

AMERICA IN DANGER

What U.S. Leaders Must do to Avert War with the Sino-Russian Alliance and Ensure our National Survival



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Introduction

Late last summer, America lost one of its most courageous unsung heroes, Dr. Peter Vincent Pry, who served as the longtime Executive Director of the Task Force on National and Homeland Security, which is an official Congressional Advisory Board that was organized in November 2011. Peter was one of America's most brilliant national security strategists of our time and may well have been the most knowledgeable expert on the U.S. nuclear arsenal in the country, championing the modernization of America's nuclear arsenal and warning that the three-decade long U.S. strategic nuclear weapon and delivery system procurement holiday and nuclear test moratorium must come to an end.

In his last several months of life, Peter was tireless in his warnings of the existential threat posed by the Sino-Russian alliance and expressed great concern that U.S. leaders would stumble into a nuclear/EMP Third World War against two or even three nuclear adversaries. He dedicated himself to the cause of peace, writing articles advocating for the U.S. to stay out of great power wars with the Russian Federation over Ukraine and the People's Republic of China over Taiwan. He believed that doing so would prove essential to provide us sufficient time to rebuild America's strategic deterrent including our increasingly obsolescent and undersized strategic nuclear arsenal, deploying thousands of space-based ABM interceptors modeled on the Cold-War era "Brilliant Pebbles" program and most importantly hardening the U.S. electrical power grid against the clear and present dangers of EMP and cyber-attack as well as super geomagnetic storms. The Task Force on National and Homeland Security stands resolute in its determination to honor his legacy by continuing to champion his life's work to demand that U.S. elected leaders act immediately to take the necessary steps outlined in this report to ensure America's survival as he would have wanted us to do.

This report is dedicated to Dr. Pry, who devoted his life to protecting America against existential threats, particularly the threat of Electromagnetic Pulse (EMP), welcomed me into the Executive Leadership of the Task Force in 2020 and asked me to contribute to this important project. It was an honor to have known him and worked by his side. Peter was an exceptional strategic thinker. In this report, I have include several quotes from Peter's past writings, and being extremely familiar with his thinking, I believe the important topics in this report accurately reflect Peter's views in virtually all respects. Some of the material in this report was included in the last two chapters of the newly released book *"Catastrophe Now—America's Last Chance to Prevent an*

EMP Disaster” which is now available for purchase on Amazon.com. Lastly, I would also like to thank Cynthia Ayers, who replaced Peter as Executive Director of the Task Force on National and Homeland Security, given the fact that without her hard work in leading the effort to write, compile and edit this important book, its publication would likely not have been possible.

The title of this report was inspired by the title of a never published book I wrote from 1996-1997 entitled, “America in Danger—The Increasing Threat of a Nuclear First Strike by the Sino-Russian Alliance” about the existential threat posed to the U.S. by the burgeoning Sino-Russian alliance which had only begun to form with a Sino-Russian strategic partnership agreement concluded in 1996. This alliance of America’s nuclear superpower adversaries, which most U.S. leaders did not admit existed until early last year, was sparked by the decision of the Clinton administration to publicly announce in 1995 that NATO would be expanded eastward to include the nations of the former Warsaw Pact. While the massive Chinese nuclear buildup first publicly reported in July 2021 appears to have caught U.S. intelligence off guard, I detected preparations of it and warned about it over a quarter century ago in this book.

In 1997, I wrote in my book manuscript,

The Russian Federation and the Communist Chinese governments have concluded a strategic partnership--a military and political alliance against what they term to be “U.S. hegemony” with the goal of first supplanting and then replacing the United States as the world’s only superpowers. The Communist Chinese are currently engaged in a crash-program to build and increase their nuclear infrastructure and nuclear weapons-building capabilities as they seek to build increasingly larger numbers of strategic nuclear weapons which they plan will rival the nuclear arsenal of the United States. Considering the fact that the Russian nuclear arsenal is much more numerous than that of the United States and in light of the continuing program of unilateral nuclear disarmament being perpetuated on the United States by the Clinton Administration, the results of the achievement of the Communist Chinese plans in this regard would be nothing less than ruinous to the chances of a continued peace and aversion of the threat of nuclear war. At the very least, the realization of so large a Communist Chinese arsenal would spell certain doom for the prospects of the United States remaining a dominant superpower...This threat has resulted from the growing nuclear imbalance between the Russian Federation and the United States and the increasing nuclear build-up by the PRC which has been greatly facilitated by the Administration’s transfer of nuclear weapons and missile technology to the butchers of Beijing. China’s growing nuclear might and its recent acquisition of MIRV technology places it in a position to blackmail the United States into inaction in the face of Chinese threats and aggression in Asia...Indeed, the Russians have been producing 2,000 nuclear warheads a year while the United States has not built any nuclear devices for the last several years and, more importantly, has completely dismantled its ability to build any more in the foreseeable future. The United States government has been dangerously dismantling its nuclear

deterrent...The longer we wait to build defenses against nuclear attack, the greater the chances that this frightening event will occur in the not-so-distant future. Time is running out.

I then concluded that,

America's current political leaders are sowing the seeds of our own destruction by unilaterally disarming our nation's nuclear might, even while Russia increases the effectiveness of theirs and China increases both the size and effectiveness of its conventional and nuclear arsenal, a buildup which is being funded by the United States, U.S. companies, and made possible with U.S. technology. Thanks to the Clinton Administration's suicidal policy of 'constructive engagement', **the United States is building Communist China into a military superpower whose armed might may one day surpass our own**, even while we continue to deliberately fund and otherwise facilitate the modernization of the armed forces of the Russian Federation.

Most national security experts seemed blissfully unaware of this threat then as now despite evidence that this new Sino-Russian axis would swiftly bring an end to America's "unipolar moment" which was proclaimed in 1992 by Francis Fukuyama in his book "The End of History and the Last Man" essentially expressing his sense that with the demise of the Soviet Union, the bipolar international order had been replaced by a unipolar international order led by the United States. By 1997, Russia, China and India had joined together in calling for the formation of a multipolar international order in which global hegemony was shared by the U.S. and themselves. In this book, I warned that the Russian nuclear threat did not magically go away with the collapse of the Soviet Union and that continued U.S. unilateral nuclear disarmament would inevitably result in increasing Russian nuclear superiority over the U.S.

At the time they first joined together in a strategic partnership forming the Shanghai Five, signing a dozen agreements on military, technological and economic cooperation in April 1996, Russia seemed to be the more dominant partner with a far superior nuclear arsenal and more advanced military than China. At that time, Beijing was still reeling from the U.S. sending the Nimitz aircraft carrier battle group through the Taiwan Strait in December 1995 following Chinese live fire ballistic missile tests meant to intimidate Taiwan from electing a pro-independence party president, causing the PRC to call off its military intimidation campaign.

Chinese leaders understood that they needed Russian help to enable them to credibly threaten US aircraft carrier battle groups with destruction to prevent them from sailing through the strait, which China has long viewed as its territorial waters again. Accordingly, they turned to Moscow to provide increasing amounts of advanced military technology and even advanced nuclear missile

technology to assist it in a massive military buildup designed to help it meet and exceed U.S. military power. At the same time, China sought and obtained trillions of dollars in Western investment, subsidies and unilateral free trade transferring millions of high-paying manufacturing jobs, tens of thousands of high-tech industries from the U.S. to the PRC to massively expand its economy by over 2,000 percent during the last two decades alone. The purpose of its economic expansion was single-minded to enable it to build the greatest military the world had ever seen, enabling it to use both military and economic coercion to pressure every nation on the planet to pursue pro-Chinese policies and thereby replace the U.S.-led world order with a world order led by Beijing and Moscow. Since Russia and China have aligned against us, we have seen that this strategy has enabled the PRC to transform itself from a third world military power, essentially a much larger version of North Korea with obsolescent weapons two or three decades in technology behind our own, into arguably the mightiest military power on Earth with a nuclear arsenal, army, navy, coast guard, economy, and industrial manufacturing base much larger than our own today.

For the past thirty years, the U.S. has pursued a provocative foreign policy of inserting U.S. military forces along Russia's and China's borders causing them to ally against us. Despite the increasing risk of a two-front war waged by Russia in Eastern Europe and China in Taiwan and the South China Sea, U.S. military leaders have testified to Congress that the U.S. currently has no contingency plans for how to defeat two nuclear superpowers fighting together against us. In addition to pursuing a reckless policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament in the face of a massive Russian and Chinese nuclear buildup, U.S. leaders have failed to build a comprehensive national missile defense system and have failed to harden America's national electric power grid from the existential threat of Electromagnetic Pulse (EMP) attack. The use of super-EMP and cyber weapons at the onset of any conflict with Russia and China could shut down America's electrical power grid, critical infrastructure, food and water distribution system, internet, communications, emergency services and military early-warning satellites while blinding us against subsequent attacks. The U.S. nuclear Command, Control and Communications (C3) system might also be vulnerable to cyberattack, potentially disrupting the President's ability to launch a nuclear retaliatory strike.

The increasing nuclear imbalance between the U.S. and the Sino-Russian alliance, stemming from Russia's and China's massive nuclear buildup, has put the credibility of the U.S. nuclear arsenal in question, making the threat of nuclear aggression on the U.S. greater than ever before. Due to U.S. failure to rebuild, let alone modernize, America's aging nuclear arsenal in response, the Sino-

Russian alliance is on track to attaining nuclear supremacy over the U.S. within the next one to three years. This could enable America's nuclear superpower enemies to attack U.S. allies, blackmail or coerce U.S. leaders to do their bidding or even to engage in a catastrophic attack on the U.S. homeland with comparatively little fear of an effective U.S. military response. Despite these disturbing developments, most U.S. policymakers remain largely oblivious to the increasing risk of a Sino-Russian cyber/EMP/nuclear attack on the U.S. homeland, mistakenly believing that the U.S. remains the strongest military power on Earth. U.S. leaders have done virtually nothing to protect U.S. citizens against these existential threats and so long as they do not take the increasing chance of a rapid U.S. defeat seriously, they are unlikely to take the difficult steps needed to prevent such a defeat.

The purpose of this report is to educate U.S. policymakers and our citizens regarding existential threats and what must be done to credibly deter America's nuclear superpower adversaries without provoking an unnecessary Third World War, which our great nation likely would not survive. This report is divided into six sections. The first three deal with deterring and defending against the existential threats we face from the Sino-Russian military alliance including several recommended measures as to how we might greatly increase the credibility of our strategic nuclear arsenal within a matter of weeks. The last three concern recommended strategies and solutions to avert an unnecessary Third World War with Russia and China including extricating the U.S. from the Ukraine war debacle and ending the immediate threat of Russian nuclear escalation, implementing a new, far less risky and provocative national security strategy for America that matches our means.

How U.S. Foreign Policy Risks Provoking a Nuclear First Strike

“The alliance between Russia and China is the greatest military threat ever posed to the U.S. and the Free World, not least because Washington has been so tardy in recognizing the growing peril from the Sino-Russo “New Axis” that now threatens to escalate the New Cold War into World War III.” Until recently, Washington has not taken seriously the Sino-Russo “New Axis” believing that ideological and geostrategic differences between Russia and China would prevent them from forming a “real” alliance like NATO. Suddenly, the possibility of coordinated aggression by Russia and China in Europe and Asia, a two-theater war that could become a nuclear world war, looks very real. It would be a war the U.S. and its allies cannot win.” Dr. Peter Pry

In 1997, former National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski warned in his book *“The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives”* that "Potentially, the most dangerous scenario would be a grand coalition of China, Russia, and perhaps Iran, an 'antihgemonic' coalition united not by ideology but by complementary grievances." Then he added, “How the United States both manipulates and accommodates the principal geostrategic players on the Eurasian chessboard and how it manages Eurasia's key geopolitical pivots will be critical to the longevity and stability of America's global primacy." He warned that the U.S. should do everything it could to ensure such an alliance did not materialize.

George Kennan, was more prescient still, writing in his diary in January 1997 that following NATO expansion eastward to its borders for the first time in history, Russia would “develop much closer relations with the neighbors to the east, notably Iran and China, with a view to forming a strongly anti-Western bloc as a counterweight to a NATO pressing for world domination.”¹ Now, over a quarter of a century later thanks to America’ disastrous and foolhardy pursuit of a grand strategy of liberal hegemony, that is exactly the geostrategic nightmare scenario America is facing.

While the U.S. won the Cold War against the Soviet Union, it lost the post-Cold War peace by violating our guarantees which we issued to Russia in 1990 to not expand NATO by even one inch eastward in return for Soviet agreement to allow German reunification within NATO.² If the West was dead set on expanding NATO, eastward we should have instead invited Russia, Ukraine, and

¹ Stephen Collinson, “How Xi and Putin’s New Friendship Could Test the US”, 22 March 2023, www.cnn.com

² Dave Majumdar, “Newly Declassified Documents: Gorbachev Told NATO Wouldn't Move Past East German Border”, 12 December 2017, www.nationalinterest.org

former Warsaw Pact countries to join NATO simultaneously by 1995 to prevent Russia from forming a strategic partnership with China a year later.³ Had we done so, the U.S. and Russia would be allies today and Russia would never have invaded any of its neighbors following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China would be isolated and contained. While present circumstances make it no longer possible to accept Russia or Ukraine into NATO, it is not too late to negotiate a mutual security agreement with Russia that will serve to ensure the safety, security and stability of Europe as will be discussed later.

The United States has experienced a nearly unbroken string of catastrophic intelligence failures in the last eighty years. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor caught America by surprise in 1941, only to be followed by North Korea's invasion of South Korea and China's intervention in the Korean War a decade later. More recently, American intelligence failed to predict or warn U.S. policymakers about the terror attacks on Sept. 11, 2001, or the recent outbreak of the deadly global COVID-19 pandemic, which has claimed the lives of nearly seven million people worldwide including over 1.15 million. Accordingly, it seems alarmingly plausible that the U.S. intelligence community will fail to predict—let alone provide advance warning of—a potentially nation-ending nuclear, cyber, or super electromagnetic pulse (EMP) attack upon the U.S. homeland by America's adversaries.

It has been said that defeat is the greatest teacher. But while the US has lost nearly every war it has fought since World War Two, it has never suffered a crushing defeat or had its territory occupied like Russia, China, Germany, and Japan have and so our leaders have failed to learn from the mistakes of history and thus as German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck stated may well be condemned to repeat them. I fear it will take a major catastrophe or defeat in war leading to the deaths of hundreds of thousands if not millions of Americans or similar shock to the system such as a super EMP attack affecting much of the country before our leaders will wake up and realize the need to act as swiftly as possible to do what is necessary to defend America.

Until the announcement of Russian President Vladimir Zelensky and Chinese President Xi Jinping of a “no-limits partnership” between the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China at the Beijing Olympics on February 4th, 2022, U.S. leaders seemed unconcerned if not blissfully ignorant about the existence of an increasingly bellicose and militarily superior “New Axis” powers aligned against it along with nuclear-armed North Korea and the likely nuclear-armed

³ Gregory Shtraks, “Sino-Russian Relations and the Lessons of 1996”, 13 April 2015, www.thediplomat.com

Islamic Republic of Iran. This alliance by America's two most powerful adversaries is not a recent development. ⁴

Back in 2000, I predicted that the greatest existential challenge facing the U.S. in the 21st century would be the emergence of a Sino-Russian alliance and that the overriding focus of U.S. national security policy should be to divide and disrupt it. The following year, the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China (PRC) joined together to sign a Treaty of Good Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation and form the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), which President Putin has since described as "a reborn Second Warsaw Pact". ⁵

The terms of their defensive military alliance are essentially if U.S. fights a direct war against either nuclear superpower over the former Soviet republics or Taiwan than the other power will come to their aid as a belligerent in the war. Following the signing of the alliance treaty, the Bush administration planned to focus on great power competition against Russia and China but after the Al Qaeda terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, they fell into a trap and wasted America's finite military and economic strength at the cost of \$8 trillion fighting no-win wars in Iraq and Afghanistan allowing our enemies to leap a generation ahead of us in terms of nuclear, super EMP and hypersonic missile technology. ⁶

Russia and China now lead a military alliance that includes over 71 percent of the landmass of Eurasia, over 43 percent of the world's population, nearly one-third of the world's GDP, and over 80 percent of the world's operational nuclear weapons, with over two-thirds of them deployed by Russia alone. ⁷ This new geostrategic axis of America's nuclear superpower adversaries threatens to replace the U.S.-led liberal international order with a New World Order led by Moscow and Beijing. ⁸ While Communism collapsed in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union over three decades ago, leftwing, socialist, Marxist, and Communist parties are now in control of every nation in the

⁴ Ariel Cohen, "The Russia-China Friendship and Cooperation Treaty: A Strategic Shift in Eurasia?" 18 July 2021, www.heritage.com

⁵ Douglas E. Schoen and Melik Kaylan, "The Russia-China Axis—the New Cold War and America's Crisis of Leadership." (9 September 2014)

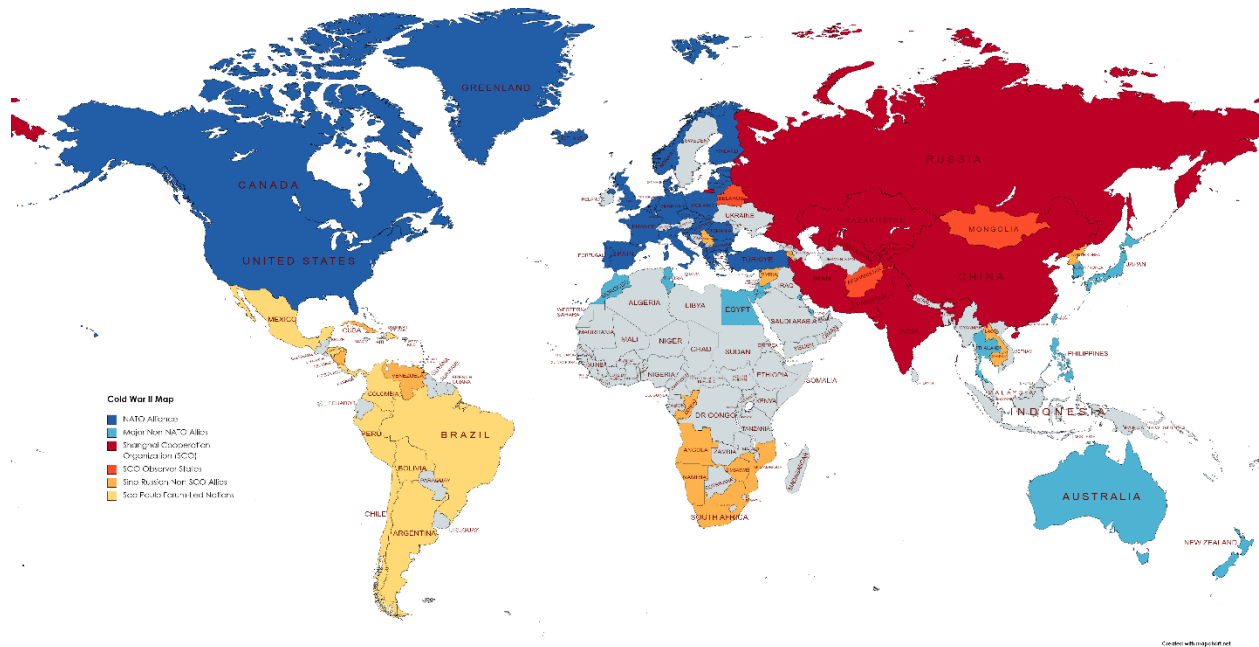
⁶ Dan Caldwell, "The Case for a Restrained Republican Foreign Policy," 22 March 2023, www.foreignaffairs.com

⁷ Rick Rowden, "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization is the Biggest Organization You've Never Heard of." speri.dept.shef.ac.uk (3 September 2017)

⁸ "The End of the Post World War Two Rules Based Liberal International Order" <https://dpyne.substack.com/p/the-end-of-the-post-cold-war-rules>

Western Hemisphere for the first time in history while the threat posed by Communist China and North Korea have never been greater.

Here is a geopolitical map of the world as it exists today:



President Joe Biden’s prosecution of an undeclared, war against Russia of indefinite duration in Ukraine has pushed Russia into an ever-closer military alliance with China.⁹ At the Putin-Xi summit held in Moscow from March 20-22nd, 2023, the two leaders signed a dozen new agreements on military and economic cooperation and highlighted their opposition to the U.S. As he was leaving, President Xi told Putin, "Right now there are changes, the likes of which we haven't seen for 100 years. And we are the ones driving these changes together."¹⁰ With his statement that Russia and China were forging changes to the international order not seen in over a hundred years, Xi appeared to be referring to how the First World War destroyed the balance of power in Europe, leaving Germany disarmed and occupied, and ended three empires forging a new international order. He may have also been referring to the unprovoked Franco-Belgian invasion of the German

⁹ Jake Werner, “Biden Doesn’t Need to Keep Pushing Xi and Putin Closer,” 22 March 2023, www.thenation.com

¹⁰ Brendan Cole, “Xi’s Comments to Putin About 'Driving Changes Together' Caught on Video” www.newsweek.com, 22 March 2023

Ruhr industrial region in January 2023 that caused the German economy to collapse in the worst hyperinflation the world had ever seen which in turn led to the rise of Hitler and the Nazis.

Xi might well be signaling that history may repeat itself with a Sino-Russian occupation and forced disarmament of the US and our total financial and economic collapse. From 1914-1918, Germany was arguably the most powerful continental power in Europe just as the US is dominant in the Western Hemisphere today but a super EMP or massive cyber-attack on the US could transform the U.S. into a Third World failed state within a matter of weeks whereas a Sino-Russian nuclear first strike on the U.S. could virtually transform the U.S. into a non-nuclear state within the space of half an hour. I fear one or both of those possibilities is what Xi might have been alluding to. Xi's goal to bring an end to America's empire and the U.S.-led international order and if the U.S. dares to go to war to defend Ukraine against Russia and/or Taiwan against China militarily to leave America prostrate, disarmed, and occupied just like Germany was after both world wars.

