

THE PINK TRIANGLE THREAT
NUCLEAR TERROR PROLIFERATION:
AN ASSESSMENT

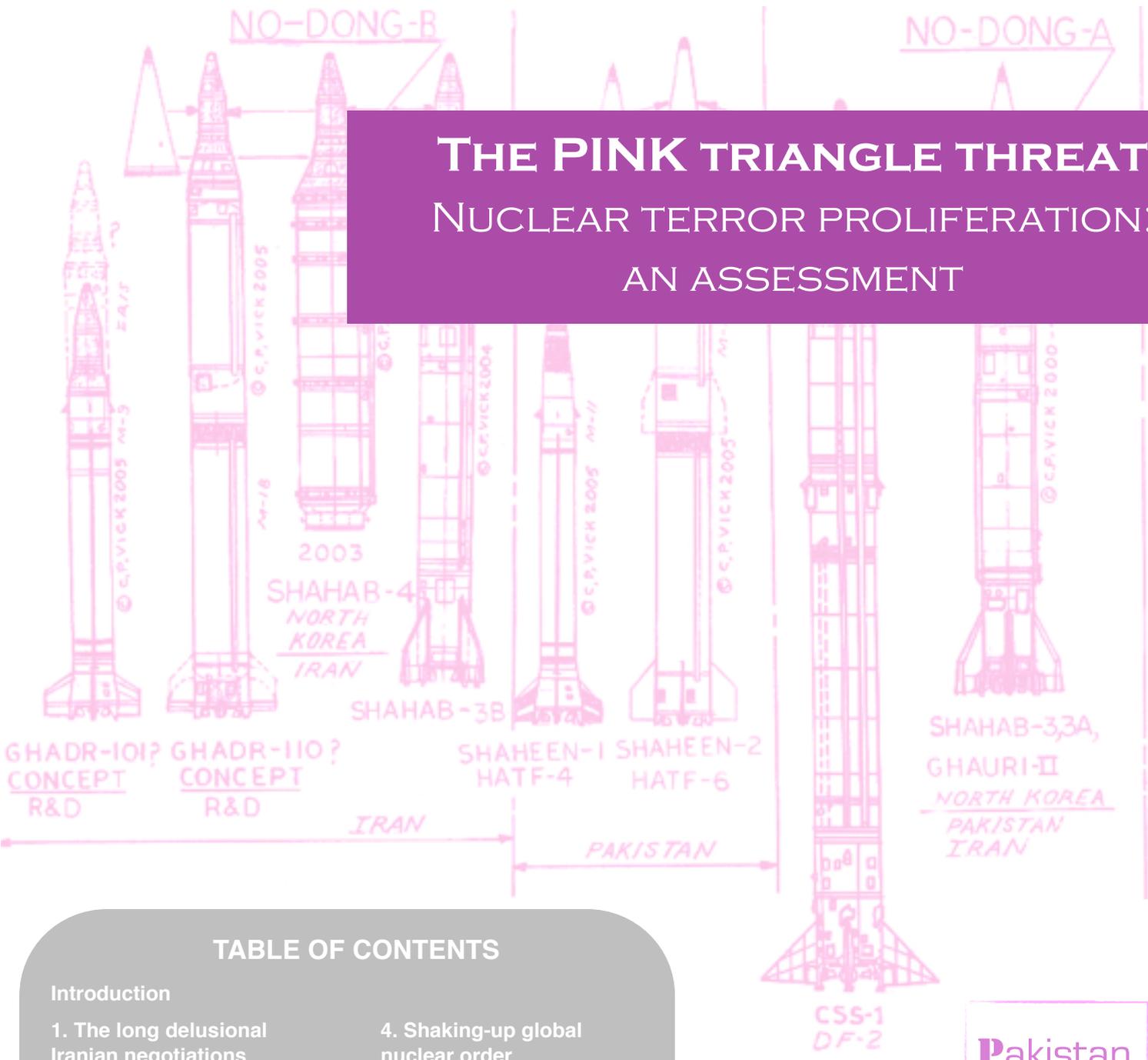


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Pakistan
Iran
North Korea
Korea

Established in Belgium, ARCHumankind is a non-profit organisation which aims at stimulating sustainable cooperation to promote democracy and a respect for human rights, while putting an end to religiously, politically or ethnically motivated oppression and violence. It also seeks to promote justice, peace and security within international alliances. ARCHumankind wishes to promote the application of the UN's general principles and resolutions regarding human rights.

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Introduction

The existence of an Iranian clandestine nuclear programme was unveiled in 2002 by the Iranian main opposition force, the NCRI. Its exposure was followed by international sanctions and a long negotiations procedure that culminated on 14 July 2015, in Vienna, where a Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) on the Iranian nuclear programme was signed between the E3/EU+3 group and Iran.

Iranian nuclear ambitions predate the Islamic Revolution and were considerably reinforced afterwards in the revolutionary context, as a crucial element in the internal consolidation and external expansion of the fundamentalist credo of the regime.

North Korea's military cooperation with Iran has been relatively consistent since the 1979 Iranian Revolution. Common anti-American foreign policy doctrines, and Pyongyang's transfer of vital technological assistance to Tehran's military corpse can explain their partnership¹. Data sharing is a two-way street: Iran shared test data on the Shabab-3 missile in 1998; hundreds of North Korean scientists were working in Iranian nuclear sites in 2011; Iranian scientists were present at the Pyongyang 2013 nuclear test; North Korea sent three delegation to Tehran to help with the development of nuclear warhead and ballistic missile systems. Therefore, on one side North Korea's economy is helped by Iran's supply of oil, on the other, Tehran benefits from Pyongyang's nuclear and ballistic expertise.²

Most of the analysts have concentrated their attention on the explicit content of the agreement: nuclear fissile material possession, production and weaponization. Others concentrated on the agreement gaps, such as nuclear delivery systems; nuclear programme history; the country's appalling record in human rights and external aggressive expansionism³ or still their implicit financial consequences and underlying hostage trade. Far less attention has been given so far to the impetus warranted by this deal to other proliferation programmes such as the ones in Pakistan and North Korea.

Virtually, the entire world's contemporary nuclear proliferation can be traced back to Pakistan and its inability or unwillingness to keep it out of reach from greed and fanaticism (e.g. A.Q. Khan nuclear proliferation network). North Korea, whose nuclear programme owes much to Pakistan's proliferation, through the reinforcement of its strategic alliance with Tehran, seems to have found the main potential instrument in the nuclear weapon to prolong its own existence as both a threat and a way to earn hard currency.

The July 2015 agreement emboldened Pakistan three month later into publicly acknowledging a tactical nuclear weapons (TNWs) programme allegedly aimed at India, while North Korea multiplied its tests, its alleged achievements were in the development of nuclear weapons and delivery standards as well as its bold threats to the US and the international community.

Whereas North Korea's preparations towards nuclear war have been confronted with international sanctions and widespread criticism, little attention has been paid to the implications of Pakistan's acknowledgement. In particular, US authorities responded to the declaration with the announcement of a subsidised sale of new war aircrafts and with the

¹ Ramani, Samuel, "The Iran-North Korea Connection", *The Diplomat*, 20 April 2016. <http://thediplomat.com/2016/04/the-iran-north-korea-connection/>

² *Ibidem*.

