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AMERICA AT RISK

THE CITIZEN'S GUIDE TO MISSILE DEFENSE

EXHIBIT F Committee on Leg. Affairs/Operations
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- 1999

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NOWHERE TO HIDE: WHY EVERY AMERICAN IS VULNERABLE TO MISSILE ATTACK

It is not an accident that there are some 25 or 30 countries that have or are seeking and developing ballistic missiles. They are attractive. They are cheap. They can be launched from land and sea. They are versatile in the sense that they can carry chemical, biological, or nuclear warheads.

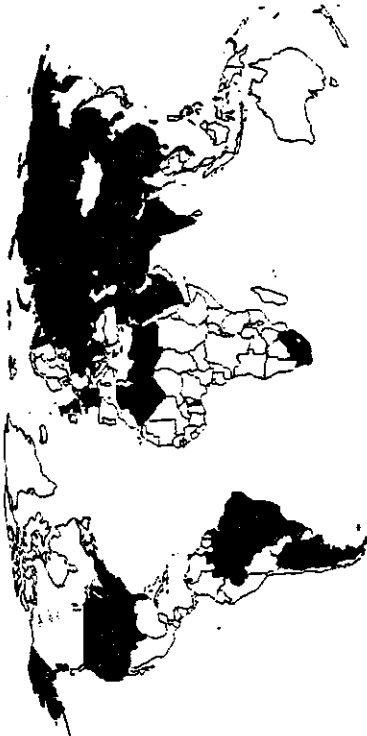
— Former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, 1998¹

America is at risk. On August 31, 1998, North Korea flight-tested a long-range missile over Japan, thereby demonstrating its potential to strike Alaska or Hawaii in the near future.² As former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld pointed out in 1998, the proliferation of ballistic missiles is a far more dangerous threat than most Americans realize.

It is true that, unlike many countries today, we no longer have to worry about hostile powers invading our land. The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and our friendly

Map 1.1

Ballistic Missile Proliferation



Countries Possessing Ballistic Missiles

- | | | | | | |
|-------------|----------------|------------|-------------|--------------|---------|
| Afghanistan | China | Hungary | North Korea | Russia | Ukraine |
| Algeria | Croatia | India | South Korea | Saudi Arabia | U.A.E. |
| Argentina | Czech Republic | Iran | Libya | Slovakia | U.K. |
| Azerbaijan | Egypt | Iraq | Pakistan | South Africa | U.S. |
| Belarus | France | Israel | Poland | Syria | Vietnam |
| Bulgaria | Georgia | Kazakhstan | Romania | Taiwan | Yemen |

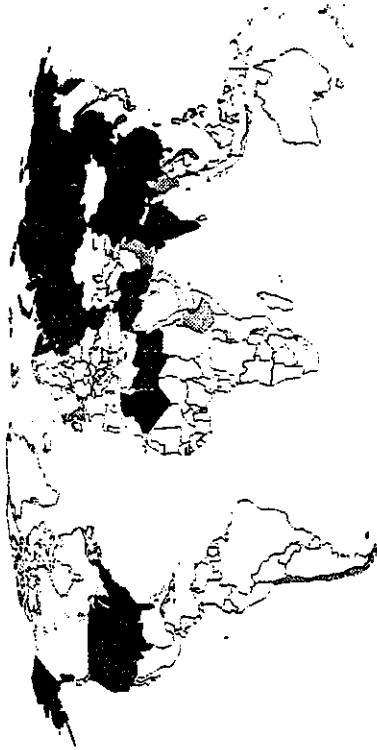
Source: Center for Defense and International Security Studies, 1996.

neighbors in Mexico and Canada help to protect us from that particular danger. But our complacency about the threat of missile attack—against which today we are powerless to defend—is troubling.

To be sure, most Americans are aware that Russia and China have missiles capable of destroying American cities. Yet many remain unaware that more than two-dozen Third World countries are working feverishly to develop similar capabilities. Because these missiles need not be very accurate to cause catastrophic damage, they appeal to tyrants who seek to threaten millions of Americans from afar.

