protect themselves. This is why nuclear proliferation is such a threat to the security of us all and leads to greater risk of an illegal, dangerous trade in weapons and material.

The real intent of Iran's nuclear program is causing concern across the world. Recognizing the right of all responsible members of the international community to develop peaceful atomic energy under the safeguards promoted by the International Atomic Energy Agency, Kazakhstan has used its close diplomatic relations with our neighbor across the Caspian Sea to urge Tehran to learn from our example.

I am convinced that openness and the development of peaceful relations with neighbors will increase rather than diminish Iran's status and influence, help lower tensions in the Middle East, and make it easier to find fair, lasting solutions to the problems in that region.

With our neighbors, we implemented the idea of establishing a nuclear-weapons-free zone in Central Asia. We propose to use this experience to raise the number of such zones worldwide, including in the Middle East. We also need to demand legal guarantees from nuclear states that they will not use these weapons against those without them.

As the world's largest producer of uranium ore, Kazakhstan is ideally placed to host the first international nuclear fuel bank. The bank, which would be run under the auspices of the I.A.E.A., could provide uranium fuel to enable states to power civilian nuclear reactors without having to bear the risk of not being able to procure uranium at open markets. All countries which meet I.A.E.A. conditions would be able to access the bank.

I would like to say this to all countries: Kazakhstan's experience shows that nations can reap huge benefits from turning their backs on nuclear weapons. I have no doubt that we are a more prosperous, stable country, with more influence and friends in the world because of our decision.

We need to find the same imagination and will to help countries without nuclear weapons feel secure. This is the only way to prevent nuclear proliferation and reduce the chances that deadly material will fall into the hands of terrorists. I can promise that the citizens of Kazakhstan will do all we can to help create a world in which the threat of nuclear weapons is eradicated.

We chose building peaceful alliances and prosperity over fear and suspicion. Iran faces the same decision now. We must all work hard to create the right conditions in which other countries, too, can make the right choice.

*Nursultan Nazarbayev is president of Kazakhstan.*

<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/26/opinion/what-iran-can-learn-from-kazakhstan.html>

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The Hindu – India  
OPINION/Op-Ed  
March 26, 2012

## **A Slow but Necessary Ascent**

*Ensuring the security of all fissile materials is a necessary step on the road to the global elimination of nuclear weapons.*

By R. Rajaraman

The heads of as many as 53 nations, including India, are expected to attend the 2012 Nuclear Security Summit in Seoul on March 26 and 27. The first such summit was held in Washington in April 2010, fulfilling a promise President Obama made in his 2009 Prague speech while calling for the elimination of all nuclear weapons. One obvious component of this goal is getting rid of existing nuclear arsenals.

Another is the securing and eventual elimination of all fissile materials (i.e. materials which undergo nuclear fission and provide the explosive energy of nuclear weapons). Now, obtaining fissile materials happens to be the single most difficult step in building a nuclear weapon, as evident from the labours of A.Q. Khan and the controversy over Iran. Therefore, securing and locking up such material is very important, not only to prevent its falling into the hands of

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terrorists, but also to ensure a nuclear weapon free world — if we ever get there — remains stable against “breakouts” by some renegade nation.

Meanwhile there are about 150,000 weapons worth of fissile materials lying around in the world as compared to the five to 25 kg needed for a weapon. Already, 20 cases of theft or loss of such material have been discovered. Clearly this is a very dangerous situation. The Nuclear Security Summit (NSS) was designed to bring high-level political attention to this vital but hitherto obscure problem of nuclear materials security.

### **Nuclear terrorism**

Was the first NSS in Washington a success? To start with, the very fact that such a summit took place was a success in itself. Until then, the security of fissile materials would hardly have been considered the stuff of global summits. Nor were they matters of great public concern. Yet 50 world leaders converged on Washington. This was partly because of the charisma of a new U.S. President with an inspiring agenda. It was also because of the desire to be present at “the high table.” Once some major heads of government started accepting Obama’s invitation, participation became irresistible for the rest. India, neither a signatory to the NPT nor a member of the Nuclear Suppliers Group, has been kept out of most international nuclear enclaves in the past. Its inclusion in the Washington Summit was a welcome development.