³ ARCHumankind, "Europe should keep its principles when dealing with Iran", *Policy Brief*, Issue 1, December 2015. <http://www.archumankind.com/publications/policy-brief/>

administration of public declarations of trust on the capacity of the country to keep its TNWs out of reach from third parties. It is a declaration that flies in the face of all existing evidence. Since the Suez fiasco in the 1950s, what was to become in our day the E3/EU has behaved in global defence issues as a free rider or junior partner, whereas both Russia and China are moved by their own power calculations rather than concerns for global peace and stability. This means that the US is the main potential source of deterrence to what can be considered the most dangerous present threat to humanity: a nuclear proliferation disaster resulting from the coalition of shared forces of fanaticism, greed and irresponsibility.

While it is essential for the international community to restore credibility to the international anti-proliferation framework, it needs to act urgently to stop the immediate dangers of nuclear proliferation posed by the dissemination of the Pakistani nuclear tactical weapons programme to fanatic irregular forces.

1. The long delusional Iranian negotiations

Iran's nuclear military ambitions have been occasionally avowed both before and after 1979, whereas the general tone of the authorities' political statements has remained elusive most of the time.⁴

On 14 August 2002, the Iranian National Council for Resistance publicly unveiled the advanced stage of the clandestine Iranian nuclear programme, subsequently confirmed by the international community.⁵

Significantly, at that time, a US-led coalition against Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programme was being created under a conviction based, to a large extent, on disinformation produced by the Iranian authorities.⁶

This was the start of a long period of pressure and negotiations that finally led to the conclusion of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on the Iranian nuclear programme signed between the E3/EU+3 group and Iran on 14 July 2015 in Vienna.

The IAEA crucial report dated 2 December 2015⁷ confirmed the previous existence of organisational structures covering most of the areas of activity relevant to the development of a nuclear explosive device in Iran, which was only stopped by the above-mentioned

⁴See the Institute for Science and International Security nuclear weapons program on Iran <http://isis-online.org/country-pages/iran>. In June 1974, the Shah said Iran would get nuclear weapons "without a doubt and sooner than one would think." This acknowledgement was followed however by declarations in different senses. In an address to the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps in October 1988, Hashemi Rafsanjani, then speaker of Iran's Parliament, called for the development of nuclear and other unconventional weapons based on Iran's wartime experience. He said the importance of such weapons "was made very clear during the [Iran-Iraq] war." Although he has since rejected nuclear weapons on many occasions, Rafsanjani told the gathering, "We should fully equip ourselves both in the offensive and defence use of chemical, bacteriological, and radiological weapons." Notwithstanding, the revolutionary authorities have denied their nuclear intentions several times and even argued with the existence of a fatwa against the nuclear option.

⁵"Mr. Alireza Jafarzadeh, a former spokesperson for NCRI, stated "Although on the surface, regime's main nuclear activities revolves around Bushehr's nuclear plant, in reality many secret nuclear programs are at work without any knowledge of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). One of these top secret projects is Natanz's nuclear facility." (ISIS, *Ibidem*)

⁶Casaca, Paulo, "The hidden invasion of Iraq", Acacias Publishing Inc, 2008. The author was able to obtain additional confirmations to the ones he publishes on the role of the Iranian authorities in making up the case for a strike against Iraq.

⁷Board of Governors, International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), "Final Assessment on Past and Present Outstanding Issues regarding Iran's Nuclear Programme. Report by the Director General," GOV/2015/68, 2 December 2015, p.5. <https://www.iaea.org/sites/default/files/gov-2015-68.pdf>

revelations. If the present deal is to be successful it might be extended for another period of roughly 15 years, before the conclusion of the Iranian military dimension of the nuclear programme.

These negotiations excluded the Iranian missile development programme, which remains a formal ground for renewed international discussions.⁸

Despite, some of the military dimensions of the nuclear programme being frozen, Iran has dramatically increased its geopolitical force most particularly in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen and Afghanistan – countries where it keeps a direct or indirect armed force presence – as well as in distant scenarios around the World. It also increased the internal persecution of political and social dissidents, ethnic and religious minorities and democratic protests.

The JCPOA had a remarkable impact on the Western information sphere. The agreement has been regarded either as a guarantee of peace or as a defective agreement opening the door to a repetition of the “peace for our time” famously proclaimed by Chamberlain in 1938.

Most of the discussion has been centred on the technical reliability of existing provisions and the real possibilities of the agreement to distance the moment when the Islamic Republic will be able to gather nuclear weapons, leaving aside the implicit consequences of the deal.

Some analysts have focussed on the massive financial impact of the deal (estimated at 150 billion dollars) whereas others – including in the US Congress – concentrated on the implicit hostage trade behind it.

Whereas these two side issues are tactically very important, strategically, the Western dissociation with these technical aspects of the Iranian military nuclear programme and with the internal human rights and external expansionist agenda of the Islamic Republic is a reason for major concern.

Although in the past the global deals – such as the 1975 Helsinki declaration – always accompanied the objectives of war prevention with internal human rights and the respect of external borders in international affairs, the JCPOA leaves the whole human and external dimensions aside, as if it could possibly be separated from the nuclear file.⁹

Nonetheless, this new posture of “realpolitik” assumed by the West showed dramatic consequences in the global sphere, motivating other countries to follow the pace of nuclear rearmament.

2. Nuclear proliferation and Pakistan

The exposure of the magnitude of what has gone down in history as “the Khan Network” started in early 2004, when Abdul Qadeer Khan, a Pakistani metallurgist admired in Pakistan as a semi-god, who headed the Khan Research Laboratories, made a public acknowledgment

⁸ While presiding the European Parliament delegation for relations with the NATO Parliamentary Assembly Paulo Casaca was invited to attend extended briefings by US nuclear specialists in Lawrence Livermore Laboratories in California (June 2006) from which he stresses two crucial lessons (I) the only existing Weapon of Mass Destruction ready to use at the time was the nuclear one and (II) there are three crucial components to a state military nuclear programme, (1) obtaining the fissile material; (2) weaponization and (3) nuclear vehicle building. Although most of the security focus up to 2003 was centred on the potential of biologic and chemical weapons (see for instance Laqueur, 1999) US experts at the time clearly thought that for the time being nuclear weapons remained the single real capable weapons of mass destruction. The third component of a nuclear programme mentioned here does not include tactical nuclear weapons. See Casaca, Paulo, “O permanente drama nuclear”, União, Angra do Heroísmo, 10 July 2006, p. 9.

⁹ ARCHumankind, *op.cit.*

of the existence of an international nuclear trading network. This event marked a new era in the history of nuclear proliferation¹⁰.

Dr Khan returned to Pakistan in the mid-1970s leaving the Netherlands with stolen centrifuge designs from a European consortium¹¹ that produced equipment for uranium enrichment¹². The Khan Research Laboratories, previously known at various times as Project-706, Engineering Research Laboratories, and Kahn Research Laboratories, are the Pakistani Government's biggest national multi-program research institute. In accordance with his oversized ego, the government facility was renamed after him, after his success mastering the difficult process of producing highly enriched uranium, the fissionable material necessary for nuclear weapons, and being involved in the design of the warheads and the missiles to deliver them¹³.