Since the U.S. began fighting its proxy war against Russia in Ukraine over a year ago, Russian leaders have threatened nuclear escalation dozens of times. At a fundraiser held on October 6th, President Joe Biden told Democrat donors, "We have not faced the prospect of Armageddon since Kennedy and the Cuban Missile Crisis...we have a direct threat of the use of the nuclear weapon if, in fact, things continue down the path they've been going." ¹¹Then he added, "[Putin] wasn't joking when he talks about using nuclear weapons" in response to recent Ukrainian battlefield successes in a tacit admission that the risk of nuclear war has never been higher in the past sixty years. "I don't think there's any such thing as the ability to easily use a tactical nuclear weapon and not end up with Armageddon."

Biden then conceded that the administration's policy did not give Putin a diplomatic option to end the war musing that, "We're trying to figure out: What is Putin's off-ramp? Where does he get off? Where does he find a way out? Where does he find himself in a position that he does not — not only lose face, but lose significant power within Russia?" Biden was later asked if he plans to meet with Putin to dial down the US proxy war against Russia in Ukraine and replied, "I don't see any rationale to meet with him now" seeming to dismiss the threat of nuclear Armageddon he had privately warned about. The same day, Zelensky called on NATO to engage in pre-emptive strikes

¹¹ "Biden says risk of "Armageddon" highest since Cuban Missile Crisis as tensions rise with Russia", www.cbsnews.com, 7 October 2022

against Russian nuclear forces in yet another attempt to start a full-blown war between NATO and Russia in the belief that is Ukraine's only hope to recover all its lost territories including Crimea.

As reported in the 2008 Report of the Commission to Assess the Threat to the United States by Electromagnetic Pulse (EMP) Attack, Russia developed super-electromagnetic pulse weapons more than two decades ago. These are nuclear weapons specially designed to greatly enhance their EMP effects. Russia subsequently shared this deadly technology with its Chinese and North Korean allies. Russia, China, and North Korea have been assessed as likely having the capability to use super-EMP and cyberwarfare attacks to shut down America's electrical power grid, other critical infrastructure, internet, financial system, transportation system, food and water distribution system, communications system, and emergency services perhaps without warning and without U.S. leaders even knowing who attacked us.¹²

North Korea is believed to have deployed two super-EMP satellites in orbit over the U.S. which could be detonated over the center of the U.S. at the push of a button.¹³ They might even be capable of disabling U.S. Global Positioning System (GPS) and military early warning satellites including those used for nuclear missile launch detection and missile defense, potentially blinding us to subsequent attacks against the U.S. and its allies including a decapitation nuclear first strike against the U.S. capital.¹⁴

U.S. intelligence has assessed that the U.S. would likely lose all its military and commercial satellite communications within the first two hours of any direct military conflict with Russia, China, or North Korea due to cyberattack or other means such as ground-based and space-based lasers, killer satellites and ASATs, radiofrequency (RF) jammers, high-power microwaves (HPM).¹⁵ Both Russia and China have been weaponizing space for many years and view the achievement of space superiority as the key to defeating the U.S. in war. U.S. military leaders have even expressed concern that our nuclear command, control, and communications system might be

¹² Jamie Crawford, "The U.S. Government Thinks China Could Take Down the Power Grid." www.cnn.com 21 November 2014

¹³ Peter Pry and Brian Hayes, "Could the Ukraine war devolve into an EMP apocalypse for America?," www.thehill.com, 8 March 2022

¹⁴ Zak Doffman, "U.S. Military Satellites Likely Cyberattacked by China or Russia or Both." www.forbes.com, (5 July 2019)

¹⁵ Patrick Tucker, China, Russia Building Attack Satellites and Space Lasers: Pentagon Report, www.defenseone.com, 12 February 2019

vulnerable to cyberattack.¹⁶ A comprehensive cyber or super-EMP first strike might prevent America's conventional military forces from being able to communicate with their commanders or coordinate their attacks, paralyzing them and making them much easier to defeat. Furthermore, in his recently published book, "2034-A Novel of the Next World War," Admiral James Stavridis, who served as a former NATO Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, speculates that China could employ cyberattacks to disable US Navy ships operating in the Taiwan Straits and South China Sea, thus helping to ensure a Chinese military victory in a future conflict with the U.S. over Taiwan.

Disabling America's Nuclear Command, Control and Communications (NC3) would likely be a top priority target of any such attack and could potentially disrupt the communications links between the Nuclear Command Authority and the U.S. nuclear triad preventing the President's order to fire a retaliatory nuclear response from being received by the commanders of U.S. nuclear forces. A super-EMP attack could potentially knock out TACAMO "Looking Glass" aircraft, if they were not sufficiently EMP hardened, and disable both U.S. Extremely Low Frequency (ELF) transmitters at Clam Lake, Wisconsin and Republic, Michigan effectively cutting off communications with U.S. nuclear missile submarines and prevent them from receiving Emergency Action Messages directing them to launch a nuclear retaliatory strike.

U.S. nuclear submarine commanders can no longer launch their missiles without receiving launch orders from the Nuclear Command Authority so even if they were aware that a nuclear attack was underway, they would not be able to launch without receiving those orders. If the order to launch came through without a prior raising of alert readiness, U.S. nuclear submarines would surface to periscope depth of sixty feet confirm its validity making them vulnerable to detection and destruction by our enemies. Even if the order to launch a nuclear retaliatory strike was received and the missiles were launched, many of our nuclear warheads might not even detonate as they are in some cases over half a century old and we have not tested them in over three decades. In addition, the U.S. does not have sufficient tritium gas to ensure their reliability.

The U.S. Ballistic Missile Early Warning System is oriented to detect intercontinental ballistic missiles flying over the North Pole which would be the most likely trajectory of Russian ICBM's and therefore wouldn't detect a strike flying along a southern orbital path as might be the case in

¹⁶ Andrew Futter, "The Dangers of Using Cyberattacks to Counter Nuclear Threats," www.armscontrol.org, July-August 2016

the event the North Koreans decided to detonate one or both of their two suspected super-EMP satellites in low Earth orbit or in the event Russia or China uses nuclear hypersonic glide vehicles to attack us using the same vector. The Russians and the Chinese likely have super-EMP satellites in low orbit over the U.S. as well. The U.S. has yet to develop any super-EMP weapons to help deter against such a potentially debilitating attack.

As Dr. Peter Pry has warned, U.S. nuclear bombers which account for nearly 15% of our deployed nuclear warheads were taken off 24-hour 'strip alert' status by President George HW Bush would likely all be destroyed in the event of a nuclear first strike with the enemy using as few as three nuclear warheads unless U.S. Strategic Command was placed on a heightened state of alert of DEFCON 3 or higher in which case they would be dispersed to other bases.¹⁷ President Obama took most of our nuclear missile submarines off alert status except for four to five nuclear missile submarines deployed at sea at any given time. As Dr. Pry assessed, our nine to ten other nuclear missile submarines could be destroyed in port with the enemy employing only two nuclear warheads targeting our nuclear missile submarine bases at Bangor, Washington and King's Bay, Georgia. Accordingly, Russia, China or North Korea could conceivably destroy over half of America's strategic nuclear triad with as little as five warheads. Dr. Pry also speculated that a super EMP attack might even cause our nuclear missiles which had already been launched to miss their targets or their nuclear warheads to fail to detonate could disable nuclear bombers and perhaps even US nuclear missile submarines in port if they were insufficiently shielded against EMP.

President Joe Biden was elected, in part, on a platform of protecting the environment from global climate change. However, few people realize that a super-EMP or cyberattack on the U.S. homeland would likely be far more catastrophic for American citizens and the environment. Such an attack could cause, many if not most, of the ninety-four nuclear reactors in the United States to meltdown, spreading radioactive contamination and fallout to nearby cities. If such an attack were to occur, then U.S. leaders might not be certain which country attacked us or who to retaliate against. In 2008, the Congressional EMP Commission estimated that such a cataclysmic attack on

¹⁷ Amanda Miller, "Congress' Nuclear Adviser Wonders Whether Russia Is Stoking WW3," April 21, 2022 www.airandspaceforces.com

a national scale could cause up to 275 million Americans to die within twelve months due to starvation, disease, and societal breakdown.¹⁸

According to a U.S. government official, since the beginning of the war in Ukraine, Russia has been engaging in over one million small-scale cyberattacks against the U.S. a day. A comprehensive cyberattack on the U.S. homeland could potentially kill tens of millions of Americans. Given their destructive potential, U.S. national security professionals should seriously consider reclassifying cyber and EMP weapons as weapons of mass destruction. Despite these warnings, U.S. leaders have done little to protect the American people from EMP and cyberattacks. They have also failed to deploy a national missile defense system to protect against nuclear missile attacks. In the event of a catastrophic Sino-Russian attack against the U.S. homeland, there is a good chance that even America's allies would decline to come to its defense for fear of sharing its fate.

America's vulnerability to enemy attack was underscored when the PRC utilized a PLA military stratospheric balloon to fly over the headquarters of U.S. Strategic Command at Offutt Air Force Base, US Minuteman III Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM) silos surrounding Malmstrom Air Force Base and our B-2 stealth nuclear bomber base at Whiteman Air Force Base, essentially conducting strategic reconnaissance in support of a potential Chinese nuclear first strike from January 28th-February 4th.¹⁹ President Biden did nothing to stop it until it had completed its mission. It was likely also meant for strategic signaling to warn the U.S. not to intervene militarily in war over Taiwan or else they would retaliate by conducting cyber, EMP and perhaps even nuclear strikes against the U.S. homeland, which could cost the lives of tens of millions of Americans.

How did America's leaders allow the country to become so vulnerable? America fought and won the Cold War because it had the national will and determination to maintain a strong and robust strategic nuclear arsenal roughly on par with that of the Soviet Union without which it likely could not have been won and the Soviet Union might never have collapsed. After the end of the Cold War, U.S. leaders began a policy of nuclear disarmament at a pace far exceeding Russia's, naively

¹⁸ James Woolsey and Peter Pry, "The Growing Threat from an EMP Attack" www.wallstreetjournal.com (12 August 2014)

¹⁹ Paul Bedard, "Dry run: Balloons called top 'delivery platform' for nuclear EMP attack", www.washingtonexaminer.com, 3 February 2023

believing the existential threat had passed even though the Russian Federation retained much of the Soviet Union's huge nuclear arsenal which has exposed the United States to unnecessary and increasingly intolerable risks. Following the end of the Cold War, the U.S. effectively dropped out of the nuclear arms race in 1992. The U.S. has not built a single strategic nuclear missile or strategic nuclear warhead since and has adopted what is essentially a 'minimal deterrence' nuclear force posture under the Strategic Offensive Reduction Treaty signed in 2002 and the New START Treaty in 2010. I strongly opposed both treaties and attempted to rally opposition to them when they were being considered for ratification in the US Senate. Maintaining a robust strategic nuclear deterrent has been essential to keeping the nuclear superpower peace but unfortunately our badly undersized strategic nuclear deterrent is increasingly obsolescent, severely weakening the credibility of our nuclear deterrent. Over the same period, Russia, China, and North Korea have each built at least five different types of strategic nuclear delivery systems, engaging in massive buildups and modernizations of their respective nuclear arsenals.

By 2016, America's Cold war-winning nuclear arsenal had been unilaterally disarmed from 32,000 nuclear weapons to only 1,750 operational warheads, a total reduction of 94% including 84% of its strategic nuclear deterrent. Many of these weapons are deployed on aging delivery systems of increasingly questionable reliability. Today, only 720 of our warheads are ready to launch at any given time, of which only fifty percent would likely survive a full-scale nuclear first strike.²⁰ The reliability of the U.S. nuclear stockpile is also a major concern. Successive presidential administrations have failed to ensure it will function as designed in the event of a crisis. In February 2022, Russia officially suspended its adherence to the New START Treaty, which it had been flagrantly violating for many years, meaning for the first time ever neither the Russian or Chinese nuclear arsenals are limited in size and scope in any way by treaty. We have heard warnings this may lead to "a new nuclear arms race" since. However, you can't have a nuclear arms race if only one side is actually "racing." The unfortunate reality is that America has already lost the nuclear arms race with the Sino-Russian military alliance. As Dr. Peter Pry stated last year, Russia has leapfrogged thirty years ahead of us in advanced nuclear warhead design and delivery system technology.²¹

²⁰ Hans M. Kristensen and Matt Korda, "United States Nuclear Forces, 2020." www.tandfonline.com (13 January 2020)

²¹ "Future Russian Strategic and Non-Strategic Forces", Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College (2019)

America has never faced a greater existential threat in its history than the Sino-Russian military alliance. During the Kennedy administration, there was much concern about a reported “nuclear missile gap” between the U.S. and Russia and a perceived need for the U.S. to build up to Russian levels. Today, Russia and China are close military allies and so we must assess the threats each nuclear superpower pose to the U.S. in aggregate. Over the past decade, the United States has allowed itself to be overtaken by the Sino-Russian Alliance in virtually every recognized measure of strategic military power.

Today, America is not just facing a nuclear missile gap--both quantitative and qualitative--given that most of our strategic delivery systems were developed half a century ago while most of Russia's and China's nuclear missiles are twenty years old or less. The U.S. is also facing a strategic and non-strategic nuclear warhead gap, a super-EMP weapon gap, a nuclear hypersonic missile and hypersonic glide vehicle gap, a national missile defense gap, an Anti-Satellite (ASAT) weapon gap, a cyberwarfare gap, and an Electromagnetic Pulse (EMP)/cyberattack critical infrastructure hardening gap all at the same time. America has also fallen behind the Sino-Russian alliance in terms of their combined economic and industrial manufacturing might, speed of production of advanced weapon systems without foreign components, artificial intelligence, drone swarms, quantum computers, space-based lasers, long range Radio Frequency jammers and long-range artillery and strike systems.²²

In addition, the U.S. has fallen far behind Russia and China in terms of civil defense and continuity of government preparations to survive and recover from a nuclear exchange. Over the past few decades, Russia has spent hundreds of billions of dollars to build a couple of gigantic nuclear warfighting command centers 3,000 feet underground at their Yamantau Mountain and Kosvinsky Mountain complexes likely capable of withstanding even direct nuclear hits, 1,500 leadership protection nuclear blast shelters and a deep underground subway network which would allow the Russian leadership to swiftly evacuate Moscow in the event of a nuclear crisis.²³ Russia also has sufficient underground blast shelters to protect at least forty percent of their population and have also stockpiled massive amounts of industrial supplies and raw materials with which to rebuild their country following a nuclear exchange. China has done much the same, building their so-called “Great Underground Wall” with 3,000 miles of tunnels to store strategic materials and hide

²² Jamie Seidel, “China and Russia Have Formed Axis of Power, NATO’s Top General Warns.” www.news.com.au (6 February 2021)

²³ Bill Gertz, “Russia Building New Underground Nuclear Command Posts,” 15 August 2016, www.freebeacon.com

hundreds of mobile nuclear ICBMs which they could deploy and use against us in a crisis.²⁴ China has also constructed a Joint Battle Command Centre 2,500 feet underground located 20 kilometers northwest of the central government's headquarters in Beijing where top Chinese political and military leaders would be assured to survive a nuclear World War Three.²⁵

The last time, U.S. leaders believed we had a nuclear missile gap, it received huge attention during the 1960 presidential debates and the U.S. pulled far ahead of the Soviets. This time around, no one seems to be even talking about it let alone doing anything to close the increasingly massive gap between US military and Sino-Russian military capabilities. North Korean dictator Kim Jong Il recently declared that North Korea is beginning a massive expansion of its nuclear missile forces as well.²⁶ The Islamic Republic of Iran has also likely developed nuclear weapons to place atop its Intermediate Range Nuclear Missiles (IRBMs) with ranges of up to 4,000 kilometers.²⁷

The People's Republic of China (PRC) now boasts the world's largest army, the largest navy (set to expand to 400 ships by 2025), the largest coast guard and the largest nuclear-capable missile arsenal by far with thousands of nuclear-capable ballistic, hypersonic, and supersonic cruise missiles including anti-ship missiles.²⁸ It also has an economy twenty percent larger than the U.S. with twice our manufacturing industrial base and the ability to produce advanced weapon systems five to six times faster according to Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Acquisition Maj. Gen. Cameron Holt.²⁹ While China claims to be spending only \$230 billion a year, which is the equivalent of 1.2% of its GDP on defense, the fact is it is likely spending at least \$1-1.2 trillion on its military buildup every year in PPP adjusted terms assuming it is spending at least 3.3% of its GDP on defense as the U.S. does. The Department of Defense estimated in 2017 that the Russian Federation was in the process of building up its own nuclear arsenal to total 8,000

²⁴ Bret Stephens, "How Many Nukes Does China Have?", 24 October 2011 www.wsjournal.com

²⁵ Stephen Chan, "Inside the Secret Command Bunker Where China's Top Leaders Will go to Survive Nuclear War," 8 January 2018, www.insider.com

²⁶ Brad Lendon & Gawon Bae, "Kim Jong Un calls for exponential increase in North Korea's nuclear arsenal amid threats from South, US," 2 January 2023, www.cnn.com

²⁷ R. James Woolsey, William R. Graham, Henry F. Cooper, Fritz Ermarth & Peter. Vincent Pry "Iran Probably Already Has the Bomb—Here's What to Do About It," 19 March 2021, www.nationalreview.com

²⁸ Brad Lendon, "Expert's warning to US Navy on China: Bigger fleet almost always wins" www.cnn.com, 17 January 2023

²⁹ Greg Norman, "Pentagon Official Warns that China is Acquiring New Weapons Five Times Faster than U.S.," 8 July 2022, www.foxnews.com

deployed warheads, which is over four and a half times more operational nuclear warheads than the U.S. possesses, a nuclear buildup which was likely completed before they invaded Ukraine.³⁰

U.S. intelligence has a history of underestimating the size of the Chinese nuclear arsenal by a factor of four. The latest 2022 China Military Power Report issued by the U.S. Department of Defense estimates that China has about 400 nuclear warheads, which is only 100 nuclear warheads less than US intelligence estimated they had in 1990, even though China has deployed five different intercontinental-range nuclear delivery systems and another five shorter-range nuclear delivery systems) since that time. Unlike the U.S. which has been very transparent about the size and force posture of its nuclear deterrent, Communist China has refused to disclose the true size of its nuclear arsenal following ancient Chinese military strategist Sun Tzu's writings that "all warfare is based on deception" and his advice to "feign weakness when you are strong." Also, unlike the U.S. nuclear arsenal which is bound in size by the New START Treaty to a maximum of 1,550 treaty countable strategic nuclear warheads on no more than 800 delivery systems, the Chinese have refused all attempts to limit the size of their nuclear arsenal by international agreement claiming their nuclear arsenal is far smaller than ours. Other Chinese nuclear analysts have recently assessed that China has likely overtaken us in terms of total nuclear warheads now that China's massive nuclear missile buildup is well underway.

Based on an analysis of information about their nuclear arsenal available from open sources, Communist China currently deploys somewhere between 5-6 times as many nuclear capable ballistic missiles than we have in 2021 before revelations of China's massive nuclear missile buildup became public. Rick Fischer, one of America's top experts on Chinese military power, has stated that a typical mobile DF-31 or DF-41 ICBM battery of China's Rocket Forces has one 'refire' missile per ready to fire missile which can be loaded into the launcher with a few hours which helps to explain why the U.S. Department of Defense seems to be seriously underestimating the size of China's strategic nuclear arsenal.³¹

In 2021, I assessed that China likely had largely achieved rough nuclear parity with the U.S. with somewhere between 744-1,494 strategic nuclear warheads on its ICBMs and SLBMs (including 'refire' DF-31 and DF-41 ICBMs) and was in the process of working to achieve nuclear superiority

³⁰ Mark Schneider, "The Terrifying Way Russia Would Start a Nuclear War," www.19fortyfive.com (29 April 2021)

³¹ Rick Fisher, "Chinese Government Website Confirms New Multi-Warhead ICBM," 1 August 2014, www.freebeacon.com

over the U.S. At that point, the Chinese PLA Rocket Force was estimated to possess 140-220 ICBMs and 78 Sea Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs). They also field an additional 1,000 Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles (IRBMs), 400 Medium-Range Ballistic Missiles (MRBMs) and 2,050 Short-Range Ballistic Missiles (SRBMs) all of which can mount nuclear warheads with 100 of the DF-21 IRBMs capable of carrying Multiple Independent Re-entry Vehicles (MIRVs). Both DF-21 IRBMs with a range of 1,500 kilometers and DF-26 IRBMs with a range of 4,000 kilometers can be utilized as Anti-Ship Ballistic Missiles (ASBMs) with the DF-21D being fitted with maneuverable warheads that are guided by terminal seekers traveling at hypersonic speeds.³² These numbers do not include Chinese ballistic missiles that are believed to be non-nuclear capable. They also have at least 500 nuclear-capable cruise missiles. Thus, the total number of nuclear-capable ballistic missiles currently deployed by China is approximately 3,700. This estimate does not include China's 500 nuclear capable cruise missiles, nuclear hypersonic missiles for which we have no reliable numerical estimates or their newly deployed DF-41 ICBMs.