That summit reached a consensus that nuclear terrorism is among the top global security challenges and that strong nuclear material security measures are the most effective way to prevent it. This may not seem like much, but getting 47 nations to agree on any nuclear issue, however innocuous, is not always easy.

In addition, 29 of the countries present made voluntary commitments to enhance nuclear security. Country-specific steps — colloquially termed “house gifts” — were taken ahead of the summit. Thus, Chile removed all its Highly Enriched Uranium (HEU) — 18 kg — in March 2010, while the Philippines joined the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism. Several countries, including India, announced that they would create new “centres of excellence” to promote nuclear security technologies.

Since then, several countries seem to be on track towards meeting their commitments by 2012. Reportedly, approximately 60 per cent of these national commitments have been completed, and notable progress has been made on the rest. For instance, Kazakhstan has secured enough material to make 775 nuclear weapons, Russia has ended its plutonium production and signed a plutonium disposition protocol with the U.S., Ukraine has removed over half of its HEU and so on.

### **Energy centre in Haryana**

India has also made some progress, albeit slowly, on its commitment to set up a Global Centre for Nuclear Energy Partnership. It announced that the centre will have a 200 acre campus in Bahadurgarh, Haryana and comprise four different schools covering nuclear security, nuclear energy systems, and radiation safety.

Despite the good intentions and effort behind the NSS, many people have strong reservations about their usefulness. They feel that the voluntary and non-binding commitments amount to just “picking low hanging fruit” while the more difficult fissile material security problems remain unaddressed.

In response, attempts are being made to enlarge and strengthen the issues to be addressed by the 2012 Summit. Stronger commitments may be sought towards reducing the stocks of HEU and discouraging its use in producing isotopes for medicine, research reactors, etc. In addition to “house gifts” there will be “gift baskets” which refer to commitments of cooperative multinational efforts. Such multinational programmes have the potential to continue even after the sequence of summits ends.

### **Securing all materials**

Unlike Washington, Seoul 2012 may choose to address the securing of all radioactive materials, and not just fissile materials. Radioactive but non-fissile materials used for medical, agricultural and scientific purposes cannot be used



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for nuclear weapons. But they too can cause casualties and massive disruption, even if not at the scale of nuclear weapons. A suitcase full of such radioactive material (the so-called dirty bomb) if exploded in a public place would, in addition to killing some people and polluting the neighbourhood with deadly radiation, also create enormous panic resulting in massive stampedes and more casualties given the public's extreme fear of radioactivity especially after Fukushima.

Terrorists keen on escalating from conventional to nuclear explosions may well start with dirty bombs. They are much easier to assemble. One just pilfers from hospitals and research laboratories bits and pieces of radioactive junk which are not guarded anywhere nearly as well as fissile material. Recall the Cobalt-60 leak from Delhi University equipment found in a scrap metal shop. Of course, the methods for securing all radioactive material at a thousand places will be quite different from guarding fissile material in a small number of heavily fortified places. So including them in the summit agenda may dilute the focus away from the main goal of fissile material security.

Finally, one hopes that India will take this opportunity to move away from its defensive mindset. Understandable during the days of nuclear sanctions, that mindset does not behove a nation aspiring to a leadership role in world affairs. It should make bold non-trivial pledges, and reiterate its commitment to setting up a truly independent nuclear regulatory authority.

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<http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/article3223583.ece>

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New York Times  
OPINION/Op-Ed Contributors  
International Herald Tribune  
March 26, 2012

## **Modernize Open Skies**

By GEORGE P. SHULTZ, SIDNEY D. DRELL and CHRISTOPHER STUBBS

It may seem difficult to believe, but the United States can fly an unarmed military reconnaissance aircraft anywhere over Russia and 32 other nations, with only 24 hours notice of the intended flight plan. The Russian Federation has a reciprocal right to conduct aerial photography flights over the United States and other treaty members. Over 840 of these reconnaissance missions have been flown over Europe, Russia and North America since 2002 under the auspices of the Open Skies Treaty.