Like a domino effect, after China acquiring nuclear weapons, India made its first nuclear test in 1974, and subsequently Pakistan perceived it as a vital objective.

In this context, what is most striking is that for the first time a single individual applying his own knowledge and business expertise was able to create a multinational nuclear trading system to supply any client willing to pay. Dr Khan later openly admitted that his main goal was to make profit. Whereas ultra-nationalism and religious fundamentalism were definitely key ingredients, greed seemed to be the driving force.

The revelation of the extent of Khan's network was disclosed when five giant cargo containers full of specialized centrifuge parts were loaded into one of the nondescript vessels that ply the Straits of Malacca¹⁴. Spy satellites tracked the shipment when it was making its way towards Dubai. The freight was then rebranded as "used machinery" and transferred to a German-owned ship, the BBC China. As it made its way down the Suez Canal, it was seized according to Washington's orders before it reached its final destination in Libya.¹⁵

Mr Kahn basically managed to turn Kahn Research Laboratories (in short KRL) into a multinational of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). He created a globalised international sophisticated scheme: factories around the world produced key parts; Malaysia produced centrifuge components; Dubai transferred them; secret flights and shipments delivered them.¹⁶

The shipment seizure led to the unravelling of a trading network that sold centrifuge technology to at least three countries: Iran, North Korea and Libya. From this, we think that two main points may be put forward: firstly, over a period of more than a decade, the network helped arm some of the world's most unpredictable authoritarian regimes; secondly,

¹⁰ Sanger, David E., "The Khan Network", Conference on South Asia and the Nuclear Future, Stanford International Institute for International studies, 2004. http://iis-db.stanford.edu/evnts/3889/Khan_network_paper.pdf

¹¹ He received a doctorate in Engineering in 1972, and later joined the senior staff of the Physics Dynamics Research Laboratory in Amsterdam. The Physics Laboratory was a subcontractor for Urenco Group, which was operating a uranium-enrichment plant in Almelo in the Netherlands.

¹² He was later charged with stealing the designs from the European consortium, but his conviction was overturned over a legal technicality.

¹³ Langewiesche, William, "The Wrath of Khan", The Atlantic, 2005. <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2005/11/the-wrath-of-khan/304333/>

¹⁴ Broad, William et al., "A Tale of Nuclear Proliferation: How Pakistani Built His Network", New York Times, 12 February 2004. http://www.nytimes.com/2004/02/12/world/a-tale-of-nuclear-proliferation-how-pakistani-built-his-network.html?_r=0

¹⁵ Broad, William, *op.cit.*

¹⁶ Sanger, David E., *op.cit.*

the international controls on nuclear proliferation are marred by what were unimaginable deficiencies in intelligence controls over nuclear production.

Many analysts debated for over a decade how this network came to prosper. The biggest challenge in the creation of a nuclear weapon is not designing the warhead but acquiring the fissile material to generate an atomic explosion. There are two possible solutions: the first one is to extract plutonium from nuclear reactors and then reprocess it; the second alternative is to extract uranium from the ground and enrich it. The latter is the foundation of Khan's empire. He was able to launch the Pakistani nuclear programme using the stolen centrifuge designs and creating a sophisticated steel-rotor model that could spin at the speed of sound and produce highly enriched uranium.¹⁷

It is reported that the CIA started to track Khan's activities in the late 1970's when he left the Netherlands. In 1980, in Islamabad he was caught seeking to re-export equipment that could be used to manufacture a centrifuge through Canada. By 1981 it was manifest that Pakistan was trying to create its own nuclear test site. A de-classified report of the US Department of State dated 23 June 1983 states: "There is unambiguous evidence that Pakistan is actively pursuing a nuclear development program. Pakistan near-term goal evidently is to explode a nuclear device if Zia¹⁸ decides it is appropriate for domestic and political gains [...]. Pakistan is attempting to produce highly enriched uranium, which could support a test on weapons program without involving any safeguards agreements".¹⁹

Consistently with Dr Khan's repeated denials of the accusation on the construction of an atomic bomb, in an interview October 1984, he declared, "the 'Islamic bomb' is a figment of the Zionist mind".²⁰ It wasn't until Pakistan's first test, that Khan publicly admitted his activities. Ali Bhutto, Pakistan's Prime Minister in the early 1970's had in fact declared that, "should India develop a nuclear weapon, the Pakistani's in order to have one themselves would if needs be eat grass or leaves for a thousand years".²¹ Within two weeks of India's nuclear testing in May 1998, Pakistan carried out its first test. The international reaction was negative, however Saudi Arabia, Iran and Turkey applauded such an achievement.

It was a victory for Khan and his consecration as a national hero. He claimed that finally an Islamic state achieved the same level of nuclear development as Western nations. Khan combined the making of a multimillion-dollar business with fundamentalist pan-Islamism, both of them clashing with international controls on nuclear technology.²²

¹⁷ *Ibidem*

¹⁸ Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq was a Pakistani general who served as the 6th President of Pakistan from 1978 until his death in 1988, after declaring martial law in 1977.

¹⁹ Rajain, Arpit, "Nuclear Deterrence in Southern Asia: China, India and Pakistan", Sage Publications, 2005.

²⁰ Khan, Dr. Abdul Qadeer, interview published on 2nd October 1984, retrieved in "Pakistan's Peaceful Nuclear Assurances: 1979-1995", Global Security, consulted on 7 April 2016. <http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/world/pakistan/nuke-statements.htm>

²¹ Chowdhury, A. Iftekhar, "Pakistan Nuclear Deterrence: From 'Credible Minimum' to 'Full Spectrum'", ISAS Insights, No. 295, November 2015, Institute For Asian Studies. <http://www.isas.nus.edu.sg/ISAS%20Reports/ISAS%20Insights%20No.%20295.%20Pakistan's%20Nuclear%20Deterrence.%20From%20'Credible%20Minimum'%20to%20'Full%20Spectrum'.pdf>

²² Broad, William, et al., "How Pakistani's Network Offered the Whole Kit", International Herald Tribune, 13 February 2004.

The US viewed Pakistan as an ally against the Soviets in Afghanistan. The evidence that Islamabad had succeeded to enrich uranium did not deter President Reagan from announcing in 1986 that an aid package would be awarded to Pakistan of more than 4 billion dollars.²³

Sanctions were eventually applied to Pakistan in 1998 following Pakistan's nuclear test. However, international intelligence failed to detect how the Khan programme managed to shift from import to export of WMD. The extent of Khan's network was revealed only after the shipment going to Libya in 2004 was traced.