The fact that based on open-source information we know China has deployed at least 4,170 nuclear-capable missiles yet the U.S. Department of Defense has assessed that China only has a nuclear stockpile of about 400 nuclear warheads, counting their newly deployed DF-41 ICBMs and hypersonic missiles, strains all credulity. Why would the Communist regime in Beijing, which first developed nuclear weapons nearly six decades ago, choose to deploy thousands of nuclear-capable ballistic, hypersonic, and supersonic cruise missiles while only building enough nuclear warheads for 9-10% of them? The answer of course is that, in all probability, they have built and deployed far more nuclear warheads than the Department of Defense has assessed. Given that we know that at least 300 of the PLA Rocket Force's nuclear missiles can carry Multiple Individual Re-entry Vehicles (MIRV's) with at least 6-10 warheads each, the DoD's estimates seem especially low.

In 2020, Dr. Peter Pry wrote an article entitled "The Real Nuclear Balance" in which he stated:

Former senior DoD official, Dr. Mark Schneider, debunks the almost certainly erroneous DoD estimate and exposes DoD's history of underestimating China in a recent article. In 2012, Russian General Viktor Yesin, former commander of Russia's Strategic Rocket Forces, estimated China had enough fissile material for 3,600 nuclear warheads and had built 1,600-1,800. That same year, Russian

³² Felix K. Chang, "China's Anti-Ship Ballistic Missile Capability in the South China Sea," 24 May 2021, www.fpri.org

*General Vladimir Dvorkin also estimated China had 1,600 nuclear weapons. A three-year study by former DoD analyst Phillip Karber assesses China could be hiding up to 3,000 nuclear warheads, including mobile missiles, in their Underground Great Wall.” How can China have only 200 weapons when they have deployed 32 DF-41 ICBMs capable of delivering up to 10-12 MIRVed warheads, which would give Beijing 320-384 warheads on the DF-41 ICBM alone? China’s “Underground Great Wall” comprising 5,000 kilometers of tunnels belonging to the PRC’s Strategic Rocket Forces could conceal hundreds of mobile ICBMs.*³³

Russia has deployed six strategic nuclear “superweapon” systems of a type the United States does not even possess, most of which are not limited by any existing arms control treaty.³⁴ Russia is building four nuclear submarines capable of carrying six *Poseidon* nuclear-powered Unmanned Underwater Vehicles (UUVs) that reportedly carry 100 Megaton (MT) warheads and travel at up to 200 knots.³⁵ The first of these, K-329 *Belgorod*, a huge submarine the size of a World War One-era *South Carolina*-class battleship, has reportedly been deployed for combat patrols in the Atlantic Ocean with a full complement of *Poseidon* nuclear UUVs giving it roughly the same explosive power than the entire U.S. nuclear arsenal combined.³⁶ The reported purpose of these fearsome weapons, which are the size of a school bus, is to destroy the U.S. Atlantic seaboard and kill tens of millions of Americans with a massive tsunami but if that were the case, they wouldn’t need to build twenty-four of them. Dr. Peter Pry assessed that their real purpose is likely to stealthily trail U.S. nuclear missile submarines from their home ports in King’s Bay, Georgia and Bangor, Washington, then destroy them with their estimated 50 kilometer kill radius, potentially without being detected and without warning.

Ominously, on March 28, 2023, President Vladimir Putin announced Russia would deploy Russian nuclear submarines carrying *Poseidon* underwater nuclear drones, either the *Belgorod* or the recently commissioned Russian nuclear submarine *Khabarovsk*, to the Pacific Ocean as well.³⁷ Just three days earlier, Putin announced plans to permanently station tactical nuclear weapons in Belarus which borders on Poland and Lithuania which are NATO members for the first time since the mid-1990’s.³⁸ With *Poseidon* equipped submarines in both the Atlantic and Pacific, Russia

³³ Peter V. Pry, “The Real Nuclear Balance 2, December 2020, “The Real Nuclear Balance”

³⁴ Mark B. Schneider, “Putin’s Nuclear Superweapons.” www.realcleardefense.com (7 May 2018)

³⁵ IBID

³⁶ Kyle Mizokami, “Russia Has Built Its First Batch of Terrifying Apocalypse Torpedoes”, www.popularmechanics.com, 17 January 2023

³⁷ Connor Surmonte, “Putin Vows to Position Nuclear Super Torpedo Submarines in Pacific Ocean by End of the Year,” 28 March 2023, www.abcnews.go.com

³⁸ Putin says Russia will station tactical nukes in Belarus,” 25 March 2023, www.abcnews.go.com

would only need six Poseidon's to enable them to destroy our entire submarine leg of our nuclear triad, one for each of the four US nuclear submarines deployed at sea and one each of our submarine bases, plus another three nuclear warheads to take out our nuclear bomber bases leaving only 400 ICBM silos.

To put it more succinctly, with Poseidon nuclear missile submarines in both the Atlantic and Pacific, Russia could potentially destroy nearly three-quarters of our strategic nuclear arsenal with only nine warheads. Russia could also launch hundreds of intercontinental ballistic missiles to take out an estimated 90% of our ICBMs in their silos in a nuclear first strike, given the U.S. policy of 'launch on impact.' That would likely succeed in destroying 97.6% of the US nuclear arsenal leaving us with a nuclear retaliatory strike consisting of a mere forty warheads. With their massive national missile defense system of 10,000 plus ABM's, they could easily shoot down such a meager U.S. nuclear retaliatory first strike. If these deployments are combined with the planned deployment of fifty *Sarmat* super-heavy ICBM's detailed below, all the pieces will be in place for the Russian Federation to execute a nuclear first strike against the U.S. by year's end with minimal risk to itself.

In February 2022, Russian President Vladimir Putin threatened to use a *Zircon* nuclear hypersonic missile launched from a Russian submarine 200 miles from Washington, DC to destroy it in a nuclear decapitation attack with only 4-5 minutes warning before Biden could get on Air Force One. Even if the President gave the nuclear retaliatory launch order within that short window, it would take five minutes for our Minuteman III ICBMs to be retargeted and it would take our Trident II SLBMs fifteen minutes to retarget from their normal launch coordinates of open oceans as a safeguard against an accidental launch before they could be fired. With its 2,000-kilometer range, if launched from a Russian submarine in the Gulf of Mexico it could be used to execute a super-EMP attack on the entire U.S. with only ten minutes warning. It is currently operational and reportedly is being mass produced and deployed on Russian Navy surface ships and submarines.

The Russians also are developing the *Skyfall* hypersonic nuclear-powered cruise missile with unlimited range and global reach and would allow attack from unexpected directions at low altitude evading U.S. early warning systems and missile defenses, but it is not yet operational.³⁹ They also have the *Kinzhal* hypersonic ALBM, which are launched from MIG-31K fighters that are the fastest fighter aircraft in the world. They have a speed of Mach 10 and can change course

³⁹ Mark B. Schneider, "Putin's Nuclear Superweapons." www.realcleardefense.com (7 May 2018)

mid-flight to evade missile defenses.⁴⁰ Conventionally armed versions have been used during the war in Ukraine. China has deployed similar ALBMs on its H-6 nuclear bombers which it can use to attack the U.S.⁴¹

Russia's *Avanguard* nuclear hypersonic boost glide vehicle would also be difficult for U.S. early warning systems to spot and missile defenses to shoot down, traveling up to Mach 20. It is currently operational. It likely also has a Fractional Orbital Bombardment System (FOBS) capability to enter low earth orbit before striking their targets from any direction enabling them to evade U.S. early warning systems & missile defenses. The Soviet Union first deployed nuclear missiles in orbit in the late 1960s in violation of the Outer Space Treaty but was believed to have withdrawn them before the end of the First Cold War.⁴² China has a similar nuclear hypersonic boost glide vehicle which was tested in 2021 demonstrating an ability to attack the U.S. from orbit with little to no warning.⁴³

Russia's *Sarmat* 'super heavy' Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM) is reportedly capable of carrying twenty-four *Avanguard* hypersonic boost glide vehicles or up to fifty lower-yield 90 kiloton nuclear warheads with its massive 20,000-pound payload v. only one warhead carried by U.S. Minuteman III ICBM.⁴⁴ Russia plans to build 120-200 of them with thousands of new warheads beginning with the first 50 *Sarmat* ICBMs which were supposed to be deployed in late 2022 but have not been yet due to test failures. Unfortunately, the U.S. has no equivalent weapons to any of these Russian and Chinese nuclear superweapons and currently has no plans to develop them with little to no ability to defend against them.

Former Defense Intelligence Agency intelligence officer Rebekah Koffler, author of "Putin's Playbook—Russia's Secret Plan to Defeat America" has stated, Putin believes war with the United States is "unavoidable."⁴⁵ In August 2021, Koffler wrote in an op-ed for The Hill that,

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Braxton Brick Eisel, "The FOBS of War", 1 June 2005, www.airandspaceforces.com

⁴³ "China's hypersonic missile test 'close to Sputnik moment', says US general," 28 October 2021, www.theguardian.com

⁴⁴ "RS-28 *Sarmat* Intercontinental Ballistic Missile", www.military-today.com

⁴⁵ Rebekah Koffler, "Putin's flying nuclear command center presents a Doomsday scenario indeed," 4 August 2021, www.thehill.com

Moscow is prepared to fight a nuclear war over its perceived sphere of influence, on which Russia has relied for centuries as its strategic security perimeter... The Kremlin envisions fighting a limited nuclear war with Washington, over contested areas such as Ukraine and Crimea, the latter of which Russia illegally annexed in 2014... Moscow also has conducted mock nuclear attacks on the U.S. homeland. The Russians regularly practice nuclear launches in simulation exercises, with Putin “pressing the button.” ... There is no question that Russia is preparing for a nuclear conflict with the United States and NATO. The only question is whether this conflict can be deterred or fought. ⁴⁶

Meanwhile, U.S. satellite imagery has revealed that China is in the process of rapidly expanding its strategic nuclear arsenal by up to 3,600 warheads--a number of nuclear warheads up to twenty times greater than recent U.S. Department of Defense estimates of the size of their entire nuclear arsenal. ⁴⁷ In 2021, Peter Huessy published an op-ed in the *National Interest* that “U.S. satellites have discovered some 350-400 new Chinese missile silos, each laid out in a grid pattern some three kilometers apart. ⁴⁸ These new intercontinental ballistic-missile ‘launchers’ are designed to hold the DF-41 missile.”

The DF-41 is a ten-warhead missile...Added up, the Chinese potential sprint to nuclear superiority may indeed be materializing, a possible four-thousand warhead build that would be 266 percent of the total deployed warheads currently in the U.S. nuclear arsenal. More worrisome, China’s future nuclear force could be 400 percent of today’s U.S. alert nuclear forces. ... Alongside China, America’s two nuclear-armed enemies would have combined strategic nuclear warheads some 600 percent greater than the United States. If compared by the number of nuclear weapons that are on alert on a day-to-day basis, the imbalance reaches on the order of 1,000 percent. ⁴⁹

Huessy estimates that Russia and China could field a combined force of 9,000 deployed strategic nuclear warheads within the next few years, 7,200 of which will be on alert and ready to fire at any given time. ⁵⁰ Based on the time it took the United States to build its own missile silos during the Cold War, China could complete the construction of what is estimated to be 350-400 DF-41 intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) silos soon. Admiral Charles Richard, then serving as the commander of U.S. Strategic Command, stated that, given the rapid pace of their construction, they would be substantially completed by early 2024, an assertion which a

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Peter Huessy, “Entangled America: Why Another International Nuclear Arms Race Has Begun,” 22 August 2021, www.nationalinterest.org

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

new Pentagon report appears to support in assessing that China now has more ICBM launchers than the U.S.⁵¹ China is also reportedly planning four new Type 096 nuclear missile submarines armed with the JL-96 SLBM by the end of the decade. In August 2021, Admiral Richard, said that America was “witnessing a strategic breakout by China.” “The explosive growth in their nuclear and conventional forces can only be what I described as breathtaking. ... Frankly, that word ‘breathtaking’ may not be enough,” he said. Richard characterized China as a “peer” nuclear competitor and noted that we now face two nuclear “peer” competitors, Russia and China, compared to one during the Cold War.⁵² Air Force Gen. John Hyten, the vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, confirmed Richard’s assessment.

*It is going to take us 10 to 15 years to modernize 400 (U.S.) silos that already exist...And China is basically building almost that many overnight. So the speed of difference in that threat is what really concerns me most...Why are they building that enormous, enormous nuclear capability faster than anybody in the world?...It’s the almost unprecedented nuclear modernization...They could put, you know, ten reentry vehicles on every one of those ICBMs if they wanted to; There’s nothing to limit that ability.*⁵³

Despite these alarming developments, the U.S. government currently has no plans to increase the size of the U.S. nuclear arsenal, let alone restore “rough nuclear parity” with Russia and China along with our ability to credibly deter a nuclear/cyber/EMP attack on the U.S. homeland. The Sino-Russian alliance is on the verge of obtaining the same level of nuclear supremacy over us as the U.S. enjoyed over the Soviet Union during the early stages of the Cold War up to and including the early 1960’s with 5-6 times more strategic nuclear warheads, 30-35 more non-strategic nuclear warheads than we have an up to ten times as many ready to fire/on alert strategic nuclear warheads which could be utilized in a crisis. In the case of Russian nuclear superweapons and Russian, Chinese, and North Korean nuclear hypersonic missiles and glide vehicles which can bombard the U.S. from orbit and super EMP weapons, the U.S. has no plans to develop any of those weapons to deter their potential use more effectively against us making it very difficult to deter their use in a potential nuclear first strike against the United States. As a result of the growing disparity between Sino-Russian unconventional warfare capabilities and those of the United

⁵¹ “China Now Has More ICBM Launchers than the United States” www.thedrive.com 8 February 2023

⁵² Mark B. Schneider, “The Chinese Nuclear Breakout and the Biden Administration’s Nuclear Posture Review”, www.realcleardefense.com, 28 August 2021

⁵³ Ibid.

States, the chances of an unconventional nuclear/EMP/cyberattack on the U.S. homeland have, arguably, never been greater.

Russia's and China's achievement of nuclear supremacy over the U.S. could be calamitous. John Mearsheimer writes in his book "The Tragedy of Great Power Politics: "In the unlikely event that one state gained nuclear superiority over all of its rivals, it would be so powerful that it would be the only great power in the system. The balance of conventional forces would be largely irrelevant if a nuclear hegemon were to emerge." The combined nuclear arsenal of Russia and China is already estimated to constitute approximately three times as many deployed strategic nuclear warheads as the United States. If the Sino-Russian alliance achieved anywhere near the 600 percent greater level that Huessy predicted, then America's two nuclear superpower adversaries would be the only remaining nuclear hegemons. The relative size of America's conventional military would make no difference to deterring their aggression. America's leaders must act quickly to prevent this from happening.

The Increasing Risk of a ‘Two-Front’ War with Russia and China

The existential threat to U.S. national security posed by the breathtaking advances by China and Russia in expanding the size of their nuclear arsenals to a level far more than the size of the current operational U.S. strategic nuclear arsenal is daunting to say the least. The more that Russia’s and China’s superiority over the United States in terms of nuclear and other unconventional weapons such as super-Electromagnetic Pulse (EMP) and cyberweapons, as well as in terms of overall nuclear war survivability, continues to increase, the more confident they will be to engage in increasingly brazen international aggression abroad.

We have already seen examples of this with Russia’s invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, China’s occupation of disputed islands in the South China Sea over the last several years, and what appears to be an increasingly imminent Chinese invasion of Taiwan which Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Michael Gilday said he could not rule out could occur later this year.⁵⁴ More disturbingly, Russia’s achievement of nuclear supremacy over the United States could potentially enable it to coerce or blackmail U.S. leaders to do its bidding and unilaterally disarm or, far worse, launch a catastrophic attack on the U.S. homeland with a comparatively low risk of effective U.S. military retaliation. Such an attack would essentially have the effect of erasing the United States from the geopolitical map much as the Allies did to Germany from 1945-1949.

The commander of U.S. Strategic Command, Admiral Charles Richard, testified to Congress in April 2021 that the United States might well face a two-front or even a three-front war if Russia were to invade Ukraine and/or other Eastern Europe nations, China were to attack Taiwan, and North Korea were to attack South Korea simultaneously and in coordination with one another.⁵⁵ Adm. Richard testified that the United States currently has no contingency plans for how to confront two allied nuclear superpowers in a future war.⁵⁶ Thus, the ability of the United States and its allies to survive, let alone win, a war fought with such powerful, unconventional weapons against our enemies remains very much in doubt.

⁵⁴ Valerie Insinna, “Navy Leader ‘Can’t Rule Out’ Chinese Invasion of Taiwan Even Earlier than 2027”, 19 October 2022, www.breakingdefense.com

⁵⁵ “U.S. Armed Services Hearings on U.S. Strategic Command and U.S. Space Command.” www.senate.gov (20 April 2021)

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

In a recent article in the *National Interest*, former Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs A. Wess Mitchell expanded upon this increasing danger warning that:

*The greatest risk facing the twenty-first-century United States, short of an outright nuclear attack, is a two-front war involving its strongest military rivals, China and Russia. Such a conflict would entail a scale of national effort and risk unseen in generations, effectively pitting America against the resources of nearly half of the Eurasian landmass. It would stretch and likely exceed the current capabilities of the U.S. military, requiring great sacrifices of the American people with far-reaching consequences for U.S. influence, alliances, and prosperity. Should it escalate into a nuclear confrontation, it could possibly even imperil the country's very existence. **Given these high stakes, avoiding a two-front war with China and Russia must rank among the foremost objectives of contemporary U.S. grand strategy** [emphasis added]. Yet the United States has been slow to comprehend this danger, let alone the implications it holds for U.S. policy...A debate has erupted among defense intellectuals about how to handle a second-front contingency...There has been much less discussion of how, if at all, U.S. diplomacy should evolve to avert two-front war. In the current budgetary environment, though, the most likely outcome could well be the worst of all worlds—namely, that America will continue to try to overawe all threats...while reducing real defense spending. Such an approach keeps U.S. power thinly spread...This creates an ideal setting for an increasingly aligned Russia and China to conduct repeated stress tests of U.S. resolve in their respective neighborhoods and, when conditions are ripe, make synchronous grabs for, say, Taiwan and a Baltic state.*⁵⁷

U.S. concerns about the risks of fighting a coming war with Russia and China are well-grounded, given it is unprepared to fight even a purely conventional war with them. In 2019, former U.S. deputy secretary of defense Robert Work, and David Ochmanek, one of the Defense Department's key defense planners, offered a public summary of the results from a series of classified recent war games. Ochmanek summarized the results of the wargames by stating: "When we fight Russia and China, 'blue' [the United States] gets its [butt] handed to it." As *The New York Times* summarized, "In 18 of the last 18 Pentagon war games involving China in the Taiwan Strait, the U.S. lost."⁵⁸ According to former National Security Advisor John Bolton, former President Donald Trump told him that because Taiwan was 100 miles from China and 8,000 miles from the U.S. if China invaded there is nothing we could do to stop them.⁵⁹ In March 2023, House Republicans hosted a wargame that simulated a US war with China over Taiwan and the wargame showed that the U.S. would likely run out of long-range munitions after only

⁵⁷ A. Wess Mitchell, "A Strategy for Avoiding Two Front War" 21 August 2021, www.nationalinterest.org,

⁵⁸ Nicholas Kristof, "This is How a War with China Begins", 4 September 2019, www.nytimes.com

⁵⁹ John Bolton, "The Room Where It Happened: A White House Memoir," 2020

one day of a high-intensity conflict.⁶⁰ Even if China opted not to escalate to the nuclear level and only employ massive space and cyberattacks to defeat the U.S. in a war over Taiwan, Dr. Peter Pry revealed the Chinese have developed non-nuclear EMP hypersonic missiles which they could use to strike US airbases, knock our aircraft squadrons out of the sky and disable U.S. aircraft carrier battle groups, thus ensuring we are unable to defend Taiwan from a Chinese invasion.⁶¹

There is another massive U.S. vulnerability that America's adversaries are planning on exploiting. Russia has mass produced its *Kalibr* supersonic cruise missiles, which can be hidden in normal size shipping containers and deployed on its freighters in port or at sea to transform commercial vessels and attack the U.S. and its allies with nuclear or super-EMP weapons with minimal warning. U.S. customs only checks one percent of containers coming into U.S., so this represents a colossal security risk. China could also have biological weapons on their container ships. Russian *Kalibr* missiles could use EMP or super EMP satellites to disable U.S. military forces and potentially kill tens of millions of Americans. According to a report by Dr. Pry published in 2018, Russia has sold these missiles to the Islamic Republic of Iran which could employ them in similar fashion. A Russian journal has claimed that Russia could use these missiles to sink the entire US fleet docked in ports across the U.S. Europe and the Middle East in a surprise attack given that only about one-third of US Navy ships are deployed at sea in peacetime unless they are on high alert.⁶²

Furthermore, Russia has helped China produce a copy of the *Kalibr* cruise missile which also uses a missile launcher disguised as a shipping container called the YJ-18C with up to four missiles per container. With China's container ship fleet which is the largest in the world and hundreds of its ships pre-positioned in U.S. and western ports, it could use these missiles to engage in surprise attacks against us and if the missiles were launched from port, we might not even know which country attacked us and who to retaliate against. Rick Fischer, a renowned US expert on nuclear and naval forces has warned that China could store these missiles in the port of Seattle to use to detonate EMP warheads over our nuclear missile submarine bases to potentially disable the five US nuclear missile submarines at Bangor, Washington thus taking out over one-third of our sea-launched nuclear triad in a single blow. Retired Navy Capt. Jim Fanell, a former Pacific Fleet

⁶⁰ "Republicans Get a Taiwan War Game Education", 22 March 2023, www.wsj.com

⁶¹ Bill Gertz, "China Hypersonic EMP Threat, 24 June 2020, www.washtimes.com

⁶² Mary Fanning & Alan Jones, "Russia's Pearl Harbor 2--Asymmetric War Plans, Gulfstream, Club K and EMP", 24 October 2018, www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org

intelligence chief, confirmed that a containerized YJ-18 anti-ship cruise missile would add a significant threat to the Navy given the volume of Chinese container ships that enter U.S. ports on the west and east coast, well within range of the vast majority of the U.S. Navy's fleet.⁶³

The U.S. has seen a 900% increase in monthly crossings by Chinese illegal invaders over the few months, all of whom are military-age men unsurprisingly.⁶⁴ Renowned China expert, Gordon Chang, recently warned that most of the thousands of Chinese nationals crossing our southern border are likely People's Liberation Army (PLA) special operations forces tasked with conducting sabotage operations and perhaps even biological warfare attacks in the event war breaks out. These PLA special purpose forces could pick up their weapons on Chinese container ships to do maximum damage perhaps even against US nuclear missile submarines in port as I envisioned in my never published 2004 book *"Red Star Rising Over America"* which I co-wrote with late Pulitzer Prize winning novelist Robert Skimin. Combined with pre-positioned Russian suitcase nukes which many US intelligence analysts believe Russia could have deployed or might yet deploy to Washington D.C. and near U.S. military targets to use in the event of war and Russian and Chinese supersonic cruise missiles hidden in containers in port and on their commercial vessels, such attacks could be devastating.⁶⁵ In addition, it is possible that tens of thousands of Chinese immigrants working here legally may pose as great or a greater threat as many if not most are likely Chinese PLA vets that can be activated in the event of war.