Saturday marked the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Open Skies Treaty. First proposed by President Eisenhower in 1955 at the height of the Cold War, the initiative was resurrected by President George H.W. Bush, signed on March 24, 1992, and went into full effect in January 2002. The Open Skies Treaty allows countries to address concerns they may have about the capabilities and intentions of other nations by obtaining aerial imagery of military bases or other areas of interest without any access restrictions.

The treaty is an under-appreciated triumph of modern confidence building and arms control. The progress made in this area of verification is breathtaking when one considers the confrontational situation with the former Soviet Union 25 years ago. It augurs well for efforts to verify deep reductions in nuclear weapons and even to abolish them.

Looking to the future, the world must recognize and confront the verification challenges that will accompany continuing reductions in nuclear arsenals, and environmental considerations such as greenhouse gas emissions, nuclear power accidents and deforestation. Cooperative aerial monitoring can play a key role in addressing these challenges.

The Open Skies Treaty currently provides a mechanism to reduce tensions and to foster international trust, confidence and cooperation by stipulating the terms, conditions and quotas for reciprocal territorial access and by establishing

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camera performance specifications. The images obtained from Open Skies flights can be shared among all 34 treaty signatory nations. The imagery has also been used in support of natural disaster relief efforts.

There are also substantial intangible benefits from having uniformed military personnel from different nations share in the planning, execution and staffing of these monitoring missions. Moreover, for countries without sophisticated satellite systems, Open Skies is their only means of alleviating security concerns through timely overhead imagery. This method of defusing tensions is in the interest of the United States.

It is in our national interest to strengthen and extend both the technical collection capabilities and the scope of international participation in cooperative aerial monitoring programs. Some countries understand this. The Russian Federation will soon deploy a new Open Skies aircraft, equipped with modern digital optical and infrared sensors and an imaging radar system, while the United States struggles to keep aloft an aging Boeing 707 airframe equipped with archaic film-based cameras. An upgrade to U.S. capabilities in this arena is overdue and, at a minimum, implementing digital sensors should be a priority for the U.S. program. This is a wise and cost-effective investment that serves our long-term security interests.

Aircraft can provide atmospheric (gas and particulate) samplings that will never be accessible from satellites. Adding these capabilities to cooperative aerial monitoring programs would enable the search for trace signatures that accompany the processing of material for nuclear weapons and would also be invaluable in mapping out greenhouse gas emissions. To make progress toward such goals, it will be necessary to negotiate multinational agreements for significantly more transparency and cooperation in detecting covert efforts to violate treaty restrictions on weapons activities and in the environmental arena.

We applaud the hard work that has led to the treaty's success thus far. Open Skies is an important foundation for addressing national security verification challenges of the coming decades. The United States should play a leadership role in strengthening both the technical and political aspects of cooperative aerial monitoring.

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<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/26/opinion/26iht-edshultz26.html>

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The Atlantic  
OPINION/Analysis

## **Think Like a Dragon: The Global Lessons of China's Nuclear Program**

*Understanding Chinese nukes is about more than strategy -- it's about culture, history, and, yes, Sun Tzu.*

By Panayotis A. Yannakogeorgos & Adam Lowther

March 27 2012

The United States, Russia, Britain, France and other nuclear powers all regard nuclear weapons as the core function of strategic deterrence."--Jiang Zemin (2002)

It's difficult to understand China's nuclear-weapons capability and strategy. Unlike the United States, China is not a signatory to most nuclear-weapons limitation and disarmament agreements. And it is certainly not forthcoming with information about its nuclear arsenal or development program. This leaves the world without any solid understanding of the capabilities of the Chinese missile command known as the Second Artillery Corps.

Thus, what we know about China's nuclear weapons is incomplete and often speculative. But even with better empirical knowledge, understanding Beijing's strategy--for nuclear weapons or other areas--requires a background in Chinese culture and history. Only then will U.S. policy makers be able to address the challenges of China's expanding nuclear capability.

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## Capability

The Second Artillery Corps of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) is in the process of developing a credible nuclear triad. This includes deployment of several ballistic missiles. Estimates of operationally deployed strategic weapons vary, but the most often repeated number is between one hundred and two hundred. It is also developing an arsenal of medium-range nuclear cruise missiles (between two hundred and five hundred in 2010).