We can also conclude that Pakistan benefitted from not signing the Treaty of Non-Proliferation, which allowed Khan to covertly carry on his global outreach. The Khan network has hindered international efforts to stop the nuclear arms race and to international peace and security. Without assistance from the network, it is unlikely that Iran would have ever been able to develop the ability to enrich uranium, using gas-centrifuges.²⁴

As a matter of fact, during a period when Tehran-Islamabad relations were briefly warm, Iran was the first major customer receiving centrifuge assistance from Khan.²⁵ Notwithstanding the fact that, by the early 1990s, Western intelligence was starting to suspect that Islamabad was providing aid to Tehran's centrifuge programme²⁶, little was done to stop the nefarious consequences that later became evident.

After his arrest in February 2004, Khan confessed selling sensitive technology and equipment to Iran, North Korea and Libya. He was granted a pardon while stating that he was the sole person responsible for this operation; the Pakistani authorities having no knowledge of his wrong doings.²⁷ Khan was put under house arrest, but he is still speaking out boldly against Western governments that tried to halt his proliferation activities. Neither American officials nor IAEA inspectors have been allowed to question him.²⁸

Further to this point, none of the people associated with his network are currently in prison. Many people identified as cooperating with Khan's network were never prosecuted, and some have never been identified publicly.²⁹ The perception of the Pakistani public that Khan was largely responsible for the country's nuclear arsenal translated into a popular, almost revered figure statute, even after disclosing Pakistan's most closely guarded secret.

²³ *Ibidem*

²⁴ Albright D., Hinderstein C., "Unraveling the A.Q. Khan and future proliferation networks", The Washington Quarterly, Spring 2005, 28:2 pp.111-128. <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/wq/summary/v028/28.2albright.html>

²⁵ Board of Governors, International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), "Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Report by the Director General," GOV/2004/83, 15 November 2004. http://www.iaea.org/Publications/Documents/Board/2004/gov2004-83_derestrict.pdf

²⁶ Albright, David, "An Iranian Bomb," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist 51, no. 4 (July/ August 1995): 20–26. https://books.google.be/books?id=VQwAAAAAMBAJ&pg=PA20&lpg=PA20&dq=David+Albright,+"An+Iranian+Bomb,"&source=bl&ots=pj4Hqtab5L&sig=vcwYFm_ko0UjliH1k4ypp55ckZc&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiA5O2S_zLAhWDZQ8KHYIaBXoQ6AEIHDA#v=onepage&q=David%20Albright%2C%20"An%20Iranian%20Bomb%2C"&f=false

²⁷ Dawn, "Dr Khan seeks pardon. Cabinet decision today. Meets Musharraf. Admits error of judgment", 5 February 2004. <http://www.dawn.com/news/391535/dr-khan-seeks-pardon-cabinet-decision-today-meets-musharraf-admits-error-of-judgment>

²⁸ The Economist, "The nuclear network of A.Q. Khan. A hero at home, a villain abroad", 19 June 2008. <http://www.economist.com/node/11585265>

²⁹ Collins C., Frantz D., "Fallout from the AQ Khan Network and the Clash of National Interests", 2010 AIEA Safeguards Symposium, Washington. <https://www.iaea.org/safeguards/symposium/2010/Documents/PapersRepository/2012749789382198030766.pdf>

President Pervez Musharraf later acknowledged that the revelation of Khan's actions was one of his most embarrassing moments.³⁰ Nevertheless, Musharraf lacked the political strength to hold him accountable or even allow agents from the IAEA and the CIA to interrogate him in order to uncover the full extent of his dealings.³¹

3. “New terrorism” and the nuclear threshold

The threat posed by terrorism nowadays has reached new heights of inhumanity, which could potentially lead to nefarious consequences if terrorist groups were to acquire weapons of mass destruction. Nuclear proliferation in countries such as Pakistan, Iran and North Korea is a menace for mankind, given that their controlling authorities have strong ties through technology and knowledge sharing. Some of these countries have also alleged ties with terrorist groups, and this is what we named as the “PINK threat”, the Pakistan-Iran-North Korea nuclear threat axis.

“Terrorism studies” have been an area of great popular and political interest. The concept of terrorism has been defined in countless different ways and has been used (and sometimes abused) in different senses in diplomacy, law, politics or political science³².

Nonetheless, what we consider to be consensual is the perception that there is something definitely new on political violence, which started by the end of 1970s or during 1980s, and that it is far more brutal and inhuman than what we witnessed before. It is therefore useful to give an overview of some of the aspects that characterizes this new form of political violence. We will briefly look at the definition of “new terrorism”; the internal structure of terrorist groups; the concept of “new wars” and guerrilla; the relationship between terrorism and criminality. The underlying theme will be to understand how this new form of modern-time political violence is 1) more brutal 2) state-sponsored 3) aimed at achieving political gains 4) nourished by a global jihadi ideology 5) aimed at ultimately obtaining the nuclear weapon.

The importance of this discussion becomes obvious if we look closer at the aforementioned threat. Whoever reached these new heights of inhumanity has without doubt no moral boundaries against the use of weapons of mass destruction. In order to fully comprehend what this encompasses we must first analyse the different dimensions of what we call “new terrorism”.

Walter Laqueur³³ in a landmark work on contemporary terrorism³⁴ tells us: “Why is it so difficult to find a generally accepted definition [of terrorism]? Nietzsche provided part of the

³⁰ Pervez, Musharraf, “In the Line of Fire, Free Press, New York, 2006, p. 292.

³¹ Collins C., Frantz D., *op.cit.*

³² Academic studies on political violence and its mind-set that address issues dealing with terrorism try sometimes to explicitly avoid the issue.

³³ One must also consider that Martin Marty and R. Scott Appleby wrote five volumes on fundamentalism – presented by Laqueur or by Strozier et. al. as the most important contributions to the study of the fundamentalist mind-set – and they do not use a single time the word “terrorism”. Please see Laqueur, Walter, “The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction”, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 289; and Strozier et.al, “The Fundamentalist Mindset: Psychological Perspectives on Religion, Violence, and History,” Oxford University Press, 2010, p.5. Strozier mentions the fact of never mentioning the word terrorism in a positive rather than in a critical way in the introduction following Marty’s foreword. In this context, please note Charles B. Strozier and David Terman’s comment: “The one word never mentioned in all of the three volumes of The Fundamentalism Project is terrorism”. Strozier, et.al., *op.cit.* p.5.

³⁴ The divide between the scholarly approaches to both political violence and the studies of terrorism allow us to understand how the two leading journals on terrorism (Studies in Conflict and Terrorism and Terrorism and Political Violence) speak of terrorism as an addition to political violence or conflict, in Laqueur, *op.cit.*, p.283.

clue when he wrote that only things which have no history can be defined; terrorism, needless to say, has had a very long history”.³⁵ Although Laqueur confirms Nietzsche’s point of view by not giving us an explicit definition of terrorism, his book is implicitly using a concise definition such as the one used in the State Department annual reports.³⁶

Moreover, there is no consensus on the designation to give to what Laqueur³⁷ called “new terrorism”; Hoffman³⁸ called “contemporary terrorism”; and most of the press and think tanks call “modern terrorism”.³⁹

In order to fully comprehend the threat of WMD, we must determine to what extent the current theories on new terrorism are truly effective in view of the threat we face today in the XXI century. Some elements we have considered below are: suicidal terrorism; Internet; cyber warfare; internal organisation of the terror groups; their relation with the media and public opinion; their tactics in occupying territories; the symbolic element of using terrorist attacks as symbols; territorial domain; the relationship between terrorism and criminality; the relationship between new wars and terrorism; genocide. We believe that these elements have less importance than what many scholars have given them.