Many U.S. policymakers and national security experts speak flippantly about conducting air and missile strikes against Russian and Chinese bomber, missile and naval bases ignoring the fact that they are all nuclear capable, in the belief that Russian and Chinese leaders would not dare escalate to the nuclear level because of the Western belief that nuclear wars cannot be fought or won. However, as Dr. Peter Pry has pointed out, this misconception ignores historical precedent given that the U.S. fought and won a nuclear war against Imperial Japan nearly eight decades ago and is

⁶³ Bill Gertz. "China Building Long-Range Cruise Missile Launched from Ship Container," March 27, 2019, www.freebeacon.com

⁶⁴ Anders Hagstrom, "Chinese Illegal Immigrants are Crossing Into US in Unprecedented Numbers," March 30, 2023, www.foxnews.com

⁶⁵ "KGB Official Says Soviets Hid Nukes in U.S.; Weldon Demands Inquiry," Inside the Pentagon, October 28, 1999

a belief not shared by Russian and Chinese leaders who have spent the last several decades preparing to fight and win a nuclear war against the United States.

While many U.S. leaders have been keen to defend every nation threatened by Russian and Chinese aggression—including those thousands of miles away on their borders, such as Taiwan and especially the war in Ukraine, where our enemies enjoy overwhelming theater military superiority—they need to adopt a more realistic assessment of the chances of the United States prevailing in such a conflict. In an article for War on the Rocks, Edward Geist, a policy researcher at the RAND Corporation, notes that in November 2018, the National Defense Strategy Commission found that “If the United States had to fight Russia in a Baltic contingency or China in a war over Taiwan ... Americans could face a decisive military defeat ... Put bluntly, the U.S. military could lose the next state-versus-state war it fights.”⁶⁶ He surmises that:

*These findings suggest that, in a pitched battle with a near-peer adversary such as China, American forces may be defeated even if its commanders don't make any mistakes...If defeat is to be prevented, U.S. strategy and planning may need to think about all the different forms defeat might take so as to be ready for alternative kinds of conflicts and concepts of operations ... In the present, when near-peer adversaries are increasingly capable of defeating U.S. conventional forces on a theater level, U.S. decision-makers can no longer afford to pretend that defeat is not a real possibility. **And, so long as policymakers do not take losing seriously, they are unlikely to take the difficult steps needed to prevent such a defeat [emphasis added]** ... Unfortunately, U.S. strategy has not planned seriously for protracted near-peer conflict since the early Cold War... It is much more unpleasant to envision losing than winning — but this does nothing to change the fact that defeat is an increasingly plausible possibility in a war with Russia or China...An essential first step could be to start taking the prospect of protracted near-peer conflict seriously. Whether or not U.S. policymakers want such a conflict, one may be imposed upon them — and at present, America is woefully underprepared for it.⁶⁷*

While U.S. policymakers are right to focus in recent years on the threat of great power wars with Russia and China, it is imperative that U.S. leaders recognize the increasing prospects of defeat in such conflicts so that they can better determine whether fighting losing wars against America's nuclear superpower enemies and risking the lives of tens of millions of Americans and our nation's very existence best serves U.S. national security interests. Furthermore, U.S. policymakers made

⁶⁶ Edward Geist, “Defeat is Possible”, 17 February 2021, www.warontherocks.com

⁶⁷ Ibid.

a strategic mistake in expanding NATO into eastern Europe in the late 1990s and subsequently into the former Soviet republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania as the United States and its allies do not have sufficient military capability to defend its Eastern European members against potential Russian aggression. Last month, Stephen Philip Kramer, a Global Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, expounded upon NATO's inability to credibly defend its frontline NATO members from Russian aggression.

Putin has allied Russia to China, defying the basic rules of geopolitics. But Russia and Putin—including his supporters—cannot be ignored; Russia remains a threat because of its vast ... nuclear arsenal and its newly acquired skills at projecting its limited power in clever and unpredictable ways. It is also important to recognize that if Putin's regime feels seriously threatened, that there are few limits to what it might do to retain power... Almost every assessment of NATO's ability to deploy and defend against a major Russian incursion into the Baltics comes to the stark conclusion that our current capabilities are not adequate; the alliance would be presented with a fait accompli before it could emplace traditional defensive forces to meet the obligations of Article V of the NATO charter...It is easy to answer the question of whether Europe can defend itself against a determined Russian invasion of the Baltics or other NATO allies in eastern Europe—the answer is no. As noted above, geography and the current correlation of military power favor a successful attack. The cost of mounting a counterattack to reclaim and secure the territory would be tremendous for all concerned—and catastrophic for the nations and people in the areas where kinetic warfare would actually occur. Beyond that, the destruction of infrastructure and other enabling capabilities—obvious targets in such a war—would have massive impacts on both sides. This is all without including the possibility of nuclear escalation. Even the limited use of tactical nuclear weapons would have devastating consequences. ⁶⁸

Most of Central and Eastern Europe, let alone the former Soviet republic of Ukraine, was not considered a vital national security interest of the United States during World War Two, when President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and British prime minister Winston Churchill ceded it to the Soviets at Yalta, or during the Cold War when U.S. leaders refused opportunities to intervene militarily to defend Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 from Soviet invasion. Nor is it today. Therefore, the United States should apply a cost-benefit analysis to consider whether the risks, in terms of a potentially catastrophic war with Russia, of maintaining its security commitments to the nations of Eastern Europe outweigh the benefits.

⁶⁸ Steven Phillip Kramer & George Topic, "Going It Alone: European Security after Trump," 22 August 2021, www.nationalinterest.org

On April 4th on the 74th anniversary of the founding of the NATO alliance, Finland was formally admitted as a NATO member more than doubling the length of NATO's border with Russia. The Russian Foreign Ministry responded by stating that, as part of Putin's announcement that Russia was expanding the size of its active-duty military forces to 1.5 million servicemembers, it was in the process of forming twelve new army divisions and brigades to deploy along its border with Finland while it has deployed its nuclear bombers within striking range of Finnish territory.⁶⁹ As previously discussed, the U.S. should not be increasing the number of its security commitments but rather it should reduce them to only cover its vital national security interests to better ensure it has the military capability to defend them.

Meanwhile, in July 2021, an official Chinese Communist Party video channel with close ties to the People's Liberation Army posted a propaganda video in which it threatened: "When we liberate Taiwan, if Japan dares to intervene by force, even if it deploys only one soldier, one plane and one ship ... we will use nuclear bombs first. We will use nuclear bombs continuously until Japan declares unconditional surrender for the second time ... We'll join forces with Russia and North Korea. Three arrows (countries) shoot together to hit the Japanese mainland thoroughly and in full depth."⁷⁰ This Chinese government threat against Japan may have also been issued as a not-so-subtle warning to U.S. leaders as China would likely respond much the same way in a coordinated attack against the U.S. homeland with their Russian and North Korean allies if U.S. leaders threatened to intervene militarily in a war over Taiwan.

Rather than pursue policies designed to weaken the Sino-Russian military alliance and increase fissures between Russia and China while focusing on the defense of our vital interests, U.S. national security policy continues to focus on the defense of virtually every country in Eastern Europe as well as several countries in East Asia, including countries with which the United States has no security commitments. Instead, the United States has engaged in several unnecessarily provocative actions with regards to Russia and China over the past few years which has caused them to ally more closely together against us, greatly increasing the risk that

⁶⁹ Anne Kauranen, "Finland joins NATO in historic shift, Russia threatens 'counter-measures'", April 4, 2023, www.reuters.com

⁷⁰ Jamie Seidel, "China threatens to nuke Japan if country intervenes in Taiwan conflict", 19 July 2021, www.news.com.au

the United States will face a simultaneous two-front war with Russia in Europe and with China in the South China Sea.

The United States frequently sends U.S. Navy flotillas to contest Russian dominance of the Baltic and Black Seas and has sent a carrier battle group to the South China Sea for naval exercises at the same time the PLA Navy was conducting major naval exercises led by the Chinese aircraft carrier *Liaoning* in the South China Sea near Taiwan.⁷¹ Since the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, the U.S. has deployed tens of thousands of troops into the former Soviet republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and has relocated the headquarters of the US Army V Corps to Poznan, Poland with a permanent army garrison located there while also stationing troops in Romania including one brigade of the 101st Airborne Division within a few miles of the Ukrainian government.⁷² They have also inserted U.S. ground forces into Syria, a Russian-proxy state, where Russian military vehicles [collided with US military vehicles](#) back in 2020 as they passed by each other.

Of course, the most provocative actions the U.S. has taken has been its ongoing, ever-escalating proxy war against Russia in Ukraine. If the United States continues its high-risk policy of military brinkmanship with Russia and China, the outcome, however unthinkable, might be an Armageddon that results in the end of our nation. Will hundreds of millions of Americans have to die in an unnecessary Third World War because U.S. leaders refuse to negotiate an end to the border dispute between Ukraine and Russia over who controls a small percentage of Ukraine's internationally recognized territory the size of Lithuania and with China over Taiwan, a small island a little larger than Moldova? Rather than attempting to challenge and contain Russia and China along their borders and coastal seas, the United States should pursue some limited accommodations of their vital interests either by diplomacy or unilateral actions.

⁷¹ Brad Lendon, "US and China deploy aircraft carriers in South China Sea as tensions simmer" 10 April 2020, www.cnn.com

⁷² "New permanent US Army HQ launched in Poland," 21 March 2023, Polskieradio.pl

Important Measures U.S. Must Implement to Ensure Our Survival

America has never been so weak relative to its great power adversaries. While most Americans continue to operate under the illusion that the U.S. remains the strongest military superpower and that their elected officials are keeping them safe, the reality is very different as U.S. leaders have engaged in an unprecedented dereliction of duty in leaving U.S. citizens largely defenseless against the existential threats of nuclear missile, super EMP and massive cyberattack. At the same time, they have disarmed the U.S. of most of its strategic nuclear deterrent which kept the nuclear great power peace for the past nearly eight decades. During the Cold War with the Soviet Union, only the most hard-core anti-nuclear advocates supported a “nuclear freeze”. Today, it is America’s supposed most ardent national security hawks who champion a nuclear freeze, even supporting a nuclear modernization program which will serve to substantially decrease the capabilities of our strategic nuclear triad, with Columbia-class nuclear missile submarines that carry far less warheads than our current Ohio-class submarine. This at a time when America’s nuclear adversaries continue their massive strategic nuclear buildups far outpacing the size and power of America’s nuclear arsenal.

Dr. Pry explains why it is that virtually all U.S. policymakers continue to delude themselves into believing that the U.S. retains rough nuclear parity with Russia and therefore seem completely uninterested in increasing the size of the US strategic nuclear arsenal to close the increasingly massive gap between the size of the US nuclear arsenal and the size of Russia’s nuclear arsenal:

The press, both liberal and conservative press, and many equally uninformed Washington officials think of the nuclear balance as the "nuclear stockpile" as estimated by the anti-nuclear Federation of American Scientists (FAS). According to FAS nuclear stockpile estimates, the U.S. has 5,800 weapons, Russia has 6,370 weapons, China has 320 weapons, and North Korea has 35. An enormous problem with measuring the nuclear balance by the “nuclear stockpiles” is that this includes thousands of U.S. weapons (over 4,300) that are not operational, are warehoused and retired, are awaiting dismantlement, have been cannibalized for spare parts, and would require months or years to be made operational, if possible at all. By counting non-operational U.S. weapons, the anti-nuclear FAS can greatly inflate U.S. nuclear strength relative to adversaries and inflate the global total of nuclear bombs FAS wants to ban. Moreover, Russia, China, and North Korea’s “nuclear

stockpiles” are unknown to the U.S. Government and to FAS. Credible estimates vary greatly, sometimes by tenfold. ⁷³

Currently, the Federation of American Scientists claim the U.S. nuclear arsenal to consist of a total of 5,428 nuclear warheads. However, only 1,665 of them are operationally deployed including 214 mounted on ALCM's, which Gen. Hyten has stated are unreliable and are so old they may not even work and are vulnerable to a nuclear first strike on our two nuclear bomber bases and 150 of which are B-61 gravity bombs, 400 are on our ICBMs and 901 are mounted on our SLBMs. The U.S. also has 2,050 partially dismantled nuclear warheads in storage, which would take an estimated 6-24 months to return to operational service, and over 1,700 plutonium pits which cannot be returned to active service but can be used to build brand new warheads. Republicans in Congress rely on these numbers as well as U.S. intel estimates that China's nuclear forces will be no more than 1,500 nukes by 2035 to assume that the U.S. nuclear deterrent remains sufficiently large to deter Sino-Russian nuclear attack which is no longer the case.

⁷³ Peter V. Pry, “The Real Nuclear Balance 2, December 2020, “The Real Nuclear Balance”

The following table should prove helpful in understanding the actual status of the U.S. nuclear arsenal:

Current Status of the U.S. Nuclear Arsenal

Types of Warheads	Current US Nuclear Triad
Operationally Deployed Strategic Nuclear Warheads (ICBM/SLBM/ALCM)	1,515
Tactical Nuclear Warheads (B-61 gravity bombs)	150
Partially Dismantled Reserve Strategic Warheads	2,000
Partially Dismantled Reserve Tactical Warheads	50
Fully Dismantled Warheads (plutonium pits requiring new warhead construction)	1,713

The credibility of our strategic nuclear deterrent is essential to deter enemy aggression especially against nuclear, super-EMP and massive cyberattacks on the U.S. homeland. The U.S. could have a conventional military ten times larger than its adversaries but if they have nuclear and super-EMP supremacy over us it wouldn't matter because they could defeat us in a matter of minutes. In 2020, General John E. Hyten who served as Vice-Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff stated, "without the backstop of the nuclear triad, it basically is all impossible" to deter an adversary with strategic capabilities, "because it starts falling apart right from the beginning."⁷⁴ Hyten defined strategic

⁷⁴ John A. Tirpak, "New Threats Demand Nuclear Modernization," March 2, 2021, www.airandspaceforces.com

capabilities to include not just nuclear but cyber, chemical, biological, space or hypersonic missile attacks.

Gen. Hyten stated that Russia had just completed a twenty-year modernization of its nuclear arsenal, with new ICBMs, new submarines and submarine-launched ballistic missiles, new cruise missiles on updated bombers, and all-new nuclear weapons that are not covered by the New START Treaty. These include a nuclear-tipped hypersonic missile and the Poseidon nuclear torpedo capable of killing tens of millions of Americans who live along our Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Hyten also stated that the PRC is building nuclear weapons “faster than anybody on the planet,” with brand-new ICBMs, cruise missiles, and nuclear-tipped hypersonic missiles “that we have no defenses for.”⁷⁵ “Our nuclear modernization program ... is late to need,” Hyten asserted. Lt. Gen. Thomas A. Bussiere, who served as Deputy Commander of U.S. Strategic Command has noted that while the idea is to keep our Minuteman III ICBM’s mission capable until GBSD replaces it at the end of the decade, the system might suddenly become unsustainable, and “it’s really a choice of replacing them or losing them.” It is also imperative that our Columbia-class nuclear missile submarines are produced on schedule as our Ohio nuclear missile submarines are on the verge of aging out and several of them will have to be retired within the next several years.

Despite America’s fast increasing nuclear inferiority, we are unaware of a single member of Congress or think tank outside our coalition who has called for America’s aging and increasingly obsolescent strategic nuclear arsenal to be expanded at all. The Biden administration has been acting to try to undermine America’s nuclear deterrent by cutting two major nuclear programs the B-83 nuclear bomb and SLCM-N programs. Meanwhile, Presidential Decision Directive (PDD)-60 signed by President Clinton in 1997 commits the U.S. to refrain from launching its nuclear weapons until the first nuclear impact has been detected on the U.S. or its allies. In the case of a pre-emptive nuclear first strike against the U.S., the first nuclear impact would most likely be a decapitation strike on Washington, D.C. likely executed before the President could escape on Air Force One.

The credibility of America’s strategic nuclear arsenal is increasingly at risk since both our strategic nuclear warheads and strategic delivery systems are between 31 and 60 years old and operating decades beyond their originally intended life cycle. In the case of the Minuteman III ICBM, they are already operating 43 years beyond their intended life cycle. New replacement systems are not

⁷⁵ Ibid.

scheduled to begin to become operational until 2029 and even then, will use aging nuclear warheads at least 37 years old. According to the 2022 Index of U.S. Military Strength published by the Heritage Foundation, current US nuclear delivery systems are up to six decades old. The Minuteman III ICBM was originally planned to be retired in 1980 while the ALCM was planned to be retired by 1992. The Ohio nuclear missile submarine fleet was planned to be retired by 2011. Every leg of the US strategic nuclear triad is either obsolescent or edging close to obsolescence while the Russian and Chinese nuclear arsenals are 80-90% modern. Admiral Chas Richard, who served as the commander of U.S. Strategic Command has stated that the Minutemen III ICBM is at the end of its useful life and may even be compromised. America's shortage in tritium gas which is vital to ensure the reliability of our nuclear arsenal and the failure to test any of our nuclear weapons for over three decades create doubt as to whether America's nuclear arsenal will work if called into action in defense of the U.S. and its allies.

In recent years, the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China have continued to strengthen their two-decades-old military alliance and have engaged in several joint military exercises over the past decade. In addition, there have been reports that they have taken steps to form a joint missile defense system.⁷⁶ The Russian national missile defense system consists of over 10,000 anti-ballistic missile (ABM) interceptors, most of which consist of advanced S-400s and S-500s and is potentially capable of shooting down 80-90 percent of America's second-strike nuclear warheads following a Sino-Russian nuclear first strike.⁷⁷ This would leave up to six dozen U.S. warheads to impact super-hardened Russian and Chinese intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) silos, which might be able to survive near misses, and deep underground nuclear command centers, which may be impervious to nuclear attack. Russia has over 225 times more ground-based ABM's than we do. Alarming, the U.S. could not even shoot down a single Russian nuclear warhead even in the event of an accidental nuclear attack.

Sadly, forty years to the month after President Ronald Reagan gave his speech calling for a Strategic Defense Initiative, his vision of building a national missile defense system capable of shooting down hundreds if not thousands of incoming nuclear re-entry vehicles to "make nuclear weapons obsolete" is still yet to be realized. In fact, it is official U.S. policy not to defend against Russian and Chinese nuclear attack. During a House Armed Services Committee Strategic Forces

⁷⁶ David Reid, "Russia is Helping China to Build a Missile Defense System, Putin Says." www.cnbc.com (4 October 2019)

⁷⁷ "The Russian Military in Contemporary Perspective", Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College (2019)

subcommittee hearing held on March 8, 2023, General Glen VanHerck, the commanding general of US Northern Command and North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) stated, “First to be clear, our missile defense today does not, from a policy perspective, defend against Russia or China.”⁷⁸

Peter Huessy, a Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute, and expert on U.S. nuclear policy, stated that the U.S. policy of not targeting incoming Russian or Chinese nuclear missiles has been codified into law by Congress. U.S. leaders have ignored and refused to defend America against Russia’s & China’s massive nuclear buildup, super-EMP weapons and nuclear superweapons including hypersonic missiles in what amounts to a historically unprecedented dereliction of duty. Unlike China’s massive nuclear expansion, Russia’s massive nuclear expansion has been largely unreported in the U.S. media. It was due to be largely completed last year but is still ongoing.⁷⁹

Mark Schneider, one of the top U.S. nuclear weapons experts, explains that even setting aside the massive Russian national missile defense system and expanding Chinese national missile defenses, the U.S. nuclear arsenal is woefully insufficient to be able to achieve its primary mission which is to hold enemy nuclear forces and underground nuclear command centers at risk. Dr. Schneider stated:

There is an increasing disconnect between our nuclear strategy (which targets military strategic targets rather than population centers) and our nuclear targeting capability...With our current forces, the U.S. cannot possibly target these new Chinese and Russian (nuclear missile) silos with any serious level of effectiveness...In addition to the new silos, China has built the “Underground Great Wall” to protect its mobile ICBMs and Bill Gertz has reported that Russia was “modernizing deep underground bunkers.” These are extraordinarily difficult to destroy or even to threaten seriously...When Russian ICBM force expansion and the deep underground facilities in Russia and China are taken into account, our existing and projected nuclear forces have little capability to threaten them. Numbers count, and we no longer have the numbers.⁸⁰

According to China expert Gordon Chang, Russia and China are likely coordinating not only on joint defensive planning but also on joint offensive plans as well to push the United States out of

⁷⁸ David T Pyne, “US NORTHCOM Commanding General Tells Congress U.S. Policy is not to Defend America Against Russian and Chinese Nuclear Missile Attack” dpyne.substack.com, 11 March 2023

⁷⁹ “Future Russian Strategic and Non-Strategic Forces”, Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College (2019)

⁸⁰ Mark B. Schneider, “The Chinese Nuclear Breakout and the Biden Administration’s Nuclear Posture Review,” 28 August 2021, www.realcleardefense.com

their respective spheres of influence by force.⁸¹ They might even be planning to neutralize the United States with one or more unconventional means of existential attack at the onset of conflict to eliminate the chance of any future U.S. interference in their respective spheres of influence.