In addition, the PLA Navy is growing its small number of submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs). The PLA Air Force is growing its fleet of H-6K nuclear-capable bombers (between five and ten in 2010) and developing the H-8 stealth bomber.

Although it is difficult to determine current investments in the Chinese nuclear-weapons program, there is reason to believe that the Second Artillery Corps has seen significant increases in its budget. And with the theft of U.S. nuclear-weapons-design information, China has a strong foundation from which to advance the technological capabilities of its weapons.

## Chinese Strategy

In the modern Chinese military treatise *The Science of Campaigns*, the essence of Chinese nuclear strategy is described as lying "in the ingenious selection of targets, ingenious choice of timing opportunities, ingenious use of forces and firepower, and the ingenious application of operational methods." This prompts several questions: Who is targeted? What is the objective? When will it happen? Where will the Chinese deploy it? And why and how will they do it?

*Who?* China's strategic nuclear weapons are designed to target the United States. The United States is China's current and future strategic adversary--in spite of all the rhetoric of "competitive cooperation." Chinese tactical nuclear weapons, however, have a Russian or Indian address because of tensions on the borders of both nations.

*What?* China's principal strategic objective for its nuclear arsenal is holding the interests of the United States hostage and deterring American leaders from using superior conventional or nuclear forces to coerce China into taking actions that "humiliate" the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) or constrain its freedom of action. A strategy of deception reduces Chinese vulnerability to potential U.S. counterstrikes since it is difficult to target unknown-unknowns.

The Central Military Commission's principal fear has long been that the Second Artillery Corps does not have a credible nuclear force capable launching a retaliatory counterstrike.

In many ways, Chinese national and foreign-policy decision making is shaped by the country's "century of humiliation." The historical lessons learned during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when China fell under Western dominance, continue to shape leadership perceptions of how global powers wish to treat China. In its desire to overcome the past, CCP leaders and the PLA have been doggedly determined to never let the past repeat itself. China's nuclear-weapons program is a reflection of that underlying historical insecurity.

*When?* Evidence suggests that China is on a pace to build an arsenal that is equal in size and capability to the U.S. arsenal--if not superior--by 2050. Where the United States is rushing headlong toward nuclear abolition, the Chinese are on a very determined path to build an advanced arsenal equal to that of the other great powers.

*Where?* With a highly distributed nuclear infrastructure and deployed force, China has long focused on resiliency--always a primary concern. And with an estimated five thousand kilometers of tunnels strategically dispersed across the country, the Second Artillery Corps maintains a limited ability to strike the continental United States but a much greater ability to strike within the first and second island chains with nuclear and dual-capable weapons. These limitations will disappear in the decades ahead.

*Why?* In their drive to reunite greater China, which began with Tibet and most recently Hong Kong, CCP leaders are now focused on Taiwan. Concern that the United States will intervene to stop a PLA invasion of Taiwan is viewed as an intrusion into China's domestic affairs that could precipitate the use of nuclear weapons--on Chinese soil. This would not be seen as a violation of China's no-first-use policy since Taiwan is seen as a rebellious part of China.



*How?* China's dramatic economic growth is fueling a massive modernization effort that is spanning the breadth of the PLA Army, Navy, Air Force and Second Artillery Corps. As American companies seeing terabytes of sensitive research and development data smuggled away can attest, the Chinese are always seeking to advance their capabilities and know-how. To suggest that China is engaging in a revolution in military affairs akin to our own is not far from the truth. But unlike the United States, nuclear weapons are central to China's modernization effort.

Without understanding Chinese strategic culture, however, all of this is of little more than passing interest.

### **Strategic Culture**

Modern Chinese strategic culture differs from that of the West in fundamental ways. While the influence of Hellenic philosophy, Enlightenment rationalism and American exceptionalism shape U.S. strategic culture, Chinese strategic culture remains heavily influenced by *The Five Military Classics*, Daoism and Confucian philosophy.