There is even less consensus on the explicit or implicit concepts of this kind of “new terrorism”, to the point that some consider suicidal terrorism as its essence, while others consider it as something typical of traditional terrorism that is not always present in “new terrorism”.⁴⁰

In this “new terrorism” concept, a large section of analysts attribute a crucial importance to the Internet, cyber warfare and globalisation. Whereas this significance is unquestionable in absolute terms, it is relevant to question whether these phenomena have stronger impacts on terrorism than they did on the everyday life of the target victims of terrorism. There is no evidence that the impacts on terrorism are greater.

Furthermore, analysts also tend to give a key role in defining “new terrorism” to issues such as the internal organisation of the terror groups, their relation with the media and public opinion as well as their tactics in occupying territories. What we know of the functioning of Al-Qaeda after the seizure of its headquarters in Abbottabad confirmed that, this organisation was not introducing us to something radically different from past or contemporary organisations.

Regarding the symbolic “signalling” element⁴¹, or the occupying territories factor, we do not think that there is something specifically different in modern-time terrorism either.

³⁵ Laqueur, *op.cit.*, p.6.

³⁶ “The term “terrorism” means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents” (22 U.S. Code § 2656f). The term “premeditated” essential in US criminal doctrine, does not seem to us essential for the definition.

³⁷ Laqueur, *op.cit.*

³⁸ Bruce Hoffman, in the other contemporary landmark work in this field, by using different terminology, tries to give an explicit definition of terrorism but we doubt that his clarification attempt overcomes the historical drawback pointed out by Nietzsche. In Hoffman, Bruce, “Inside Terrorism”, Columbia University Press, 2006, p. 40. The first edition of the book dates 1998.

³⁹ A browser research on “modern terrorism” will result in press articles and think tank analysis which to contemporary terrorism in the sense given by Hoffman.

⁴⁰ Laqueur, *op.cit.*

⁴¹ Bruce Hoffman and Gordon McCormick state that “The rational use of terrorism can be thought of as a signalling game in which high profile attacks are carried out to communicate a player’s ability and determination to use violence to achieve its political objectives”, in Hoffman, Bruce, and Gordon McCormick, “Terrorism, Signaling, and Suicide Attack”, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, volume 27, 2004, page 244.

Laqueur gives a great importance to the issue of territorial domain on which he bases his distinction between terrorism and guerrilla⁴². He recognizes that this distinction does not always exist. Although he acknowledges that two of the most prominent examples of this “new terrorism” at the time he was writing – the Jihadists in Algeria and in Afghanistan – used both terrorism and guerrilla tactics, this does not influence his concept of “new terrorism”.

Additionally, the ever more intricate relationship between terrorism and criminality has kept the attention of a considerable number of terrorism analysts.⁴³

Sophia Benz, German expert of violent non-state conflicts, in her major work compares the concepts of “new wars” and “new terrorism”, and comes to the conclusion that they should remain separated.⁴⁴ This is also implicitly backed up in Laqueur and Hoffman’s masterpieces. What is striking is that both authors, when referring to terrorism, do not include the Rwandan genocide within this category, as they consider it to have a different nature compared to a terrorist act. In fact, there is no mention of this event, although it took place just before the publication of their works and still remains the contemporary biggest human slaughter in a short period of time.

But if we take the example of the Jihadi attacks in Algeria during the 1990s, referred as the most despicable human butchery recent terrorist example by both authors, does it really make sense to think of it as a phenomenon of a total different nature than the Rwandan genocide?

Genocide is indeed a very specific crime, which took place in Rwanda but not in Algeria. As a matter of fact, in Iraq, the Caliphate slaughter of Yazidis has been correctly described as genocide, and no one doubts that both these jihadi attacks are typical of new terrorism.

Still, when comparing Algerian to Rwandan massacres, we may ask ourselves if the reason why the first did not attain the level reached in Rwanda was not linked to the role of the authorities. However flawed was their action against the Jihadis, the authorities may have prevented a genocide in Algeria from happening whereas, in Rwanda, part of the authorities instigated the massacre and therefore allowed it to reach genocide proportions.

This invites us, at first, to reflect upon another of the traits of new terrorism: its non-state character. Here, we should bear in mind that Laqueur considers state terrorism (exactly as the US State Department does) when a state is sponsoring terrorism in a veiled form, but not as violence openly promoted by the state⁴⁵.

Secondly, there is the issue of motivation, which is presumably ethnical in one case and religious in the other case. Both qualifications are debatable. The ethnic divide in Rwanda is to a large extent a modern construct codified in colonial times that has no real deep-rooted significance. Regarding the jihadi attacks, the vast majority of those who claim to be inspired by religion reject categorically to be connected in whatever way to the Jihadi mass killers. We believe that both slaughters have more in common than most academics acknowledged. The

⁴² *Ibidem*.

⁴³ Recently, Matthew Phillips created the concept of *black hole* to describe their inseparable relation. In Phillips, Matthew, and Emily Kamen, “Entering the Black Hole: The Taliban, Terrorism, and Organised Crime.” *Journal of Terrorism Research* 5, no. 3, September 2014. <http://jtr.st-andrews.ac.uk/articles/10.15664/jtr.945/>

⁴⁴ Benz, Sophia, “TOUR de FORCE: From State Based to Non State Internal Fighting”, Universitat Tübingen, 2015. <https://publikationen.uni-tuebingen.de/xmlui/handle/10900/64214>

⁴⁵ Does it make sense to describe the most unspeakable form of violence as terrorism if it is not condoned by the state (as in Algeria) but considered as something else if it is (like in Rwanda)?

goal to achieve political power at any cost and the fundamentalist mind-set are what bring these phenomena close to one another⁴⁶.

Thirdly, there is an important difference between Algeria and Afghanistan massacres on the one side and Rwandan genocide on the other side: whereas the first ones were committed under a global ideology and supported through state sponsoring, the second was done under a local tribal logic backed up by the indifference of the outside World.

This point is most relevant for understanding why policy makers are wrong when blaming “failed states” for the contemporary terrorism form. Failed states are fertile ground for mass murder to develop, but only when there is a global force and state sponsoring behind criminal activity it will develop as a global threat.

In conclusion, what is happening regarding nuclear proliferation between Pakistan, Iran and North Korea should be considered as a single phenomenon that brings together the traditional separate ways of looking at “new war”, “new terrorism” and criminality, and this is what the “PINK threat” is.

4. Shaking-up global nuclear

In the April issue of *The Atlantic*, there was an extensive analysis on the US Presidents foreign policy under the title “The Obama Doctrine”⁴⁷.

The most striking feature of this piece is certainly the way it frames the debate on “internationalism” versus “isolationism”.