Advocates of reduced U.S. defense spending often claim that the US spends more on its defense budget than the next ten countries combined as a rationale for why the US should cut its defense budget and why Russia and China don't pose serious threats to the US and its allies. Similar comparisons are used to assert that Russia poses no serious threat to NATO because European NATO has an economy that is between four to five times larger than Russia's in PPP terms and spends far more on defense than Russia does. However, this ignores the fact that most NATO member militaries including Germany's are quite modest in size and largely incapable of fighting wars lasting longer than a short period of time. NATO recently completed a large survey of its ammo stockpiles and found that supplies had been seriously depleted by all the military assistance they have provided to Ukraine to fight Russia during the past year. Reuters quoted an unnamed European diplomat who said: "If Europe were to fight Russia, some countries would run out of ammunition in days."⁸²

When you compare the military spending in more accurate and realistic military PPP terms, then the US does not even spend more money on defense than the next three countries combined let alone the next ten. Official Chinese and Indian defense spending alone equates to 86.2% of what the US spent in 2019. For example, in 2019, Russia's defense budget was estimated to be over \$207 billion in terms of Military-PPP of which 13-15.8% was spent on its nuclear weapons meaning it spent the Military PPP equivalent of \$26.9-32.7 billion on its nuclear weapons program.

The US spent \$35.4 billion on its nuclear arsenal that same year so even though the overall US defense budget spends over three times more on its military than Russia does, Russia's spending on its nuclear arsenal is roughly comparable to what the US spends on its nuclear arsenal in military PPP terms even though Russia's population is only 43% the size of the US and its economy is 4-5 times smaller in GDP PPP terms.⁸³ This helps explain why Russia can afford to maintain and fully

⁸¹ Gordon Chang, "China and Russia are Setting a Collision Course with the United States." www.thedailybeast.com (4 September 2018)

⁸² Jon Jackson, "NATO Allies Would Run Out of Ammo Within Days of War With Russia: Report" 13 February 2023, www.newsweek.com

⁸³ Peter Robertson, "Debating defence budgets: Why military purchasing power parity matters," 9 October 2021, www.cepr.org

modernize the most powerful nuclear arsenal in the world by far with a much smaller defense budget than the U.S. Furthermore, Russia and China can generate a lot more military capabilities for the amount of money they spend on their armed forces. According to a recent report published by the Heritage Foundation, China gets more than 20 times more “bang for its bucks” than the US for every dollar spent on defense. Of course, if one makes the very reasonable assumption that China spends nearly three times what it claims it spends on defense each year, then China is more likely only receiving 7-8 times more “bang for its bucks” than the U.S. does.⁸⁴

In addition to the adoption of a new, less provocative grand strategy, which aligns more with America’s limited military means and recognizes Russia and China’s vital interests and spheres of influence, the other important national security imperative that America must pursue to ensure its survival is to adopt a policy of strategic rearmament much like the one the United States pursued during the early stages of the Cold War. U.S. policymakers must return to the more realist, Cold War way of thinking because a nuclear war with nuclear adversaries is not only possible but increasingly probable. This realization should compel U.S. leaders to engage in a herculean, bipartisan effort to rebuild U.S. nuclear deterrent and strategic defenses as swiftly as possible. Funding should be repurposed from less important programs for this purpose, much as the United States did just before and shortly after the outbreak of World War Two.

There are six critically important steps that the Biden administration and Congress could take to deter U.S. enemies from attacking the United States, defend America, and save tens of millions of American lives in the unfortunate event that U.S. adversaries do attack.

First, President Joe Biden should declare a presidential cyber/EMP/missile defense emergency to reallocate \$30 billion dollars in funding to fully harden U.S. electronic power grid and other critical infrastructure as well as future U.S. military satellites against cyber/EMP attack. The Biden administration should also seek to greatly accelerate the funding and the pace of the current total overall of the U.S. Nuclear Communications, Command, and Control (NC3) infrastructure proposed by the 2018 Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) due to be completed by the end of the decade. The NPR concluded the existing NC3 system “is a legacy of the Cold War, last comprehensively updated almost three decades ago.” Although many of its individual components—early-warning satellites and radars, communications satellites and ground stations, missile launch facilities,

⁸⁴ Frederico Bartels, “China’s Defense Budget in Context: How Under-Reporting and Differing Standards and Economies Distort the Picture,” www.heritage.org

national command centers—have been modernized over time, much of the interconnecting hardware and software has become obsolete, the Pentagon stated.

The growing effectiveness of cyberattacks poses an ever-increasing threat to the safety and reliability of critical systems. The entire system is in the process of being rebuilt to ensure that the President has timely warning of enemy attacks and can order appropriate responses, even under conditions of intense nuclear assault, cyberattack and space-based threats. Until it has been, it will continue to serve as America's potential Achilles heel remaining vulnerable to potential disruption by our nuclear adversaries whose top priority in any major war will be to disable or destroy it to prevent possible U.S. nuclear retaliation. Given the acuteness of this threat, the Biden administration should also follow Trump's revolutionary move in creating a U.S. Space Force by centralizing the 6,200 military personnel scattered across the armed services into a seventh branch of the military known as the U.S. Cyber Force.⁸⁵ The objective would be to massively expand the number of personnel dedicated to the cyberwarfare role from 3,700 today to at least 30,000 given the fact that China has at least 60,000 personnel dedicated to cyber offensive operations.

In addition, Biden should use this emergency declaration to reallocate \$150 billion more to deploy a multi-layered national missile defense system consisting of 5,000 ABM interceptors to defend the U.S. including Ground-Based Interceptors (GBIs), Sea-Based Midcourse Interceptors and space-based interceptors. The Next Generation Interceptor which is supposed to have an initial operating capability by 2028 is planned to have multiple kill vehicles per interceptor in the hopes that one interceptor could intercept several incoming nuclear re-entry vehicles, but the U.S. needs to have a comprehensive national missile defense system in place long before that. Currently the U.S. Navy has ten Aegis cruisers and destroyers capable of firing hundreds of SM-3 capable of intercepting intercontinental ballistic missiles and SM-6 missiles capable of intercepting theater ballistic missiles in their boost phase, but they must be located near the locations from which the adversary's nuclear missiles are fired to effectively do so. The number of Aegis warships dedicated to the missile defense role could be greatly increased.

The Biden administration would be wise to consider deploying space-based non-nuclear missile defenses based on the Brilliant Pebbles concept which was shelved by the Clinton Administration in 1993 as it would likely be even more effective in deterring enemy nuclear attacks and shooting

⁸⁵ Martin Matishak, "US Military Needs 7th Branch Just for Cyber, Current and Former Leaders Say," 27 March 2023 www.therecord.media

down rogue, accidental, or deliberate nuclear missile attacks. Another option worthy of consideration would be to deploy neutron warhead-armed land-based ABMs armed with one kiloton neutron warheads, optimized for the ABM role, to help ensure that every ABM fired is able to shoot down an incoming nuclear -armed re-entry vehicles either with kinetic means or with the use of neutron radiation causing the warheads not to detonate on impact. The Sprint ABM's which were part of the US Safeguard national missile defense system from 1975-1976 were armed with 5 kiloton neutron warheads for this very reason. Furthermore, as part of this emergency declaration, Biden should invoke the Defense Production Act to order U.S. companies to increase U.S. tritium gas production to ensure the United States can produce enough of it for its aging strategic nuclear warheads to work in a crisis.

Second, the Biden administration should act swiftly to increase the number of Trident II submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) on each *Ohio-class* nuclear-missile submarine from twenty to twenty-four while increasing the number of warheads on each SLBM from four to eight. This step could be taken within weeks and would more than double the number of our “ready to fire” land- and sea-based nuclear warheads by two-thirds while increasing the number of our survivable sea-based nuclear second-strike retaliatory warheads by 2.4 times. This could serve as an interim step to increasing the Operations Tempo (OPTEMPO) of America’s *Ohio-class* nuclear missile submarines from one-third to two-thirds, which would increase the number of nuclear missile submarines at sea at any given time from four or five to nine.

While it would take some time to train new nuclear missile submarine crews to meet this challenge, this critically important and relatively inexpensive measure would serve to ensure that America’s nuclear adversaries would not be able to destroy the bulk of its nuclear-missile submarine fleet in port in the event of a nuclear first strike whereas currently it would only take two warheads to destroy 9-10 of our 14 nuclear missile submarines in port. This is one of the most critical near-term steps U.S. leaders can take to rapidly restore the credibility of America’s nuclear deterrent to discourage potential nuclear aggression by its nuclear-armed adversaries. Important related steps would be to return the Air Force’s fifty-eight B-52H and twenty B-2 nuclear bombers to twenty-four-hour “strip alert,” to help ensure a significant number of them survive a potential nuclear first strike and restore the nuclear capabilities of its sixty B-1B bombers, which are the only supersonic strategic bombers the United States currently has in service.

Third, the U.S. should set the objective that the United States will seek to re-establish “rough” nuclear parity with Russia to help ensure its nuclear arsenal remains sufficiently large to deter a Sino-Russian nuclear attack on the U.S. homeland. The United States should tailor the size of its nuclear arsenal based on the increasing nuclear threat posed by America’s peer competitors—Russia and China. Specifically, the Biden administration should reject the dangerous calls of those who contend that the United States should unilaterally disarm itself of all but 1,000 of its strategic nuclear warheads, which is less than one-fourth of Russia’s and China’s current estimated strategic nuclear arsenals and perhaps one-eighth the size of their projected nuclear arsenals once their present nuclear buildups have been completed. Nuclear deterrence is only credible when there is “a balance of terror.” By contrast, the increasing imbalance between the size of the U.S. nuclear arsenal and the nuclear arsenals of its enemies threatens to embolden them, making a preemptive nuclear/cyber/EMP strike against the U.S. homeland increasingly likely.

Since both Russia and China appear to be in the process of rapidly surging their nuclear arsenals to at least 3,000 to 4,000 deployed strategic nuclear warheads each.⁸⁶ Since Russia announced on February 21, 2023, that it was suspended its adherence to the New START Treaty, the administration should immediately withdraw from the treaty, which limits the United States to only 1,550 treaty-accountable strategic warheads.⁸⁷ Biden should then take urgent action to issue an executive order to begin restoring rough nuclear parity with Russia and China by returning the 2,050-2,100 partially dismantled strategic nuclear warheads the United States has in reserve as a hedge against precisely the kind of geopolitical contingency that is unfolding today with Russia and China’s massive expansions of their respective nuclear arsenals to a level two to three times larger than our own. This would serve to expand the U.S. strategic nuclear arsenal from 1,515 today to as many as 3,600 within six to twenty-four months of a presidential order to do so using already existing warheads. In 2020, the Congressional Budget Office estimated that the cost of reassembling and uploading our over 2,000 reserve strategic warheads onto existing or next-generation nuclear delivery systems would only cost \$100 million.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Peter Huessy, “The Nuclear Balance Is Changing—and Not For The Better,” 29 September 2021, www.nationalinterest.org

⁸⁷ Vladimir Isachenkov, “Russia suspends only remaining major nuclear treaty with US”, 21 February 2023, www.abcnews.go.com

⁸⁸⁸⁸ Joe Gould, “US nuclear weapons budget could skyrocket if Russia treaty ends,” 25 August 2020, www.defenseneews.com

As part of this undertaking, the administration should also increase the number of warheads on each of the Minuteman III ICBMs from one to three. In addition, we should restore all 43 of our surviving ten-warhead MX ICBM's (currently reclassified as Minotaur IV rocket boosters, which were our most modern and by far our most powerful ICBM's that were retired in 2005 to active service and deploy them in forty-three of our fifty vacant ICBM silos and place seven additional Minuteman III ICBMs in the remaining seven. Even if we did not redeploy our MX missiles and deployed fifty reserve Minuteman III ICBMs in the fifty additional ICBM silos instead, this would increase the number of operational SLBM warheads from approximately 815 to 1,950 and ICBM warheads from 400 to 1,350 giving America a robust strategic nuclear deterrent for the first time since the Bush administration.

The Task Force on National and Homeland Security is working on publishing a new Alternate Nuclear Posture Review, but this is our preliminary recommendation for what the US nuclear force posture should be in 2025. Rebuilding the nuclear triad using existing warheads and delivery systems is essential because more modern nuclear delivery systems like the Ground Based Strategic Deterrent (GBSD) set to replace the Minuteman III ICBMs and our Columbia class nuclear missile submarines are falling behind schedule by as much as two years from achieving an initial operational capability in 2029 to 2031.

America's MX ICBMs can reportedly carry up to a dozen warheads each which is two more than their official maximum throw weight of ten each. If our 43 MX ICBMs were redeployed than that could increase the number of land-based ICBM warheads from 1,350 to 1,650. Alternatively, we could increase the number of warheads on each Trident II D-5 SLBM from eight to ten warheads per missile to be able to maintain this proposed number of SLBM warheads once the Columbia nuclear missile submarines replace our current much more capable Ohio nuclear missile submarines in the early 2030's.

Another very promising option would be for the U.S. to significantly expand the sea leg of its strategic nuclear triad by re-equipping all 51 of its nuclear-powered attack submarines with nuclear-armed sea launched cruise missiles such as the proposed SLCM-N which essentially is a nuclear-armed Tomahawk cruise missile with a range of up to 1,780 miles and could be equipped with warheads of up to 150 KT in yield. While the Tomahawk warheads are already retired, we still have plenty of Tomahawk SLCMs and could employ most of our surviving 300

W-80 nuclear warheads used for our ALCMs to do so even if that were to weaken the air leg of our nuclear triad which is largely obsolescent anyway. Each U.S. attack submarine at sea could be equipped with three to six nuclear-armed cruise missiles which could be employed either in a strategic or non-strategic deterrent role leaving nearly 150 W80 warheads for the air leg of the U.S. nuclear triad. This recommendation could be taken without increasing the size of the U.S. nuclear arsenal, which should serve to assuage U.S. policymakers who oppose doing so and is similar to the one made by the authors of a recent study and could likely be implemented within several weeks to a few months.⁸⁹

Assuming a high OPTEMPO with two-thirds of our attack submarines deployed at sea at any time, this would give the U.S. 34 additional nuclear missile submarines at sea at any given time which would represent an 850% increase in the number of nuclear missile subs the U.S. has deployed at sea today. Even with twelve Poseidon UUVs attempting to trail and destroy our nuclear missile submarines, they would be insufficient to destroy most of them. Even an 50% OPTEMPO would give the U.S. 25-26 more nuclear missile submarines at no additional cost and with no increase in the size of our nuclear arsenal, a fact that should make it acceptable to the Biden administration. Either way, the number of nuclear Tomahawks per attack sub could be divided among the deployed subs to give us at least 150 nuclear Tomahawks at sea at any given time.

⁸⁹ “China’s Emergence as a Second Nuclear Peer—Implications for U.S. Nuclear Deterrence Strategy,” The Center for Global Security Research, Spring 2023

Current v. Recommended US Nuclear Force Posture

Types of Warheads	Current US Nuclear Triad	Recommended 2025 Nuclear Triad with MX	Recommended 2025 Nuclear Triad without MX.
ALCM warheads	214	150	150
ICBM warheads	400	1,650	1,350
SLBM warheads	901	1,800	2,100
Total strategic nuclear warheads	1,515	3,600	3,600

While U.S. nuclear modernization will decrease the official maximum number of warheads which can be carried on our Columbia class submarines by almost half from 2,688 to 1,536, our Trident II SLBMs are reportedly able to carry up to fourteen warheads which is considerably more than their official maximum throw weight of eight warheads. U.S. leaders should also seek to massively ramp up US nuclear warhead production with the objective of rebuilding the U.S. strategic nuclear arsenal back to START I levels of 6,000 warheads as quickly as possible. At this point even with a planned increase to production levels of 80 warheads a year by 2030 or shortly thereafter it would take the U.S. over three decades to build up to that level while it would only take Russia one year to do so given its assessed ability to produce 3,000 nuclear warheads a year.⁹⁰ Even more alarmingly, Russia’s existing nuclear missile force may have a sufficiently large payload capability that they could upload all of these warheads and the U.S. would have no way

⁹⁰ “The Russian Military in Contemporary Perspective”, Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College (2019)

to detect if they did so or not giving them a four to one numerical superiority over the US strategic nuclear arsenal.⁹¹

Dr. Mark Schneider estimates Russia likely already has a total of 8,000-9,000 warheads in their nuclear arsenal of which he estimates 5,000-6,000 are non-strategic warheads, not all of which are deployed but all of which are likely operational. The Soviet Union ended the Cold War with a nuclear arsenal that boasted nearly three times more nuclear firepower than the U.S. had. Given that Russia's *Belgorod* submarine with a full complement of six Poseidon 100 MT nuclear UUVs has nearly as much nuclear firepower as the entire U.S. nuclear arsenal, the Russian nuclear arsenal likely has many times the aggregate nuclear megatonnage of our own.

According to a US Army War College report published in 2019, the Russian SS-28 *Sarmat* nuclear ICBMs, which are still in the process of being operationally deployed, is reportedly capable of carrying up to fifty 75-100 kiloton warheads each.⁹² Russia also has an estimated 800-850 strategic nuclear warheads which could be delivered by Air-Launched Cruise Missiles (ALCMs) and Air-Launched Ballistic Missiles (ALBMs) on Russian nuclear bombers and fighter-bombers.⁹³ The report concludes that one of the primary purposes of Russia's massive nuclear buildup which it began a decade ago and which was due to be completed last year with only the *Sarmat* running behind schedule, is to ensure Russia enjoys escalation dominance over the U.S. at every level of the nuclear escalation ladder in the event of a direct war between Russia and NATO.⁹⁴

Rather than developing hypersonic missiles armed with conventional warheads, the United States should build and deploy hypersonic missiles that are armed with nuclear warheads to deter the use of Russian and Chinese hypersonic missiles more effectively, all of which are nuclear capable. Furthermore, the United States should consider employing full-spectrum deterrence by developing and deploying super-EMP weapons like those of Russia and China to discourage the use of these devastating weapons more effectively against the United States. Furthermore, the U.S. should increase our nuclear alert status from DEFCON 5 to DEFCON 3 for the duration of the war in Ukraine and until the Taiwan issue has been resolved either diplomatically or by force to greatly strengthen our ability to deter nuclear attack by making our nuclear deterrent more survivable thus ensuring the U.S. is able to launch a retaliatory nuclear

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

strike in the event Russia or China launches a nuclear first strike. By doing so, the U.S. could effectively match Russia's nuclear alert status which is routinely maintained at a significantly higher level than ours.⁹⁵

Should Chinese leaders withdraw their objections, the administration could negotiate a new arms control treaty with both Russia and China that limits each signatory to no more than 3,600 warheads. Such a treaty should include stronger verification measures than the New START Treaty and include all their nuclear superweapons, including Russian and Chinese hypersonic missiles, as well as rail-mobile ICBMs in treaty limitations not currently covered by New START, ideally by limiting the aggregate megatonnage of each superpower's combined maximum throw weight of their nuclear arsenal.

Since the U.S. has no ability to detect the number of warheads which have been uploaded on Russia's and China's intercontinental ballistic missiles, such a provision would serve to help protect the US against a Russian breakout of a new nuclear arms control treaty as we have seen the Russians do with the New START Treaty. The Chinese, who have thus far refused to accept any limitations on the size of their arsenal, which may be even more vast than we realize, would have to be included in such a treaty as well. That would limit the combined Sino-Russian nuclear arsenal to twice the max throw weight of our strategic nuclear arsenal while removing constraints on the U.S. doubling or even tripling the size of our nuclear arsenal to match theirs individually.

Fourth, Biden should rescind Presidential Decision Directive (PDD-60), which, according to some reports, makes it official U.S. policy that we will not launch a retaliatory nuclear strike unless and until a nuclear impact has been verified on U.S. soil by at least two types of national technical means such as satellites and ground-based radars, a policy I refer to as "launch on impact" and return to a policy of "launch on warning." This would better deter potential nuclear aggressors like Russia, China, and North Korea who may believe they can take advantage of the U.S. "launch on impact" posture to render a decisive "knockout" blow against the United States before it can retaliate against them. Opponents of returning to a "launch on warning" posture argue that this could lead to an accidental launch leading to a nuclear exchange. However, given the fact that all U.S. nuclear missiles are pre-targeted at empty oceans, the risk of that happening is extremely low. Since a massive cyberattack and/or super-EMP attack on the

⁹⁵ Dr. Peter Pry, "The Nuclear Crisis Nobody Knows," www.worldviewweekend.com, 6 March 2022

U.S. homeland would not involve any nuclear ground bursts on U.S. soil, it is unclear whether the President of the United States would choose to retaliate with a nuclear response under these conditions. It is important to discard and replace this foolish policy to remove any doubt in the minds of our adversaries that we would be willing to retaliate to such attacks with a full nuclear retaliatory response to deter them from attempting to engage in such a super-EMP or cyber first strike against us.