As Alistair Ian Johnston has pointed out in his analysis of three thousand years of Chinese military history, when China was at its weakest, it employed a strategy of appeasement. When it grew stronger but remained relatively weak, China employed a defensive strategy. When China was militarily superior, it took the offense.

However, in the minds of the Chinese, they have always acted defensively--never offensively. Thus, China has always acted to defend its territorial integrity and core interests, never to further or expand its interests.

With many in the West familiar with Sun Tzu's *Art of War*, it should come as no surprise that Chinese nuclear-weapons strategy is characterized by ambiguity, disinformation and secrecy--all critical to good generalship, according to Sun Tzu. These characteristics are important because they have the potential to achieve victory through "acting without action"--a precept of Daoism.

In other words, China can achieve its strategic objectives--"winning without fighting"--by employing ambiguity, deceit and secrecy in such a way that the United States follows a path (the Dao) that is desired by China--pushing the United States out of East Asia.

While American strategic culture is characterized as: (1) determine the desired outcome (ends); (2) ascertain the methods to achieve those ends (ways); and (3) operationalize a strategy (means); Chinese strategic culture does not begin with the "ideal" (ends) and then develop a way to bring it to fruition.

Instead, Chinese strategic culture focuses on the path (Dao) taken by "the general." By taking advantage of opportunities as they arise--exploiting the situation--the optimum outcome is achieved. In other words, the Chinese do not have a cultural imperative that leads them to establish a desired end state to which they orient their action. They are opportunity maximizers.

This may seem odd or difficult for the Western reader because it is, in fact, very different from our own cognitive approach. In Chinese thinking, understanding the potential of a situation leads the general to profit when advantageous circumstances arise. This is a critical skill and capability. Ambiguity, deception, secrecy and other methods are all tools for maximizing advantageous circumstances.

There is much less of a tradition in China of setting clear long-range objectives and then building a plan to achieve them. The importation of communism from the West, in some ways, institutionalized the approach, but communism in China has always been heavily influenced by a culture and philosophy that is much older and ingrained in Chinese thinking.

All of this may be interesting, but it leaves the "so what?" question unanswered. Understanding both China's nuclear future and its approach to strategy matters for several reasons.

### **So What?**

China's long-stated no-first-use policy must be understood within the context of Chinese strategic culture, which acts to defend historic territorial integrity. China would not view its use of nuclear weapons in a Taiwan conflict as a first use



because Taiwan is considered Chinese territory. Thus, the United States could be caught off guard by a Chinese nuclear strike against a carrier battle group in the Straits of Taiwan--admittedly a low-probability situation.

Consistent with the earlier historical pattern found by Johnston and others, China's nuclear policy shifted from minimum deterrence (1964-1987) to credible minimum deterrence (1987-2002) to limited deterrence (2002-present); and when China develops the capability, it will shift to mutually assured destruction's current iteration.

Although Chinese nuclear doctrine is premised on credible retaliation, China will develop a capability and doctrine for escalatory war fighting. This means that China is in the process of moving beyond the nuclear thinking of Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping. Chinese leaders are learning from the United States and developing their own nuclear doctrine. Younger Chinese military officers in particular are more Western in their strategic thinking, but they can also be more bellicose in their nuclear views.

And don't forget that China is building a nuclear arsenal of equal or greater capability to the United States with a principal aim of deterring U.S. freedom of action in the Asia-Pacific region--erasing all insecurity.

Finally, unfolding geopolitical events (seen as Daoism's path) are carefully watched by the Chinese. America should expect China, consistent with its strategic culture, to take advantage of opportunities (perceived or real American weakness) when they arise. But do not expect this to occur with a clear end state in mind--remember that Chinese strategic culture teaches us that in this respect, Eastern and Western thinking are not the same.

If the United States is to "pivot" toward the Asia-Pacific region, it must realize that China has every intention of closing the nuclear gap and using its atomic arsenal to achieve its strategic interests. To be successful in the region, the United States must tame the dragon--but first it must understand how the dragon thinks.

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The views expressed are those of the authors.

<http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/03/think-like-a-dragon-the-global-lessons-of-chinas-nuclear-program/255100/>

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