In view of the author of the piece, Jeffrey Goldberg: “Manicheanism, and eloquently rendered bellicosity, commonly associated with Churchill were justified by Hitler’s rise, and were at times defensible in the struggle against the Soviet Union. But he also thinks rhetoric should be weaponized sparingly, if at all, in today’s more ambiguous and complicated international arena. The president believes that Churchillian rhetoric and, more to the point, Churchillian habits of thought, helped bring his predecessor, George W. Bush, to ruinous war in Iraq.”⁴⁸

So Churchill is now “commonly associated” with “Manicheanism, and eloquently rendered bellicosity” according to *The Atlantic*. Those of us who think Churchill is “commonly associated” with a balanced, intelligent perception of the threats of Nazism to our common values, namely peace should be seen as completely ‘old’ fashioned or perhaps also “Manichean” and “bellicose”.

Conversely, the appeasement syndrome and its consequences for the democratic World in the face of the rise of Hitler, symbolised by Chamberlain’s “peace in our time”, should perhaps just be seen as a realist, balanced, normal way of looking at international politics.⁴⁹

The absurdity of this framing of the debate allows us to understand how *The Atlantic* manages to transform most of the foreign policy debate in the US as a struggle of a non-

⁴⁶ These two factors make a *black-hole* even bigger than the one considered by Matthew Phillips: a *black-hole* resulting of a mix of (1) insatiable lust for money and (2) power; (3) supported by a fundamentalist mind-set. We think this is the *black-hole* that will definitely grab the ultimate weapon of mass destruction whenever the opportunity will arise.

⁴⁷ The Atlantic, “The Obama Doctrine” April 2016. <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/04/the-obama-doctrine/471525/>

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁹ For a magnificent piece on the United Kingdom’s fall into the appeasement syndrome, see the master piece “Making Friends with Hitler” from Ian Kershaw, Penguin Books, 2005.

manichaeic non-bellicose President, against not only his domestic opponents, but also former and present secretary of states and other top administration and advisors from his cabinet, all of them painted at some stage as radical interventionists.

The point of view of *The Atlantic* cannot be understood without taking into consideration the state of the debate on terrorism, political violence and the mind-set behind it, to which we referred to in chapter 3.

Fundamentalism and its association with conspiracy, apocalyptic views, hyper-developed feelings of humiliation and revenge has been dealt with – although its obvious association with terrorism has been shunned – but no attention has been given to the dangerous and widespread “appeasement syndrome”.

On a side note, the previously mentioned work by Strozier et al.⁵⁰ is a fairly good example of this skewed view. Whereas it dedicates three chapters to the “Christian and American Contexts”, it dedicates only one to jihadism. The chapter on jihadism makes a clear separation between “national jihadism” and “global jihadism” and considers that global jihadism is not “apocalyptic” based on a literal interpretation of the term “apocalypse”⁵¹.

Getting back to *The Atlantic*, the article considers that the President defines himself fundamentally as a realist: isolationism, which he dismissed out of hand. “The world is ever-shrinking,” he said. “Withdrawal is untenable.” The other boxes he labelled realism, liberal interventionism, and internationalism. “I suppose you could call me a realist in believing we can’t, at any given moment, relieve all the world’s misery.”⁵²

However, “He also noted that he was quite obviously an internationalist, devoted as he is to strengthening multilateral organizations and international norms.”

The one thing that never gets in the framework of the discussion is what is right and what is wrong, either considered from the point of view of national interest or common global values. This is the same sort of cynicism that informs most of the debate in European political circles.

President Obama thinks of George W. Bush’s invasion of Iraq to have been a disaster because it was too bellicose. However nothing is said about the correctness of the analysis of the situation or of the dangers posed by the intervention.

As it is now evident, it was the Iranian not the Iraqi regime that was building a programme of weapons of mass destruction; it was the Iranian regime that was associated with 9/11, not the Iraqi one; it was and it is Islamic Fundamentalism, not the crumbling Iraqi brand of Arab nationalism, that posed and poses a threat to the US and to the common values shared by the US.

The same can be said about Afghanistan. The Taliban were a Pakistani creation, and it was the support of this country to them that posed a problem, rather than the Taliban by themselves. To continue supporting Pakistan in the fight against the Taliban is a strategy that could never have been successful, as indeed it wasn’t.

But *The Atlantic* has nothing to say about these crucial debates on external policy, but only on the level of its bellicosity, and the same approach applies on every other issue in the international political agenda.

⁵⁰ Strozier et. al., *op. cit.*

⁵¹ The Apocalypse is a Christian rather than a Muslim term.

⁵² *The Atlantic*, *op. cit.*

The fact is President Obama used a very interventionist tone in his famous Cairo address dated June 2009, exhorting Egyptians to demand a full blown democracy, exactly at the very same time that he refused to whisper a word of support to the Iranian population revolting against the autocracy and demanding free and fair elections.

Many analysts think the words of the US President were crucial in the dismissal of Mubarak and his replacement by a “Muslim Brotherhood” government whereas his silence gave new impetus to the theocratic brutal dictatorship.

One could wonder what were the motivations behind this action. Couldn't he anticipate the consequence of his action in one case and inaction on the other? And if he could, how does it fit the Presidency's views?

Although *The Atlantic* refers several times to jihad – concealing the fact the President never used this expression – and gives the impression that the President considers it a fundamental problem; his actions do not corroborate this idea.

Most strikingly, President Obama emphatically considers “climate change” to be the most important threat to our World. Actually this is the only point where we can see his proclaimed “internationalism” vindicated.

Most clearly, he considers that the prospect of a nuclear Armageddon to be less dangerous than “climate change”, and this is precisely the core of his message. This could be seen as completely out of line with reality but might nevertheless give an explanation to the current administrations policy on nuclear proliferation.

He considers the invasion of Ukraine as something natural given Ukraine's geopolitical position regarding Russia without ever mentioning (or being questioned) on the failed insurances given by the US for convincing this country to abandon its nuclear arsenal. He debates Western intervention in Libya without ever taking into consideration that the only dictator that the West kicked out of position was the only one who agreed to abandon his nuclear programme. Furthermore, he never justified why there is no answer to the stepping-up of the Pakistani nuclear programme.

He is questioned on his failure to follow through his condemnation of the use of chemical weapons against civilians by the Syrian authorities, but the author of the article erroneously believes that the deal struck with Russia solved the issue.⁵³

In this perspective, the appeasement message conveyed by the Iranian nuclear deal, where an illegal nuclear programme is rewarded by a blind eye passed on the country's internal and external aggressions, a substantive financial bonus and a clean image in the concert of nations, becomes less of a surprise and another manifestation of the indulgence towards nuclear proliferation.

These state of affairs ought to be considered to be quite dangerous for the World's peaceful survival. The present World order on nuclear proliferation is being dangerously eroded by this state of affairs needs to be urgently addressed.

⁵³ As we are drafting this report, news of present use of chemical weapons by the Syrian authorities against civilians are coming to light.

5. Pakistan tactical nuclear declaration of October 2015

TNWs are supposed to be those that can be used in military terms for tactical gains rather than for the strategic goal of solving it. As such, the tactical definition represents an alarming step into considering them as a normal feature in armed conflicts.