Fifth, with the realization that nuclear weapons constitute only a small fraction of the U.S. defense budget but are by far the most critical program to defend and deter against catastrophic and existential attack, the United States should fully fund the *Columbia*-class nuclear submarines to replace the *Ohio* nuclear submarine fleet, which will have to start being retired in 2030 due to their aging hulls. In addition, the United States should fully fund the Ground-Based Strategic Deterrent (GBSD) program to replace its 400 Minuteman III ICBMs, many of which were built half a century ago (as opposed to newer and more modern Russia and Chinese strategic nuclear weapons systems), beginning in 2027.

Sixth, U.S. leaders must remove and replace all 300 Chinese-manufactured transformers in the U.S. electrical power grid to prevent China from using secret “back doors” in the technology to take control of the U.S. grid or even shut it down entirely. The United States should also store enough reserve electrical power transformers in underground storage to replace all of them should they be disabled by an EMP or cyberattack. U.S. leaders must also take immediate executive and legislative actions to reduce the ability of China and other adversaries to cut off the homeland’s increasingly vulnerable manufacturing supply chains in the event of war and ensure that the United States is self-sufficient in every critical area needed to defend America as well as fight and win protracted military conflicts.

These actions would include ensuring that the United States can produce all its own weapon systems, including computers, microchips, and other electronic components. As part of this effort, the Biden administration and the U.S. Congress should continue to support efforts to restore America’s capability to mine rare-earth minerals critical to the production of modern weapons as quickly as possible. Finally, U.S. leaders should pursue trade and taxation policies designed to “re-shore” strategic industries, which have left the United States and relocated to China during the past two decades, that produce high-tech dual-use military technology. This

“re-shoring” would prevent their nationalization by China in the event of a crisis. Such a policy would also greatly expand America’s tax base to better fund critical defense priorities.

Fully funding these measures could be readily obtained by ending America’s two-decade-long Global War on Terror, closing the vast majority of America’s nearly 800 overseas military bases, and bringing most of the United States’ nearly 200,000 forward-deployed military personnel home to their families, which has been estimated could save \$160-200 billion per year.

⁹⁶ While it makes good strategic sense to keep America’s military bases in Japan and the Western Pacific open to deter Chinese aggression, the rationale for the US maintaining troops in Europe evaporated with the demise of the Soviet Union, given Russia has no aggressive intentions against NATO member states. Furthermore, our troop presence in the Middle East is counterproductive and has served as a major recruiting tool for Islamic terrorists and was one of the reasons Osama Bin Laden cited for striking the Twin Towers and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001.

The time has come to put aside partisan politics and unite the United States, as it was united during World War Two, to safeguard the American people against the unprecedented dangers which threaten them. The administration should employ a full-spectrum approach to rebuilding America’s strategic deterrent which, which while centered on the expansion and modernization of America’s nuclear triad, must also include a national missile defense system, hardening our critical infrastructure against cyber and EMP attack beginning with hardening America’s electrical power grid and rebuilding our civil defense system to protect our citizens and ensure our nation’s ability survive nuclear, EMP and cyber-attack. The need to rectify our inferiority relative to America’s nuclear superpower adversaries in these areas in comparison to our nuclear-armed adversaries is so urgent that we are calling for a new Manhattan Project to mobilize America’s full defense industrial might to rebuild our nuclear arsenal, national missile defenses and grid hardening against cyber and EMP attack within the next two to three years. If President Biden and congressional leaders are willing to provide the courageous leadership needed to do so, while helping to educate other U.S. policymakers and citizens about the threats Americans face and what the country must do to overcome them, then the United States can and will succeed in meeting this fundamental challenge.

⁹⁶ David Vine, Where in the World Is the U.S. Military? www.politico.com (July/August 2015)

Negotiate a Cease-Fire to End the War in Ukraine

How many millions will the U.S be willing to sacrifice for the sovereignty of nations that most Americans cannot find on a map?..Washington’s current focus is on how to make a Russian invasion of Ukraine, and aggression by China against Taiwan, as costly as possible. Our current policies will only strengthen the Sino-Russo Axis and make inevitable a World War III that the U.S. will lose. Three decades ago, at the end of the last Cold War, wiser heads in Washington understood that U.S. policy should aim at normalizing relations with Russia, converting Moscow from an enemy into a strategic partner, welcoming Russia into the Western community of nations. U.S. policy was to avoid resurgence of a revanchist Russia and a New Cold War with the world’s greatest nuclear superpower...Unfortunately, President George W. Bush’s administration ignored those of us who warned that expansion of NATO toward Russia, to include former Warsaw Pact and Soviet states, would inevitably result in confrontation with Moscow and a New Cold War. Is Moscow unreasonable and paranoid to fear expansion and eventual encirclement by NATO? If the U.S. had lost the Cold War to the USSR, if the Warsaw Pact expanded to include European NATO, Canada, Mexico, Oregon, California, and Texas, would Washington regard these developments with equanimity? Moscow has warned everyone...that Ukraine joining NATO would cross Russia’s “nuclear red line...Negotiation of the “peace treaty” could become the first step in a new grand strategy to split the Sino-Russo Axis and achieve Russian neutrality, if not eventual strategic partnership with the West.” Dr. Peter Pry

On January 3, 2022, Dr. Peter Pry, who served as co-founder and longtime Executive Director of the Task Force on National and Homeland Security, published a courageous and visionary op-ed entitled, “Make Peace, Not War with Russia,” followed by a very informative video interview by the same name with the Westminster Institute later that month.⁹⁷ In his article, he urged the Biden administration to negotiate a peace treaty with Russia utilizing Russia’s draft mutual security treaties which it provided to the US and NATO in December 2021 as the starting point. He subsequently was interviewed on Fox News and attempted to discuss it but informed me he was criticized by some of his friends who compared him to British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain for allegedly supporting a policy of “appeasing” Russia. However, he could not be cowed from supporting what he knew to be the wisest course of action in terms of ensuring the safety and security of the U.S. and its NATO allies and sparing Ukraine from a deadly, devastating, and avoidable war. He knew how important it was for U.S. leaders to better

⁹⁷ Peter V. Pry, “Make Peace Not War with Russia”, 3 January 2022, www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org

understand how our adversaries think so we can predict how they will react to us and so we can ensure we don't provoke them to attack us by crossing their nuclear redlines. However, U.S. political and military leaders seem to have zero interest in doing that and so constantly engage in mirror imaging assuming they will think and act like we do although in the case of Ukraine at least they have acted exactly as the US would under the same circumstances as Peter stated above.

As Dr. Peter Pry suggested in his seminal article, there is a fundamental misunderstanding about Russia and China on the part of many U.S. policymakers which is the tired refrain, repeated ad nauseum, that if we don't fight them along their borders, they will attack us here at home. In fact, the truth is the exact opposite. If the U.S. didn't send its military forces & arms to interfere in their spheres of influence, the chances of them attacking us militarily would be virtually non-existent. Accordingly, the threat of Sino-Russian nuclear, EMP & massive cyber-attack is directly proportional to the degree we threaten them. The more we escalate our war against Russia in Ukraine, the greater the chance they will destroy the US & our allies. The same is true if we fight China over Taiwan. This is something that U.S. leaders must learn to understand if America is to have any real hope of avoiding an unnecessary nuclear/EMP apocalypse.

He repeatedly expressed his fear that America was running out of time to prepare to defend America against existential nuclear, super-EMP and comprehensive cyberattacks by our nuclear adversaries and he believed the only way to buy ourselves more time was to replace the U.S. national security strategy of liberal hegemony with one far less provocative and perilous to America's prospects for survival. He rightly concluded that the primary focus of U.S. national security should be to divide and disrupt the Sino-Russian alliance. In furtherance of this objective, he supported pursuing diplomatic accommodations to completely reshape and revolutionize the geopolitical threat environment in America's favor by concluding a grand strategic partnership for peace with the Russian Federation which would effectively neutralize Russia's military alliance with the PRC. He believed that by so doing, we could replace the current bipolar international order in which America faces two allied nuclear superpowers to a much safer and more secure tripolar international order in which no nuclear superpower is aligned with any other thereby restoring the balance of power. Doing so would dramatically reduce the existential threats we are facing as a country by largely eliminating the threat of Russian nuclear, EMP and massive cyber-attack on the US homeland while making China much less prone to international aggression.

Dr. Pry warned that the West was “playing with nuclear fire” in refusing to issue a written guarantee to Russia that Ukraine would never be admitted to NATO and thus provoking Russia to engage in an otherwise avertable invasion of Ukraine, expressed his fear that the Biden administration was sleepwalking into a catastrophic war with Russia. George Beebe, who serves as Director of Grand Strategy at the Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft has noted the irony that Biden is fighting a war against Russia which he deliberately chose to provoke by refusing to give up his commitment to include Ukraine in NATO as Putin demanded but has since repeatedly refused to send U.S. troops to defend Ukraine causing one to wonder why he is so adamant about including Ukraine in NATO if he is unwilling to defend it. In furtherance of his courageous fight for peace which tragically he was not able to finish, I published an earlier version of the following peace proposal in *The National Interest* on October 1, 2022, to end the immediate threat of Russian nuclear escalation in a war best described in General of the Army Omar Bradley’s words as "The wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy."

On September 21, 2022, seven months to the day after he announced Russia’s special military operation in Ukraine. Russian President Vladimir Putin gave a televised address announcing his support for Russian annexation of all four Russian-occupied Ukrainian oblasts and a massive Russian military mobilization, not seen since the Second World War, while warning Russia was not bluffing in threatening to use nuclear weapons to defend Russia’s territorial integrity.⁹⁸ The annexation was formalized by the Russian Duma less than two weeks later. I had predicted five months earlier that Putin would annex these regions if Zelensky refused to return to the negotiation table and that is exactly what happened.⁹⁹ Following his remarks, former Russian President Dmitri Medvedev clarified that Putin’s nuclear threat applied to any attempt by Ukraine to recapture parts of the soon to be annexed Ukrainian territories of Luhansk, Donetsk, Kherson and Zaporizhzhia and stated that he did not believe NATO would respond militarily to such a limited Russian nuclear escalation in Ukraine.¹⁰⁰ He is very likely correct in that assumption.

This annexation increased Russia’s population from approximately 146 to 151 million people, transforming Ukraine from the second largest to the fourth largest country in Europe, and along

⁹⁸ Simone McCarthy and Rob Picheta, “Russia announces immediate ‘partial mobilization’ of citizens, escalating its invasion of Ukraine”, 21 September 2022, www.cnn.com

⁹⁹ David T. Pyne, “Putin's Nuclear Trump Card to Win the War in Ukraine” 8 October 2022, dpyne.substack.com

¹⁰⁰ Mia Jankowicz, “Russia’s Former President Says Nuclear Threats Are Not a Bluff and that NATO Won’t Step In if Russia Nukes Ukraine,” 27 September 2022, www.businessinsider.com

with the 8.1 million refugees who have left the country since the war began reduced Ukraine's population from approximately 41 million before the war to a mere 28 million.¹⁰¹ In the same speech, Putin's announced a major mobilization of hundreds of thousands of Russia's military reservists to overrun Ukraine in a planned Russian winter offensive that could bring an end to Ukrainian independence this spring. In a subsequent televised address commemorating the one-year anniversary of the war on February 21, 2023, Putin explained his reasoning for why he decided to invade Ukraine and why he believes the war is an existential proxy war between Russia and NATO.¹⁰²

Following the successful Ukrainian Kharkiv counteroffensive which succeeded in liberating ten percent of Russian-occupied Ukrainian territory last fall, Western leaders continue to greatly overestimate Ukraine's chances of winning the war even though Russia remains in control of eighteen percent of Ukrainian territory including Crimea and continue to make incremental progress in their drive to conquer all the Donbass region. Some U.S. leaders believe Russia has already suffered "a strategic defeat" because Putin failed to take Kyiv and overthrow the Zelensky government last year while the Russian military has suffered significant losses in terms of troops and material. However, the truth is Russia is far from defeated and may be just getting started.

There is an increasing urgency to implement an immediate cease fire and armistice agreement before the much-anticipated massive Russian spring offensive overruns a much greater percentage of Ukrainian territory with an additional 300,000-500,000 troops in 22 newly formed Russian Army divisions with Ukrainian Defense Ministry officials voicing concern that they could potentially encircle Ukrainian forces in southeastern Ukraine and once again threaten to surround Kyiv itself.¹⁰³ If Russian forces were to achieve a breakthrough between Sumy and Kharkiv, they could drive southwest to Zaporizhzhia, surround Ukrainian troops fighting in and around Donetsk oblast and bomb the Dnipro River bridges to prevent Ukrainian troops from retreating in what could easily become a modern-day Dunkirk. Then Putin could threaten to annex most or all of Ukraine's territory east of the Dnipro River if Zelensky refused to make peace on Russian terms. The commencement of this Russian offensive will likely mark the effective end of Russia's so-

¹⁰¹ Ella McCarthy, "Eight Million Refugees Have Fled Ukraine After a Year of Fighting, UN Data Shows, 22 February 2023, www.abcnews.go.com

¹⁰² David T. Pyne, "The End of the Post-World War Two Rules-Based Liberal International Order" 21 February 2023, dpyne.substack.com

¹⁰³ Ellen Mitchell, "Ukraine warns Russia massing 500,000 troops on border for offensive", 2 February 2023, www.thehill.com

called “special military operation” which has been fought as a limited war with quite limited objectives, and the start of a full-scale war against Ukraine which is likely to be fought much more aggressively by Moscow, potentially including some of Russia’s powerful but not yet utilized unconventional weapons, with the objective of Ukraine’s total capitulation.

While many U.S. leaders view Biden’s proxy war against Russia as a ‘win-win’ that is serving to weaken Russia militarily without the loss of a single U.S. military servicemen, America’s foremost realist foreign policy theorist, Dr. John Mearsheimer, has stated that the war has been “an unmitigated geopolitical disaster for the West” thus far.¹⁰⁴ The reasons are because it has driven Russia into a closer military alliance with Communist China, caused Russia to expand the size of its active-duty military by fifty percent, has drained US military weapons and munitions stockpiles and has tied down US military forces in Eastern Europe at a time when we should be focusing on great power competition with China.

In an excellent article published in Foreign Affairs, Dan Caldwell, who serves as Vice President at the Center for Renewing America underscores this point in stating:

*The U.S. military is also under strain. The United States has spent more than 20 years entangled in conflicts across the Middle East and Africa. The price of these wars has been steep. Thousands of American lives have been lost and more than \$8 trillion has been squandered in the service of nation-building missions that did not make the United States safer or more prosperous. These conflicts have also worn down important military assets such as the B-1 bomber fleet, incentivized investments in systems such as the littoral combat ship (a surface vessel designed for missions near shore) that are not suited for combat with near-peer adversaries, and forced the United States to cut the size of the Air Force and the Navy in order to build a ground force to fight in strategic backwaters. The war in Ukraine has exposed the weakness of the United States’ defense industrial base and called into question the military’s ability to sustain a protracted conventional conflict. By sending huge supplies of critical weapons systems to Ukraine, the United States has severely diminished its own inventories. And at current production levels, it will take years to replace the depleted stockpiles, much less fortify them for another major conflict.*¹⁰⁵

The war in Ukraine has served as a festering wound on international security and stability and is essentially a ticking time-bomb threatening to explode into a direct war between Russia and NATO

¹⁰⁴ John Mearsheimer, “The Causes and Consequences of the Ukraine Crisis”, 23 June 2022, www.nationalinterest.org

¹⁰⁵ Dan Caldwell, “The Case for a Restrained Republican Foreign Policy,” 22 March 2023, www.foreignaffairs.com

which could quickly escalate to the nuclear/EMP level that would almost certainly bring about a swift end to the US and its NATO allies and the US-led rules based international order, ushering in a new world order dominated by the Sino-Russian alliance. Accordingly, the overriding U.S. national security interest is not to prolong it but to end it as swiftly as possible.

The Biden administration seems to have acknowledged that Ukraine likely lacks the ability to retake additional territory from Russia. In January, the Biden administration reportedly offered to allow Russia to keep all the territory it has annexed from Ukraine in exchange for but Zelensky not unsurprisingly vetoed Biden's peace proposal.¹⁰⁶ Since then, the Biden administration has reportedly made clear to Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky that the US won't be able to maintain this level of military support beyond early summer and that accordingly Ukraine will have to negotiate a peace deal with Russia in which it trades territory for peace later this year if not by summer.

Meanwhile, House Speaker Kevin McCarthy has stated there will be “no blank check” of U.S. military support with the Republicans in control of the U.S. House of Representatives. Both Republican presidential frontrunners—former President Donald Trump and Gov. Ron DeSantis have both come out strongly against continuing U.S. military aid to Ukraine. DeSantis stated, “the U.S. has many vital national security interests” but “becoming further entangled in a territorial dispute between Ukraine and Russia is not one of them.”¹⁰⁷

Following Putin's announcement that Russia would annex the four Ukrainian oblasts they occupied back in September, the Russian Foreign Ministry offered Ukraine a cease fire to end the war, stating that most of the objectives of Russia's special military operation had been achieved and that the remainder could be achieved entirely through diplomatic means. Russia's offer for a cease-fire to end the war has been on the table ever since. However, the Ukrainian government continues to refuse to meet with Russian diplomatic representatives to negotiate an end to the war, because West's massive, uninterrupted military support provide it with no incentive to do so.

While the Biden administration has touted Ukraine's planned spring counteroffensive, some Ukrainian Ministry of Defense officials have stated Ukraine lacks sufficient troops, weapons, and munitions to be able to pull off such an offensive now that Russia has surged the number of its

¹⁰⁶ David T. Pyne, “Biden Offered Russia Twenty Percent of Ukrainian Territory in Exchange for Peace” 2 February 2023, dpyne.substack.com

¹⁰⁷ Kurt Schlichter, “DeSantis Is Right About Ukraine” 16 May 2023, www.townhall.com

troops fighting in Ukraine. Accordingly, the chances of Ukraine recapturing additional territory from Russia appears slim. Even worse, if Ukraine's planned counteroffensive were successful in capturing Mariupol and cutting off the land bridge connecting Crimea with the rest of Russia, it could provoke a Russian nuclear response against Ukraine.¹⁰⁸

It is likely that no increase in Western weapons shipments to Ukraine will be sufficient to prevent it from being overwhelmed by what could end up being as much as a 266% increase in the number of Russian troops fighting in Ukraine from approximately 300,000 today to as many as 800,000 troops after the much-anticipated Russian spring offensive kicks off into full gear. Accordingly, the momentum in the war is likely to shift very much in Russia's favor. As Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Mark Milley stated back in November, now is the best time for Ukraine to negotiate a peace deal with Russia to lock in Ukraine's battlefield gains with four out of eight Russian occupied Ukrainian regions having been liberated of Russian occupation forces.¹⁰⁹ It is important to do so as soon as possible before a massive surge in Russian reinforcements overwhelms Ukraine's resolute defenders.¹¹⁰ There is mounting evidence that the mainstream media continues to minimize Ukrainian casualties while greatly inflating Russian military casualties to maintain public support for the war and prevent Americans from supporting diplomatic solutions which is very counterproductive as it has served to unnecessarily prolong the suffering of the Ukrainian people and massively increase the number of deaths and destruction in Ukraine.¹¹¹

While Putin has made numerous mistakes in his prosecution of the war in Ukraine, chief among which has been to badly under resource Russian military forces in Ukraine, both in terms of men and material, forcing them to fight outnumbered by Ukrainian forces about three to one until he began increasing the number of Russian troops in Ukraine last October, Russian forces have still been able to inflict nearly three times as many casualties against Ukrainian forces than they have suffered. In an interview on February 10, 2023, Lt. Colonel Daniel Davis (USA Ret.) revealed that Ukraine has suffered "enormous casualties" totaling "at least 300,000 men" and "everything seems to be trending for the Russian side" while ISW reports that Ukrainian forces are "undermanned"

¹⁰⁸ David T. Pyne, "Will American Aid to Ukraine Provoke a Russian Nuclear Strike?", 23 September 2022, www.nationalinterest.org

¹⁰⁹ Mark Episkopos, "Milley Doubles Down on Support for Ukraine Negotiations," 17 November 2022, www.nationalinterest.org

¹¹⁰ Daniel Davis, "The War In Ukraine Isn't Over By A Long Shot", 12 September 2022, www.19fortyfive.com

¹¹¹ Branko Marcetic, "The danger of downplaying the Ukrainian battlefield toll," 15 March 2023, www.responsiblestatescraft.org

in comparison to Russian forces whereas Russian forces were badly undermanned during the first eight months of the war. While it has been estimated that the Ukraine armed forces have suffered 135,000 killed in action during the first thirteen months of the war, Russian military casualties have been much less likely closer to 50,000 dead.

Furthermore, while Ukraine has fully mobilized all its men aged 18-50, Russia still has millions of reservists it could mobilize and throw into the fight. While Russian forces have seriously underperformed to date in terms of seizing new territory, they have excelled both at defensive operations and in using their massive advantage in artillery and munitions to exact heavy Ukrainian casualties.¹¹² It is unlikely that Ukraine can continue to sustain this rate of military casualties much longer. Accordingly, even if the Russian spring offensive makes limited gains, Russia is well-positioned to win a prolonged war of attrition against Ukraine with 5.3 times more people, an economy 11 times larger and 35 times more territory, millions more army reservists it could mobilize and approximately five times more tanks, combat aircraft and artillery it can bring to bear.