Map 1.2

Known or Probable Biological and Chemical Programs



- | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|--|
| Chemical | Biological | Chemical and Biological |
| Ethiopia
Myanmar
Pakistan | Algeria | China
Egypt
India
Iran |
| South Korea
Taiwan | | Iraq
Israel
Libya
North Korea |
| | | Russia
Syria
U.S. |

Source: Center for Non-Proliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, 1999.

The threat of a ballistic missile attack on America, as Secretary of Defense William Cohen announced in January 1999, “is growing, and we expect it will soon pose a danger not only to our troop overseas but also to Americans here at home.” This book will help you to understand this deadly peril and what we must do to protect our lives, families, and communities before it is too late.

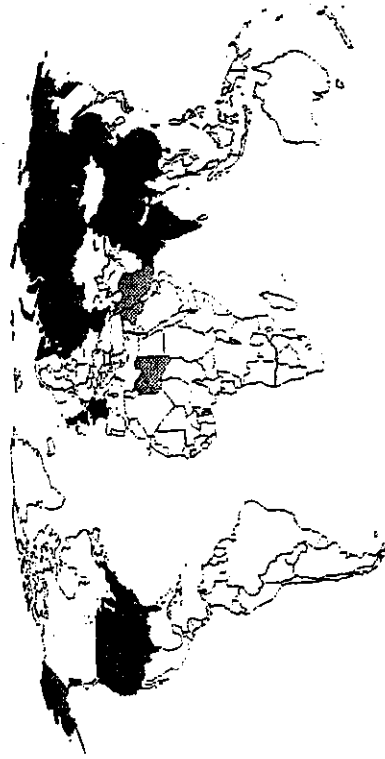
THE COST OF DESTRUCTION

It is disturbing to imagine what would happen if an enemy missile landed on American soil—in New York, Philadelphia,

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Map 1.3

Nuclear Proliferation



- Countries Possessing Nuclear Weapons: Britain, China, France, India, Israel, Pakistan, Russia, U.S.
- ▨ Countries of Nuclear Proliferation Concern: Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea

Source: The Arms Control Association, Fact Sheet, "The State of Nuclear Proliferation," May 1998.

San Francisco, or Washington—especially if it carried a nuclear weapon. But this danger must be fully appreciated because no other threat has the potential to destroy, in the blink of an eye, lives and property on such a massive scale.

Seventy-five percent of all Americans live in urban areas, according to the most recent census.³ Sprawling urban metropolises present large and inviting targets to those that would wish us harm. Los Angeles, for example, covers nearly 500 square miles.⁴ But city residents are not the only citizens in danger. You and your family are at risk whether you reside in rural Maine, the plains

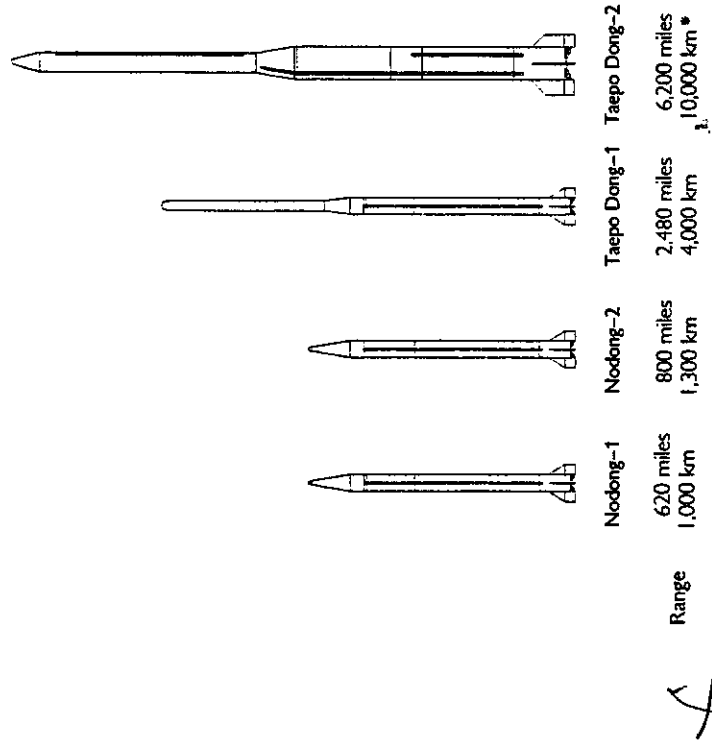
of Kansas, the forests of Oregon, or any place in between.