A recent congressional report makes the state of play of the issue: “In 1991, the United States and Soviet Union both withdrew from deployment most material and eliminated from their arsenals many of their non-strategic nuclear weapons. The United States now obtains approximately 760 non-strategic nuclear weapons, with around 200 deployed by aircraft in Europe and the remaining stored in the United States. Estimates vary, but experts believe Russia still has between 1,000 and 6,000 warheads for non-strategic nuclear weapons in its arsenal. The Bush Administration quietly redeployed and removed some of the nuclear weapons deployed in Europe. Russia, however seems to have increased its reliance on nuclear weapons in its national security concept. Some analysts argue that Russia has backed away from its commitments from 1991 and may develop and deploy new types of non-strategic nuclear weapons.”⁵⁴

In the preceding months, however, press agencies close to the Iranian and Russian propaganda machines made the reverse case: “The United States Air Force (USAF) is going to station 20 new B61-12 nuclear bombs in Germany, each 80 times more destructive than the one used on Hiroshima, a report says.”⁵⁵ “Russian officials have warned that if the US deploys B61-12 guided nuclear bombs to Germany it would violate the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons Treaty (NPT), and could force Moscow to exit the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF).”⁵⁶

Although there is no official or consensual definition, when referring to these, it usually means nuclear weapons that are non-strategic and are used in support of military missions in a limited scope.⁵⁷ Compared to strategic nuclear weapons, TNWs “are delivered using battlefield-type delivery systems over battlefield-type distances”⁵⁸, in theory meaning short range but in practical terms it remains unclear up to where the line is drawn distance wise for the nuclear weapons to be considered as a TNW.

In Europe, much of the nuclear considerations are linked to NATO and the American TNWs on European soil. While most countries, such as the United Kingdom who has opted out of the TNWs, are favourable to disarmament, there is no consensus within the EU. In fact, France, who doesn't possess TNWs either, sees them as integral part of the deterrence doctrine and opposed a joint working paper by the EU on Europe's TNWs.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Woolf, Amy F., “Nonstrategic Nuclear Weapons”, Congressional Research Service (CRS), 23 March 2016. <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/nuke/RL32572.pdf>

⁵⁵ Press TV, informal Iranian news agency service <http://www.globalresearch.ca/us-to-station-20-new-nukes-in-western-germany-report/5477987>

⁵⁶ Read more: Sputnik News, “US Nuclear Weapons in Germany Could Spark Arms Race”, 24 September 2015. <http://sputniknews.com/analysis/20150924/1027431487.html#ixzz46B7ObgWR>

Please note that Sputnik News is the Russian unofficial press agency.

⁵⁷ Woolf, *op. cit.*

⁵⁸ Stout, Mark, “The Tactical versus Strategic Distinction: It's A Big Deal, Right?”, The Wright Stuff, Air University, 13 May 2010.

⁵⁹ Nuclear Threat Initiative, “United Kingdom”, March 2016. <http://www.nti.org/learn/countries/united-kingdom/nuclear/>

Vestergaard, Cindy, “Time to Debate NATO's Nukes in Europe”, DIIS Comment, Danish Institute for International Studies, 25 May 2010. <http://www.diis.dk/en/research/time-to-debate-natos-nukes-in-europe>

Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif went to Washington DC on the 21 October 2015. The previous day, in a briefing with Pakistani journalists, Foreign Secretary Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry stated: “Pakistan has built an infrastructure near border areas to launch a quick response to Indian aggression...Usage of such low-yield nuclear weapons would make it difficult for India to launch a war against Pakistan”.⁶⁰ It is the first time Pakistani authorities openly admitted to having low-yield TNWs while also being clearer about their strategy and potential target: India.

The distinction between the two types of nuclear weapons has little importance if they were to be used in a conflict. The consequences of its use have little to do with its size, the key element being the “nuclear” characteristic. The use of any nuclear weapon in wartime is considered unacceptable by the international community at large and by India in particular, most likely leading to fast retaliation, escalation and an all-out nuclear war between the two nuclear countries.⁶¹ There is no coming back from a first strike using a nuclear weapon, independently of its size. In the words of Iftekhhar Ahmed Chowdhury: “A nuclear exchange, once unleashed, almost certainly cannot be halted.”⁶² The consequence would be devastating for both countries. It has been argued by experts such as C. Christine Fair⁶³ that the consequences would be more devastating for Pakistan than India.

Furthermore, as George Perkovich⁶⁴ reminds us, the traditional model of deterrence is based on the idea that states are unitary rational actors and there is no such guarantee when it comes to any country but in particular when in regards to Pakistan. To which it can be added that “Pakistan’s concept of minimum credible deterrence appears to have morphed into a far riskier and dangerous “full spectrum deterrence”, implying usage of nuclear weapons for tactical (short-distance) to strategic (long-distance) targets.”⁶⁵

In an interview to BBC News, Pervez Hoodbhoy, a nuclear physicist and independent security analyst added that TNWs “could be more dangerous than larger weapons because in the event of a conflict, they will need to be spread out, deployed at multiple locations closer to the targets, and would need to be fired at short notice”.⁶⁶

According to the abovementioned Congress report, Indian or Pakistani nuclear weapons should be considered as tactic rather than strategic: “If measured by the range of delivery vehicles and the yield of the warheads, these nations’ weapons could be considered to be non-strategic.”⁶⁷

These “low-yield nuclear weapons” that Pakistan possesses should therefore be understood differently from the way they are classified by the US and Russia nuclear arsenal.

⁶⁰ Rajghatta, Chidanand, “For first time, Pakistan admits its mini-nukes only to deter conventional Indian attack”, The Times of India, 20 October 2015. <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/us/For-first-time-Pakistan-admits-its-mini-nukes-only-to-deter-conventional-Indian-attack/articleshow/49473191.cms>

⁶¹ Ali, Ibne, “Pakistan’s Coziness With Non-State Actors Represents the Single Greatest Global Nuclear Security Threat”, The Diplomat, 30 March 2016. <http://thediplomat.com/2015/10/pakistan-clarifies-conditions-for-tactical-nuclear-weapon-use-against-india/>

⁶² Chowdhury, Iftekhhar Ahmed, *op. cit.* p.3.

⁶³ Fair, Christine C., “Pakistan’s army is building an arsenal of “tiny” nuclear weapons—and it’s going to backfire”, Quartz India, 21 December 2015. <http://qz.com/579334/pakistans-army-is-building-an-arsenal-of-tiny-nuclear-weapons-and-its-going-to-backfire/>

⁶⁴ Perkovich, George, *op.cit.*

⁶⁵ Chowdhury, Iftekhhar Ahmed; *op. cit.*; p.4.

⁶⁶ Khan, Ilyas, “Why Pakistan is opening up over its nuclear programme”, BBC News, Islamabad, 21 October 2015. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-34588009>

⁶⁷ Woolf, *op. cit.* p. 23.

Here, we should bear in mind that according to Laqueur⁶⁸: “In 1997, General Lebed, President Yeltsin's former security adviser, revealed that in the 1970s a considerable number of "luggage nukes", small nuclear devices built in the form of a suitcase and transportable by one person, had been produced by the Soviet military industry for the KGB”.