Russia started the war with over 14,000 modern main battle tanks with T-72B as their oldest variants first built in 1985, but most of them were in storage. Most Russian tanks are in the process of being updated to the most modern standard. Former Russian President Dmitri Medvedev has stated that Russia is on track to build 1,500 of some of its most modern T-90M tanks a year, more than compensating for any battlefield losses.¹¹³ The U.S. by comparison, reportedly has only 2,400 M-1 Abrams tanks currently in service, which were first deployed in 1980, with a few thousand more in storage and has not built any new tanks in over two decades opting to refurbish and modernize existing tanks in its inventory instead. In addition, Russia is producing precision guided munitions at a much higher rate than the U.S. believed it could, enabling it to continue overmatching Ukraine in terms of precision and long-range artillery and missile strikes. A recent Washington Post report notes that Ukraine is “suffering from basic shortages of ammunition, including artillery shells and mortar bombs.”¹¹⁴ U.S. armaments production has not come close to keeping pace with Kyiv’s defense requirements, which has forced the U.S. to delay critically

¹¹² Charlie Bradley, “Ukrainian soldiers admit Russia can 'taste victory' and say 'we are just getting killed'”, 15 March 2023, www.express.co.uk

¹¹³ “Russia’s Medvedev Reveals 1500 T-90M Tanks Will be Built This Year: Expresses Confidence Thy Can Tackle Top Western Armour,” March 25, 2023, www.militarywatchmagazine.com

¹¹⁴ Isabelle Khurshudyan, Paul Sonne, Karen DeYoung, “Ukraine Short of Skilled Troops and Munitions as Losses, Pessimism Grow,” 13 March 2023, www.washingtonpost.com

important arms shipments to Taiwan while China's planned blockade and invasion of the strategic island nation grows ever closer.¹¹⁵

In view of these facts, there is only one way the West can prevent Ukraine from being decisively defeated on the battlefield over the next several months, short of fighting a Third World War against Russia that would be all but certain to escalate to the nuclear level, and that is through a return to diplomacy. President Biden must call for an immediate cease fire without preconditions and armistice agreement to save Ukraine, ensure its security and preserve its continued political and economic independence with control of at least 82 percent of its internationally recognized territory, including over 88 percent of the territory it controlled before the Russian invasion began on February 24th of last year.

A recent article in the New York Intelligencer confirms that even a cease-fire which leaves Russia in control of a limited amount of Ukrainian territory could still be defined as a victory for Ukraine over the world's mightiest nuclear superpower:

*A resolution that enables Ukraine to enjoy sovereignty over the vast majority of its territory, economic viability, and geopolitical security would represent a national triumph, and constitute a foundation for a prosperous and peaceful future. It should be possible to satisfy those first two conditions without affecting any dramatic change in territorial control. Were Russia to conquer the entirety of Ukraine's coastline, rendering the nation a landlocked country, its future economic prospects would be severely impaired. If Ukraine retains sovereignty over the territory it presently controls, however, the purely geographic impediments to its prosperity will not be significant... The longer the war persists, the more lives it will take, and the more challenging Ukraine's ultimate recovery will be. Further, given Russia's potential advantages in a prolonged conflict, avoiding a long war may be a martial imperative.*¹¹⁶

A recent report published by the RAND Corporation seems to underscore that the risks of the Biden administration continuing to prolong the war in Ukraine unnecessarily, which include potential Russian nuclear escalation and/or an escalation of the war into a full-scale war between Russia and NATO, far outweigh the benefits the U.S. and Ukraine might hope to achieve.¹¹⁷ It is

¹¹⁵ Gordon Lubold, Doug Cameron, Nancy A. Yousef, "U.S. Effort to Arm Taiwan Faces New Challenge With Ukraine Conflict," 27 November 2022, www.wsj.com

¹¹⁶ Eric Levitz, "America Must Plan for a Stalemate in Ukraine," 16 March 2023, www.nymag.com

¹¹⁷ Samuel Charap, Miranda Priebe, "Avoiding a Long War" U.S. Policy and the Trajectory of the Russia-Ukraine Conflict," January 2023, www.rand.org

in the US national security interest to incentivize both Russia and Ukraine to negotiate a permanent cease fire as soon as possible to avoid a potential Russian escalation to the use of tactical nuclear weapons against Ukraine and/or against one or more frontline NATO states where US military forces are based, with catastrophic consequences.

The administration could do so by offering to suspend the implementation of all new economic sanctions against Russia, U.S. troop reinforcements to Eastern Europe, and lethal military assistance to Ukraine in exchange for an immediate and sustained Russian ceasefire. Suspending lethal military assistance to Ukraine is necessary to get Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky to agree to a cease-fire as continued massive U.S. military support to Ukraine, totaling \$113 billion thus far, gives him no incentive to do so.¹¹⁸ A relaxation of sanctions following a peace deal would likely provide badly needed economic relief, including significantly lower fuel, food, and energy prices, to tens of millions of financially distressed Americans just as the economy may be on the verge of a double dip recession with continued high inflation. It would also serve to significantly lessen the severity of the worsening global food crisis, which threatens to cause the deaths by starvation of millions of people in the Third World.

The terms of an armistice agreement ending the war should be as follows:

- 1. All hostilities between the Russian Federation and Ukraine shall immediately cease.**
- 2. All Western lethal military assistance to Ukraine shall be suspended so long as Russia honors the terms of the armistice agreement.**
- 3. Russia will immediately suspend its limited Black Sea blockade of Ukraine.**
- 4. The United States, Canada, the European Union, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand will lift their bans on Russian food and fuel exports.**
- 5. All prisoners of war shall be returned to their home country. (This provision would greatly favor Ukraine as Russia has captured many times more Ukrainian prisoners of war (POWs) than Ukraine has captured Russian POWs).**

¹¹⁸ Medea Benjamin, Marcy Winograd, Opinion: Stop fanning the flames of war. Seek a ceasefire in Ukraine, 29 September 2022, www.mercurynews.com

6. U.N. peacekeepers from neutral countries shall be deployed as soon as practicable along the armistice line of control where fighting has continued in recent weeks. (Optionally, a four kilometer wide Demilitarized Zone could be created along the borders of the four Russian annexed Ukrainian regions similar to the one that separates North and South Korea).

7. Delegations from the Russian and Ukrainian governments shall convene an immediate peace conference in Istanbul to resume negotiations for a compromise peace agreement where both parties left off when Ukraine withdrew from peace negotiations in April.

While I was writing my original cease-fire proposal for *The National Interest*, one of the provisions of the proposed armistice agreement I included was that, Russia would resume natural gas shipments to the European Union via the Nord Stream 1 or Nord Stream 2 pipelines but on September 27th, both of them were severely damaged by acts of sabotage in what appear to be an act of retaliation against Russia for its invasion of Ukraine. Bizarrely, almost immediately after attacks, sources in the Biden administration began suggesting that Russia might be responsible for destroying their own pipelines which cost nearly \$20 billion to construct, a claim the Russians denied. The day after the pipeline attacks, former President Donald Trump offered to serve as a Special Envoy to lead a U.S. delegation to mediate peace talks to end the war in Ukraine out of concern that sabotaging the pipelines might spark “World War III,” particularly if Moscow believed that the United States or another NATO member was responsible.¹¹⁹ As Seymour Hersch exposed in his recent article “How America Took Out the Nordstream Pipeline,” the Biden administration plotted to destroy the Nord Stream pipelines if the Russians invaded Ukraine, planted the explosives under the cover of joint NATO naval exercises in the Baltic Sea in July and then blew them up in September causing one of the greatest environmental catastrophes in history.¹²⁰ The Nord Stream pipeline had provided energy security to Europe for decades and its reopening might have saved hundreds if not thousands of Europeans from freezing to death this past winter. The Biden administration claimed that Russia was likely responsible for destroying their own pipelines, but former Polish Foreign Minister Radoslaw Sikorski gave the first clue as to who

¹¹⁹ Jack Phillips, “Trump Offers to Mediate a Peace Deal Between Russia, Ukraine, and US,” 28 September 2022, www.epochsimes.com

¹²⁰ Seymour Hersch, “How America Took Out the Nordstream Pipeline” 8 February 2023, seymourhersch.substack.com

the real perpetrator was when he tweeted his thanks to the U.S. for knocking it out of commission within hours of its destruction.¹²¹

Such an armistice agreement would not only serve to end the war in Ukraine and its ensuing death and destruction, but it would allow over fifteen million Ukrainian refugees to return home and fifty percent of Ukrainian businesses to re-open and begin the long process of Ukrainian reconstruction and economic recovery, it would also serve to bring Russia, Ukraine, and NATO back from the brink of nuclear war. In the event of any Russian military attacks on Ukraine in violation of the armistice agreement, the US and NATO would resume economic sanctions against Russia and weapon shipments to Ukraine. If Ukraine resumed hostilities with Russia, the West would cut off all economic support for Kyiv including funding for reconstruction.

As part of the agreement, the West would agree to lift only those economic sanctions on Russia which have been harming its own citizens namely bans on Russian food and fuel exports to help fight inflation and end the recession that has gripped most Western countries following the enactment of their economic sanctions on Russia. The objective of such an agreement would not be a frozen conflict as was achieved by the Minsk Agreement but a genuine end to the conflict with a promise of permanent Ukrainian neutrality outside of NATO, guaranteed by the US, Britain and France, along with other concessions they have been seeking spelled out in my proposed peace agreement including lifting of most if not all Western economic sanctions designed to ensure Russia never again attacks Ukraine.

Negotiation of a final peace agreement would undoubtedly be a long and arduous undertaking, particularly given how adamantly opposed the Ukrainian government has been to agree to any territorial concessions to Russia to end the war, which is why it is important to include as many mutually agreeable elements of such a peace agreement in the armistice agreement as possible. Under such a peace agreement, Russia would agree to an expansion of NATO to include Sweden and Finland in exchange for written guarantees that NATO will never expand eastward into additional former Soviet republics and that it will never station or deploy its armed forces in Finland or Sweden except in the event of a direct military attack against NATO. As part of the peace agreement, there would be a general amnesty for all Ukrainian citizens accused of collaboration or advocating peace with Russia, which the Ukrainian government has designated as

¹²¹ Murat Temizer, "Former Polish Foreign Minister Thanks US for Damaging Nord Stream Pipeline," 28 September 2022, aa.com.tr

war crimes and treasonable offenses. The U.S. would not recognize any Russian annexations of Ukrainian territory unless and until such a peace agreement was signed and implemented.

My fifteen-point peace proposal, which is the most comprehensive peace plan which has yet been published in the West thus far, might serve as a useful basis for negotiations with a few major changes including allowing Ukraine to keep all its weapons except for ballistic missiles, cruise missiles and strategic surface-to-air missiles.¹²² The number of Ukrainian troops permitted under the agreement would be revised to 100,000 active and 600,000 reserve troops matching the maximum total troops which Ukraine is believed to have mobilized for the war. Proposed peace terms would include permanent Ukrainian neutrality with security guarantees by the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and some kind of Ukrainian recognition of continued de facto Russian control of Crimea, Luhansk and the parts of Donetsk, Kherson and Zaporizhzhia which they have already annexed with Ukraine renouncing any future attempts to retake these territories by force.

While Ukraine stands the most to gain from an armistice agreement, every nation involved in the conflict could legitimately claim victory. Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy could declare victory by asserting that he forced the Russians to stop fighting and accept a cease fire with successful counteroffensives that expelled invading Russian forces from four Ukrainian oblasts. Meanwhile, Western leaders could claim victory by stating their military assistance to Ukraine helped them force Russia to declare an end to the war and Putin could claim “mission accomplished” for Russia’s special military operation since it succeeded in returning eighty percent of the Donbass region to Russian control. Ending the war as quickly as possible could potentially save the lives of tens of thousands of Ukrainian lives if this tragic and unnecessary war were to be allowed to continue until most of Ukraine has been overrun by Russian forces.

Economically speaking, the benefits of Ukraine negotiating such an agreement sparing its cities from further destruction and allowing for the reconstruction of thousands of its roads, bridges, schools and hospitals, which has been estimated might cost as much as \$750 billion would be profound.¹²³ The war has forced half of Ukraine’s businesses to close while a peace deal could allow them to re-open, allowing millions of its unemployed citizens to return to work while ending

¹²² David T. Pyne, “A Proposed Peace Plan to End the Russo-Ukrainian War”, dpyne.substack.com, 18 June 2023

¹²³ Patricia Cohen & Liz Alderman, “The World’s Largest Construction Site: The Race is on to Rebuild Ukraine,” 27 November 2022, www.nytimes.com

Russia's devastating Black Sea naval blockade, restoring its ability to engage in international trade via the Black Sea and enabling most of its nearly thirteen million refugees to return home.¹²⁴ Furthermore, ending the war would allow Ukraine to rebuild its economy after suffering a thirty percent reduction in the size of its GDP last year.¹²⁵

Finally, the U.S. should rescind all remaining economic sanctions on Russia and provide a written guarantee that Ukraine will never join the NATO alliance while the U.S. and NATO would agree to a Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) II Treaty in which western NATO countries would withdraw all its troops from eastern Europe in exchange for a Russian military withdrawal from Belarus and Ukraine. Such a mutual security agreement would have the potential of ending hostilities between NATO and Russia long-term by recognizing Russia's legitimate security concerns in Europe, thereby ending the specter of a nuclear Third World War between NATO and Russia, which as Biden himself stated in October is greater than it was even during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962.

The overriding U.S. national security priority should be to pursue policies designed to preserve, protect, and defend the U.S. and the lives of over three-hundred million Americans rather than defend nations with which we have no security commitment half a world away. Great power alliances transformed two regional wars in Eastern Europe into unnecessary world wars. We must not allow history to repeat itself by allowing the NATO alliance to get us into an unnecessary war with Russia over Ukraine and Eastern Europe which would threaten our very existence as a nation.

¹²⁴ Valerie Hopkins, "100 Days of War: Death, Destruction and Loss," 3 June 2022, www.nytimes.com

¹²⁵ Julia Horowitz, "Ukraine's economy shrank by more than 30% in 2022," 5 January 2023, www.cnn.com

Implement a New National Security Strategy for America

World war may be inevitable. However, the best hope to avoid catastrophe is negotiation with Russia to accommodate Moscow's most fundamental security interests in order to avoid war...Negotiating Moscow's proposed "peace treaty" could become a first step toward splitting the Sino-Russo Axis, that should be the main focus of U.S. foreign policy. If Russia can be moved to neutrality, or better yet into strategic partnership with the U.S., then China will be deprived of its aggressive nuclear superpower partner. China will be isolated, less likely to be militarily aggressive, and more likely to compete in the political "balance of power" game. Washington and the West's greatest challenge will be to change the way we think about foreign policy, in order to survive. The idealist Camelot of "Pax Americana" and international law and "rules-based world order" must yield to the traditional realism of "balance of power" politics, "spheres of influence," and "peace through strength. Dr. Peter Pry

As previously discussed, there is an increasing threat of a two-front war with Russia and China, or even a three or four-front war if North Korea and Iran join the fight, stemming from their increasing superiority over the United States in terms of nuclear, electromagnetic pulse (EMP), and cyber weapons. Despite this increasing US strategic military inferiority, many if not most U.S. policymakers have continued to delude themselves that the U.S. is the strongest military power on Earth, causing them to refuse to devote the resources necessary to rebuild America's nuclear arsenal, build a comprehensive national missile defense system and harden our electric grid to deter a catastrophic attack on the U.S. homeland by the Sino-Russian military alliance.

The time has come for U.S. leaders to discard their idealistic misconception that we live in a unipolar world that is safe and secure in which the US is universally recognized as the most powerful global superpower when the reality is entirely different. As a result of its increasing strategic military inferiority, America faces increasingly stark, limited, and uncomfortable choices. America is in desperate need of a new, forward-thinking grand strategy which provides us with a path forward as to how we might be successful in countering, dividing, and disrupting this alliance of two nuclear superpowers against us while at the same time minimizing the risks of a full-scale and likely, simultaneous conflict with Russia, China and North Korea.

The truth is that Russia and China would prefer not to fight a full-scale war against the U.S. but are willing to engage in joint offensive operations against us if we continue to use send U.S. military forces and send arms to nations within their spheres of influence particularly if we were

to attempt to defend Ukraine or Taiwan utilizing direct U.S. military intervention. China would prefer to continue its strategy of taking us over economically and buying up our country and U.S. political and business leaders. Its goal is to transform America & its allies into colonial economies where we sell them food and raw materials and they sell the world manufacturing goods enabling them to blackmail other nations into pursuing pro-Chinese foreign policies.

Accordingly, the answer to the unprecedented national security dilemma America faces today and ensure its national survival is for U.S. leaders to abandon its outdated and failed strategy of hegemony and replace it with a grand strategy of strategic retrenchment, focused on offshore balancing. This new grand strategy must be based upon an honest, clear-eyed assessment of the relative military-strategic balance of power as it exists today rather than how we might wish it to be or how it existed three decades ago at the end of the Cold War at a time when the People's Republic of China posed a much lesser threat. A strategy of strategic retrenchment would serve to conserve America's precious blood and treasure along with its limited military resources and refocus them on the defense of its core vital interests. It would reduce the risks of the outbreak of an unnecessary war with America's nuclear superpower adversaries leading to a safer, more secure and, hopefully, more peaceful world.

This strategy has been championed by some of America's foremost political scientists such as John Mearsheimer, Stephen Walt, Robert Pape and Christopher Layne. It would still try to ensure that no one major power dominates Europe and Northeast Asia. However, it would force U.S. allies to assume the main burden and rely on local powers to balance regional hegemony such as Russia and China, while stationing US military forces over the horizon, either offshore or within the United States. An offshore balancing strategy would avoid counterinsurgency operations altogether. This strategy recognizes that forward deployed U.S. military forces essentially serve as 'tripwires' that ensure U.S. entanglement in war in the event of aggression by one of our great power adversaries against the countries they are stationed in but are insufficient to defend those countries or likely even to deter such aggression. A strategy of offshore balancing would restore U.S. freedom of action to choose which wars to be involved in and which ones to avoid, given that such wars like the continuing border dispute between Russia and Ukraine, which is being fought over who will control a small amount of territory the size of Latvia or Lithuania with a population of five million people, could quickly and unexpectedly escalate to the nuclear level.

In his Foreign Affairs article, Dan Caldwell expressed his support for a policy of retrenchment and withdrawing most U.S. troops from Europe and the Middle East:

The United States should therefore encourage and incentivize the strengthening of the non-NATO security architecture in Europe. At a minimum, Washington should bring home the additional troops Biden sent to Europe after Russia's invasion of Ukraine. But the United States should also pursue a more substantial withdrawal of military forces from the continent. Washington should maintain only enough ground combat units to enable the U.S. military to serve as a logistics provider of last resort for European armies and only enough of a naval and air presence to secure vital sea lanes. Finally, the United States should stop treating NATO as a holy sacrament and start rethinking Washington's role in the alliance. In its current form, NATO should be viewed by conservatives with the same skepticism as the United Nations, not as the pillar of deterrence it was during the Cold War. Europe is not the only region of the world in need of a U.S. policy reset. Conservatives should also embrace a military pivot away from the Middle East. Washington should maintain its long-standing naval presence in Bahrain as well as a regional counterterrorism force with long-range strike capabilities to target terrorist groups that have both the intent and the ability to harm American interests. But the United States should withdraw most other troops from the region, including from the conflicts in Iraq and Syria. ¹²⁶

Accordingly, to reduce the increasing risk of the U.S. being entangled in great power wars which would further expose the U.S. homeland to nuclear/EMP attack, the U.S. should consider withdrawing all its ground military forces from Europe, Africa, the Middle East and perhaps even the Korean Peninsula. It would also abstain from invading and occupying other countries or engaging in nation-building endeavors while striving to ensure it does not get bogged down in foreign wars. The U.S. would send expeditionary forces only if the nations within its sphere of influence that constitute its vital interests such as Western Europe and Japan were under imminent threat of enemy attack. An exception might be made for keeping a limited number of U.S. troops forward deployed in Germany in recognition of the unique importance of this region to the U.S. given its advanced economic and industrial potential.

The scaled-back U.S. military presence overseas would further undercut support for anti-American terrorism and, most importantly, would greatly reduce the impetus for Russia and China to ally with each other to balance against the U.S. A full U.S. military withdrawal from the Middle East

¹²⁶ Dan Caldwell, "The Case for a Restrained Republican Foreign Policy," 22 March 2023, www.foreignaffairs.com

would underscore the Biden administration’s assertion that the Global War on Terror, for which the U.S. wasted an estimated six to eight trillion dollars fighting no-win counterinsurgency wars in the Middle East which might have been used to rebuild our strategic nuclear arsenal and strategic defensive capabilities over the past two decades, has ended. As previously stated, this conventional military and strategic nuclear procurement ‘holiday’ has enabled our Sino-Russian alliance enemies to overtake us in virtually every key area of strategic military effectiveness and fighting power including critical areas of military technology.

An analysis of history demonstrates that most great powers in acute decline adopted retrenchment strategies and were markedly more successful than states that implemented other policies. Paul MacDonald and Joseph M. Parent assert that there is much historical support for pursuing such a strategy.