Imagine if a nuclear-tipped missile struck a major West Coast city, such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, or Seattle. *In a flash, the attack would be likely to inflict more damage than America has suffered in all its previous wars combined.* The destruction wrought by even a single enemy missile would have serious consequences:

- **Immediate casualties.** In August 1945, the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki caused approximately 130,000 and 60,000 deaths, respectively.⁵ The Hiroshima blast released the equivalent of 15 thousand tons of TNT; the Nagasaki bomb, 21 thousand tons.⁶ By contrast, today's nuclear weapons often are measured in megatons—or millions of tons of TNT. The lethal blast and the damage from a 1-megaton bomb would be catastrophic. A 1979 Office of Technology Assessment study estimates that, if two 1-megaton warheads were to strike Philadelphia, the explosion would kill more than 400,000 people.⁷
- **Radioactive fallout.** Fallout from a nuclear blast would drift from west to east, spreading radioactive debris over thousands of square miles because of the prevailing winds. The radioactive "footprint" of this blast would

Chart 1.3

North Korea's Medium- and Long-Range Ballistic Missiles

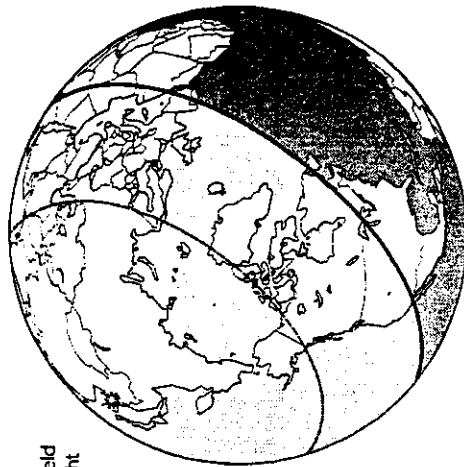


Note: * This estimate is for a lightweight variant. The Taepo Dong-2 has not yet been tested. Sources: James Bruce, "South Korea Tables North's Ballistic Missile Sales," *Jane's Defence Weekly*, July 17, 1996; William Schneider, "Who Protects Japan?" *Defense News*, November 16-22, 1998; Report of the Commission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States, July 1998.

hundreds or even thousands of miles away. Rogue states are hostile and unpredictable. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union behaved in a generally predictable, although adversarial, manner. Except for the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962, when the Soviets sought to sneak missiles into Cuba, they rarely took big risks. For the most part, China behaved cautiously as well. Both communist giants

Chart 1.4

North Korea's Potential Threat to America



According to the Rumsfeld Commission, a lightweight variant of North Korea's Taepo Dong-2 missile would have a range of some 10,000 km (6,200 miles), putting a large portion of the United States at risk. The standard variant of the Taepo Dong-2 could have a range of up to 3,750 miles, capable of reaching Alaska and Hawaii.

Source: Range estimated based on Report of the Commission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States, July 1998.

knew that reckless behavior would increase the risk of conventional, perhaps even nuclear, war with the United States. For this reason, they preferred to sponsor indirect forms of aggression, including war-by-proxy, political subversion, and international terrorism.

Third World despots often behave less rationally than either the Soviet Union or China did during the Cold War. In 1991, for example, Saddam Hussein refused to withdraw his Iraqi forces from Kuwait despite being pummeled by coalition warplanes for six weeks. This megalomaniac is building multibillion-dollar palaces even as his people suffer from widespread malnutrition.