We are therefore speaking of nuclear weapons that should be considered somewhere between the tactical level, in terms of the “range of delivery” and the portable size Laqueur is referring to.

In the meantime, the United States and Pakistan signed a deal in which the United States will sell eight F-16s to Islamabad. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Pakistan is referring exactly to the sort of TNW that might be portable by F-16.

Other than the increased threat of nuclear war posed by these developments, there is also the question of the possibility of the weapons not being in full control of the authorities.

The close relations between Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), the Pakistani intelligence secret service, and several groups such as Lashkar-e-Taiba or Jamaat-ud-Dawa is well documented and continue to function freely in Pakistan.⁶⁹ Little seems to have changed in Islamabad's approach to terrorist groups. Moreover, Islamabad and ISI do not have full control of these groups. The possibility of a terrorist group acquiring TNWs is not outside of the spectrum of possibilities and, subsequently, very worrisome.

The existence of TNWs in Pakistan being a reality indicates their security is primordial. Nonetheless, there is evidence of a flawed vetting process regarding their personal security as the assassination of Salman Taseer, Governor of Punjab by Malik Mumtaz Qadri demonstrated. Mr Qadri, a member of the elite police force that underwent the same vetting process as the guards of the nuclear and equipment facilities and which is supposed to ensure the loyalty of the forces to the government, assassinated the Governor he was supposed to protect.⁷⁰

The interest of terrorists in nuclear research was once again news-worthy when the police found documents about a nuclear research complex where nuclear waste is stored in the apartment of Salah Abdeslam, the main suspect in the Paris attacks of 13 November 2015.⁷¹

On another hand, the possible link of a Pakistani man held in Salzburg, for alleged association with the terrorist attacks from November 2015 in Paris and 2008 in Mumbai who is thought to have been a bomb maker for Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT)⁷² and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ) (two organisations known to be deeply rooted in Pakistan) is a matter of concern.⁷³ The interchangeability of terrorist from Pakistani organisations was already studied by Nasra Hassan who defines one of the four characteristics to be “the DNA of Pakistani suicide operatives [...] their sequential or simultaneous membership in multiple groups and their

⁶⁸ Laqueur, *op. cit.* p. 255.

⁶⁹ Ali, *op. cit.*

⁷⁰ Sanger, David E., “A Pakistani Assassin's Long Reach”, The New York Times, 8 January 2011. http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/09/weekinreview/09sanger.html?_r=0

⁷¹ World Affairs, “Paris suspect had papers on German nuclear research centre”, 14 April 2016. http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/content/paris-suspect-had-papers-german-nuclear-research-center?utm_source=World+Affairs+Newsletter&utm_campaign=06a06887a1-April+14+2016+WNN4+14+2016&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_f83b38c5c7-06a06887a1-294596929

⁷² LeT is considered to be the responsible for the Mumbai attacks.

⁷³ Dawn, “Link between Paris and Mumbai attacks under probe”, 12 April 2016. <http://www.dawn.com/news/1251524/link-between-paris-and-mumbai-attacks-under-probe>

deliberate interchangeability.”⁷⁴ This only continues to feed reasons for concern and urge the international community to pressure Pakistan to be more proactive regarding terrorist groups within Pakistan.

The growing concern regarding the threat of terrorist groups using nuclear weapons was one of the major topics of the two-day 2016 Nuclear Security Summit (NSS), which took place in Washington DC (from 31 March until 1 April). In this context, US officials described the possibility of terrorist networks getting possession of nuclear weapons as “real”. Other main focus areas were the potential nuclear state threat, by countries such as North Korea and Pakistan, and the Middle East nuclear race. In this context, President Obama mentioned that Pakistan is “moving in the wrong direction”.⁷⁵

This is not a recent concern, in fact, the United States Embassy in Islamabad expressed similar concerns in a telegram from 2009 which was released by WikiLeaks and which reads: “Our major concern has not been that an Islamic militant could steal an entire weapon but rather the chance someone working in GOP [Government of Pakistan] facilities could gradually smuggle enough fissile material out to eventually make a weapon and the vulnerability of weapons in transit.”⁷⁶

Moreover, Pakistan is the country with the fastest growing nuclear arsenal, which is expected to surpass all but Russia’s and the United States’ arsenals within five to ten years. Fair argued that the United States should start considering Pakistani nuclear proliferation as a direct threat to its security.⁷⁷

The most likely outcome, however, is a “Khan-II” scenario (see our chapter 2) where someone manoeuvring between criminality, authorities, Islamic fundamentalism, business and science will manage to recreate a proliferation network that might serve North Korea and Iran, like in the past, or any sort of other global jihadi network.

This could be a completely catastrophic scenario that should be confronted as soon as possible.

⁷⁴ Hassan, Narsa, *Suicide Terrorism* in “Richardson, Louise, “The Roots of Terrorism », Club de Madrid series on Democracy and Terrorism, Routledge, 2006, p.38.

⁷⁵ Conca, James, “Fallout From The Nuclear Security Summit”, Forbes, 3 April 2016. <http://www.forbes.com/sites/jamesconca/2016/04/03/fallout-from-the-nuclear-security-summit/#11875aa72abd>

⁷⁶ WikiLeaks, “Scenesetter for General Kayani’s visit to Washington”, Islamabad, 19 February 2009. https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/09ISLAMABAD365_a.html

⁷⁷ Fair, *op. cit.*

Policy recommendations

1. The danger of nuclear proliferation giving rise to a potential human disaster of unthinkable dimensions remains by far the single most important threat impending Humankind. This threat increased considerably in the recent past as a consequence of the JCPOA and as the non-proliferation objectives became secondary. It is urgent for the international community to reinstate non-proliferation as a priority in the international agenda.
2. Both biological and chemical weapons are in the long run potentially as dangerous as the nuclear ones and the slackening of their control is a very daring contemporary phenomenon. The present use of chemical weapons by Syrian authorities against civilians, in spite of a long overdue red line, is the second most important motif for international concern.
3. North Korean nuclear threat level increase has been substantially answered by the international community. It is however important to understand that North Korean's capability was only possible due to former Pakistani proliferation and has been developed in the context of close co-operation with the Islamic Republic of Iran. Terror groups with ambivalent links to either Iran or Pakistan are likely vehicles for proliferation from North Korea. This angle of the issue has to be taken into consideration.
4. Present JCPOA allows for the continuing development of the delivery as part of the nuclear programme, as well as for the external expansionism and internal repression of the Iranian regime, whereas giving important present incentives for commitments that can be easily reversed anytime in the future. A comprehensive strategy of containment of the external and internal aggression of the Iranian autocracy in line with the principles designed in Helsinki is fundamental if we want to contain the dangers of an Iranian bomb.
5. Pakistan remains the most likely source of future proliferation either directly to other states or to armed groups working independently or most likely in connection with states. In the short term, the only way to contain these dangers is to press this country by all necessary means to contain its nuclear arsenal both regarding its dimension and dispersion, keeping it as small as possible in order to be conceivably controlled. In the long run, only a complete shift of structural policies from the present state sponsored fanatic radicalisation process of the population to sponsoring a balanced perception of human values can diminish this risk.

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