*The historical record suggests that not only is great power retrenchment common; it is also effective. Retrenching states shift burdens to allies, constrain military budgets, and avoid militarized disputes to preserve their position in the hierarchy of nations. In contrast, states that fail to retrench never recover their rank among the great powers. Sizable forward deployments in Asia are just as likely to trap the United States in unnecessary clashes as they are to deter potential aggression. Retrenchment policies—greater burden sharing with allies, less military spending, and less involvement in militarized disputes—hold the most promise for arresting and reversing decline. In the competitive game of power politics, states must unsentimentally realign means with ends or be punished for their profligacy. Attempts to maintain policies advanced when U.S. relative power was greater are outdated, unfounded, and imprudent.*¹²⁷

The adoption of a grand strategy of offshore balancing could be accompanied by the pursuit of a U.S. diplomatic ‘peace offensive’ and the negotiation of a tripolar sphere of influence agreement which safeguards vital U.S. interests, to avert the increasing likelihood of stumbling into an unnecessary and cataclysmic war with Russia and China. The last sphere of influence agreement negotiated by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Soviet dictator Josef Stalin was at the Yalta Conference in February 1945. It was successful in keeping the great power peace in Europe for over half a century thanks, in large part, to the U.S. retention of ‘rough’ nuclear parity with the Soviet Union during the entirety of the Cold War. A global sphere of influence between the U.S., Russia and China might have similar success for the entire world. Russian President Vladimir Putin has repeatedly expressed as one of his chief foreign policy

¹²⁷ Paul MacDonald and Joseph M. Parent, “Resurrecting Retrenchment—The Grand Strategic Consequences of U.S. Decline.” Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs May 2011

objectives the conclusion of a “new Yalta” agreement that would divide the world into regions each with its own dominant regional hegemon and include international recognition of a Russian sphere of influence over the former Soviet Union to avert another world war, but U.S. leaders have never agreed to consider such an agreement.¹²⁸

The U.S. should consider signing a trilateral sphere of influence agreement with Russia and China, to establish clear redlines/boundaries to our respective spheres to prevent future conflicts and incentivize U.S. leaders to stop deploying America’s military forces into Russia’s and China’s spheres of influence to provoke them to ally against and potentially attack us. Such a sphere of influence agreement would serve to formalize the respective U.S., Russian, and Chinese “redlines,” thus greatly reducing the chances of the outbreak of a great power war and forging a more stable and secure [tripolar international order](#) to replace the dangerous and unstable bipolar international—which includes NATO and the United States Pacific allies arrayed against the Chinese-led SCO, in which Russia serves as a junior partner—on the other.

Under such an agreement, the U.S. would retain the largest sphere of influence including the entire Western Hemisphere, Western Europe, Greece, Israel, Bahrain, Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines. The U.S. would remain a member of NATO but would end its security guarantees to defend the nations of Eastern Europe as they would be outside the U.S. sphere and do not constitute vital national security interests. By withdrawing U.S. troops from Russia’s borders except for Japan, the chances of the outbreak of an inadvertent U.S. military conflict with Russia would be greatly reduced.

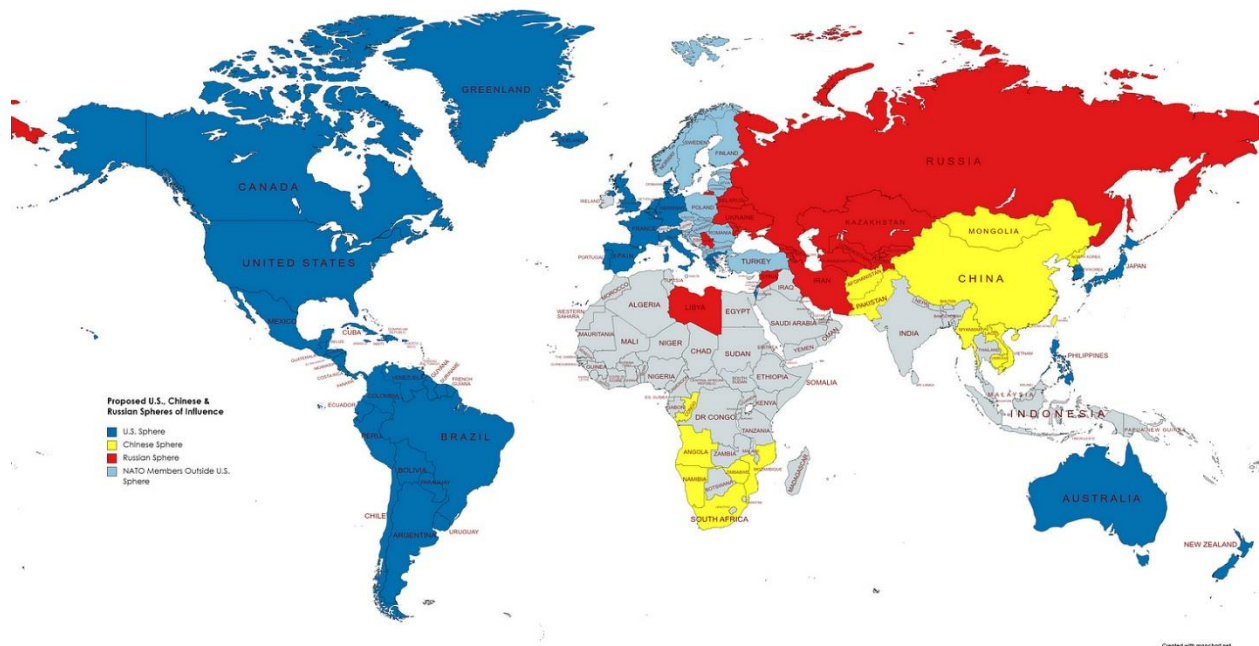
China would also relinquish its control of the Panama Canal and Russia and China would withdraw all troops and military support from Communist Cuba, Venezuela, and Nicaragua. In exchange, the U.S. would recognize a Chinese sphere of influence over Taiwan, Mongolia, North Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Myanmar, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Zimbabwe, Republic of the Congo, Angola, Namibia, Mozambique, and South Africa along with the Yellow Sea, the East China Sea and the South China Sea up to the “nine-dash line.” The U.S. would recognize a Russian sphere of influence over the former Soviet republics, excepting the three Baltic republics which are NATO

¹²⁸ Paul Goble, “Putin wants “new Yalta” to divide world into recognized regions with regional hegemons,” 14 February 2020, www.ukrweekly.com

members, as well as the Gulf of Finland, the Barents Sea, the Sea of Okhotsk and perhaps Iran, Syria, Libya, and Serbia.

Were U.S. leaders to agree to that and negotiate a compromise peace agreement ending the war in Ukraine excluding it from NATO, then Russia, having realized its objective of achieving military security guarantees along its western frontier, would never again feel the need to attack Ukraine to prevent it from becoming a NATO staging bases for U.S. nuclear bombers and participating in the perceived Western encirclement of Russia. All three superpowers would guarantee the continued political independence (except in the case of Taiwan which would be guaranteed autonomy) of all the nations within their respective spheres of influence.

The following map is an example of what a potential sphere of influence agreement with Russia and China might look like:



As the ancient Chinese general, Sun Tzu, wisely stated in his book “The Art of War”, “Thus, what is of supreme importance in war is to attack the enemy's strategy. Next best is to disrupt his alliances by diplomacy.” The purpose of such a comprehensive agreement would be to recognize and respect the vital interests of all three nuclear superpowers and resolve all major outstanding

disputes while minimizing potential risks of military conflict in the interests of preserving the great power peace.

All three superpowers would agree to refrain from sending their military forces, establishing military bases, or providing military assistance to any country within the other's sphere of influence, which would serve to cut off Russian and Chinese military support for anti-American regimes in the Western Hemisphere including Cuba, Venezuela, and Nicaragua and ensure the withdraw of all Russian and Chinese military personnel and advisors from those countries. Eastern Europe would remain outside both the U.S. and Russian spheres of influence with both great powers agreeing not to deploy troops there. Under these sphere of influence agreements, each of the three nuclear superpowers would be responsible for policing, maintaining stability, and arbitrating disputes within their own respective spheres. The three nuclear superpowers would further commit to resolve their disputes peacefully through diplomatic negotiations, wherever their interests overlap or whenever disputes were to arise outside of any of their spheres of influence.

During World War Two, the West learned the hard way that the key to a lasting peace and enduring international order is one that is perceived as equitable and which recognizes the vital interests of every great power, which the current order does not, causing Russia and China to be aggrieved, provoking a potential direct military conflict with the U.S. One of the main purposes of these proposed sphere of influence agreements would be to transform Russia and China from revisionist powers to satisfied powers committed to upholding the new tripolar international order.

As Dr. Peter Pry advocated, following the negotiation of an armistice agreement ending the war in Ukraine and a U.S. normalization of diplomatic relations and ending of all economic sanctions against Russia, we should negotiate a mutual security agreement using Russia's draft peace treaties with the U.S. and NATO which it provided in December 2021 as a starting point for negotiations. The most important element of such an agreement would be for the United States and other Western NATO powers to agree to withdraw all their military forces from Eastern Europe as part of a new Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) II Treaty. This could be followed by the signing of a U.S.-Russia Free Trade Agreement, meaningful military-

technical cooperation, and perhaps even the establishment of a joint U.S.-Russian missile defense shield in Europe, which Putin called for back in 2000.¹²⁹

Military-technical cooperation between NATO and Russia, perhaps via the NATO-Russia Council, would also be encouraged. Russia and NATO could also implement further confidence-building measures and joint military exchanges designed to increase cooperation, trust, and friendly relations between Russia and NATO. It would be desirable to consider signing a U.S.-Russia Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance like the one that Russia concluded with the PRC over two decades ago to further improve U.S.-Russian relations and further neutralize Russia's military alliance with China to deter Chinese aggression in the western Pacific. Assuming the United States then ceased deployments of its military forces in the Taiwan Straits and the South China Sea, such a friendship agreement with Russia would greatly reduce the chances that the United States would either be dragged into a war with Russia and China or face the threat of an adversarial nuclear first strike.

In his seminal book, *“U.S. Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic,”* Walter Lippman wrote, *“Foreign policy consists in bringing into balance, with a comfortable surplus of power in reserve, the nation’s commitments, and the nation’s power. The constant preoccupation of the true statesman is to achieve and maintain this balance...[H]e must...bring his ends and means into balance. If he does not, he will follow a course that leads to disaster.”* Lippman rightly argued that foreign policy becomes insolvent when a nation loses the equilibrium between its commitments and means. Foreign policy scholars have since described the result of a country’s foreign policy aims exceeding its means to accomplish them as “the Lippman Gap.” With security commitments to over a quarter of the world’s nations and with its armed forces deployed in 800 bases across the world, America has been suffering from exactly this sort of imperial overstretch which could lead to disaster in the event we face a war on multiple fronts against the Sino-Russian alliance.

In his groundbreaking article, “The New Spheres of Influence-Sharing the Globe with Other Great Powers,” former U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense Graham Allison states:

Even a conventional war that could escalate to nuclear war risks catastrophe...If the balance of military power in a conventional war over Taiwan or the Baltics has shifted decisively in China’s and Russia’s favor, current U.S. commitments are not sustainable. The gap between those commitments and the United States’ actual

¹²⁹ “Putin Outlines Anti-Missile Plan,” 5 June 2000, news.bbc.co.uk

*military capabilities is a classic case of overstretch...Strategy is the purposeful alignment of means and ends. Among the many ways in which a strategy fails, the two most common are mismatch—when the means an actor can organize and sustain are insufficient to achieve the stated ends—and vision blindness, when an actor is mesmerized by an ideal but unachievable end. The United States’ twenty-first-century wars in the Middle East offer vivid examples of both...Going forward, U.S. policymakers will have to abandon unattainable aspirations for the worlds they dreamed of and accept the fact that spheres of influence will remain a central feature of geopolitics. That acceptance will inevitably be a protracted, confusing, and wrenching process. Yet it could also bring a wave of strategic creativity—an opportunity for nothing less than a fundamental rethinking of the conceptual arsenal of U.S. national security.*¹³⁰

As Secretary Allison notes in his seminal essay, Russia and China already have their own spheres of influence whether U.S. policymakers are willing to admit they do or not.¹³¹ It has been repeated U.S. military incursions into their spheres of influence since the end of the Cold War (most notably the expansion of NATO into Eastern Europe including the three former Soviet Baltic republics) that has provoked them to ally more closely together militarily.

Another potentially more viable and politically palatable alternative to concluding a comprehensive agreement with Russia and China, would be for the Biden Administration to take unilateral actions to pull back forward-deployed U.S. military forces from Eastern Europe, Central Asia, the Middle East, the South China Sea, and possibly the Korean Peninsula. Today, the U.S. has security commitments with over fifty countries and, as a result, finds itself seriously overextended militarily.¹³² U.S. leaders continue to believe that the more allies we have, the safer and more secure we will be. However, commitments to fight unconventional and potentially nuclear wars with Russia and China over nations that do not constitute vital U.S. interests, create far more potential risks for U.S. national security than they could possibly confer benefits. The Biden Administration should follow the shrewd recommendation of Secretary Allison to subject all U.S. alliances with other nations to a zero-sum cost-benefit analysis to determine which ones serve to enhance U.S. national security and which ones put us at greater risk of being dragged into wars with Russia and China that don’t concern vital U.S. interests. Then America could shed all our security commitments that don’t pass the test.

¹³⁰ “Graham Allison, “The New Spheres of Influence-Sharing the Globe with Other Great Powers,” Foreign Affairs (March/April 2020)

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

Most urgently, just as President Biden stated in January 2022 that the U.S. would not send troops to directly intervene in a war in Ukraine, he should provide the same strategic clarity with regards to Taiwan that the U.S. will not intervene militarily in any Sino-Taiwanese military conflict. Such actions would serve to strengthen U.S. national security and greatly reduce the chances of an attack by Russia, China and North Korea on the U.S. homeland by reducing our perceived threat to Moscow, Beijing and Pyongyang while increasing the likelihood of fissures and dissention between them, potentially dividing and disrupting their alliance over time. This is because nothing has united Russia and China more than America's short-sighted attempts to project its power into Eastern Europe and East Asia along with its attempt to become the dominant world power, without which their historical adversarial relationship might have resumed long ago.

Counter the Rise of Communist China Without War

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan in August 2022 was a gift to Beijing, providing it with a useful pretext to accelerate its timetable to accomplish its longtime goal to retake control of the island. The Biden administration has referred to the People's Republic of China's recent military exercises surrounding Taiwan in response to her visit as a blockade.¹³³ Meanwhile, Chinese cyberattacks have escalated by a factor of twenty-three times to the level of millions of attacks every day.¹³⁴ Ominously, China also fired four nuclear-capable *Dong Feng* ballistic missiles over the capital of Taipei.¹³⁵

After suspending its one-week long Joint Blockade Exercise against Taiwan, China announced the resumption of military drills in the skies and waters surrounding Taiwan but, notably, did not specify when or where they would occur.¹³⁶ These unprecedented Chinese military exercises surrounding Taiwan may become increasingly frequent, lulling Taiwan into a false sense of security, and further obscuring the timing of China's long-planned final offensive, which may begin without warning. In addition, leaked audio of Chinese political and military leaders in Guangdong province indicate that China began mobilizing for war in May 2022 and there have been several economic indicators that Beijing may be planning for the outbreak of a conflict in the Pacific in late 2023 or by 2024 at the latest.¹³⁷ In response, the Biden administration has announced plans to send U.S. warships and aircraft through the Taiwan Strait in the next two to three weeks, even though the PRC declared it to be its sovereign waters back in June, providing Beijing with a further pretext for war.¹³⁸

The Taiwan Policy Act was supposed to provide billions in grant money for Taiwan to purchase modern U.S. arms but the 2023 Omnibus Spending Bill provided that the assistance would be

¹³³ Laura Seligman & Paul McLeary, "U.S. watches anxiously as China threatens missile launches near Taiwan," 3 August 2022, www.politico.com

¹³⁴ Joshua Keating and Lili Pike, "The Big Taiwan Question—Is China's Invasion Imminent?" 10 August 2022, www.grid.news

¹³⁵ Joshua Keating and Lili Pike, "China Fires Ballistic Missiles Directly Over Taipei in Major Escalation," 5 August 2022, www.grid.news

¹³⁶ Helen Davidson, "China halts military drills around Taiwan but 'war preparation' continues" 10 August 2022, www.theguardian.com

¹³⁷ Gabrielle Reyes, "Audio of Alleged Chinese Military Meeting Goes Viral on Indian Media," www.breitbart.com, 25 May 2022

¹³⁸ Isabel Reynolds & Krystal Chia, "China's Claims on Taiwan Strait Could Raise Tensions With US," 13 June 2022 www.bloomberg.com

given in the forms of loans, not grants, unlike U.S. military assistance to Ukraine which is being given with no strings attached and no requirement that Ukraine pay the cost. However, given the fact that reunification with Taiwan has long been Beijing's paramount focus, no amount of U.S. military aid, threats of military force or forward deployment of U.S. military forces is likely to deter China from resolving this longstanding dispute with the use of force by next year.

In his article entitled, "The Case for a Restrained Republican Foreign Policy," Dan Caldwell warns U.S. policymakers not to pursue a foreign policy likely to provoke war with China:

*In light of the economic, military, and political limitations their face, conservative candidates would do a disservice to their voters (and the country) if they reverted to the pre-2016 bipartisan foreign policy consensus or maintained the foreign policy of President Joe Biden. Instead, they should adopt a sober and realistic approach to foreign affairs that recognizes U.S. limits and prioritizes what is required to keep the United States safe and prosperous... Conservatives should not act as though a war with China is preordained, lest they wind up unintentionally sparking one... Conservative policymakers should therefore avoid responding to the challenges posed by China with policies that would increase the likelihood of direct conflict or undermine incentives for U.S. partners in Asia to take more responsibility for their own defense... As they have in Europe and elsewhere, U.S. security guarantees and unconditional military support can encourage free-riding or reckless driving that puts the United States on a course to war... Adopting a more prudent foreign policy will ensure that U.S. power isn't squandered and provide the means to guarantee the safety and prosperity of future generations of Americans. But if conservative policymakers deny reality and advocate the same failed policies that led the United States to where it is today, they will only guarantee American decline.*¹³⁹

While some pundits boast that the U.S. could successfully repel a Chinese invasion of Taiwan and defeat the PRC in the event of all-out war, the stark reality is that given that the U.S. has no military forces on the island and does not even have any joint defensive plans with Taiwan's Ministry of Defense, it would likely take three months before the U.S. could amass the necessary military forces to even attempt to do so.¹⁴⁰ Further complicating U.S. military planning to come to Taiwan's aid is the fact that U.S. military bases in Japan, the northern Marianas and Guam would be attacked by China at the onset of any hostilities between the U.S. and the PRC and Taiwan could fall within a month of a Chinese invasion. In addition, if the U.S. went to war with China over Taiwan, Russia and North Korea would stage joint military offensives against the U.S. and

¹³⁹ Dan Caldwell, "The Case for a Restrained Republican Foreign Policy," 22 March 2023, www.foreignaffairs.com

¹⁴⁰ Daniel Davis, "China's Military Was Built To Defeat America In A Taiwan War." 9 August 2022, www.19fortyfive.com

its allies with China and hit the U.S. homeland with cyber, EMP and potentially a nuclear decapitation and counterforce first strike.

China has amassed a huge amphibious force to invade Taiwan including three-hundred and sixty 10,000-ton ‘Roll-On, Roll-Off’ (RORO) ships which have been converted to military use and could be used to land troops and armored vehicles.¹⁴¹ U.S. military experts consider China’s A2/AD zone to cover about 1,500 kilometers from the Chinese coast as that is the range of Chinese DF-21 Anti-Ship Ballistic Missiles while China’s DF-26 Anti-Ship Ballistic Missiles have over twice that range. China is reportedly testing its hypersonic missiles with non-nuclear EMP warheads which could potentially take out U.S. carrier battle groups and squadrons of US fighters and bombers. Any major U.S. Navy ships or US amphibious assault ships entering China’s A2/AD zone would be at serious risk of being sunk though U.S. Navy submarines could conduct offensive strikes from that area. China has thousands of nuclear-capable ballistic missiles, cruise missiles and anti-ship missiles, although only several hundred are likely armed with nuclear weapons, which it could use to attack US bases and ships, some of which are reportedly equipped with super-EMP warheads, even one of which could potentially disable an entire U.S. aircraft carrier battle group.

Moreover, given Chinese theater nuclear and conventional military superiority in the Taiwan and South China Sea region, any U.S. military attempt to defend the island would likely be doomed to defeat, particularly given the likelihood of its Russian and North Korean allies joining as belligerents, potentially presenting the U.S. with a simultaneous three-front war against three nuclear powers, leading to rapid nuclear escalation and the deaths of tens of millions of Americans. As Hal Brands, author of “Danger Zone: The Coming Conflict with China,” has stated, “It would feature far higher risks of nuclear escalation than many observers recognize and present the United States with severe challenges of warfighting and war termination.” Admiral Richard, who commands U.S. Strategic Command, testified to Congress last year that the United States currently has no contingency plans for how to confront two allied nuclear superpowers simultaneously in a future war but is furiously working to formulate one.¹⁴² As the author of a new Brookings Institution report, Melanie W. Sisson, convincingly concludes, the defense of Taiwan is not a sufficiently important U.S. national interest to risk a potential nuclear war with China, let alone

¹⁴¹ Gabrielle Reyes, “Audio of Alleged Chinese Military Meeting Goes Viral on Indian Media,” www.breitbart.com, 25 May 2022

¹⁴² Tara Copp, “US Military ‘Furiously’ Rewriting Nuclear Deterrence to Address Russia and China, STRATCOM Chief Says,” 11 August 2022, www.defenseone.com

with Russia as well. ¹⁴³ President Richard Nixon foresaw that it would not be in our national interest to fight a war with China over Taiwan.¹⁴⁴

As revealed in the book, "The Hundred Year Marathon—China's Secret Strategy to Replace the U.S. as the Global Superpower" by Michael Pillsbury, China's goal is not merely to conquer Taiwan, but to become the world's mightiest economic, industrial, and military superpower by 2049, which will mark the centennial anniversary of the establishment of the PRC. Beijing has been pursuing a brilliant strategy to accomplish this objective and may accomplish it as much as a quarter century ahead of schedule if the U.S. and its allies do not take immediate, concerted action to stop it.

What follows is a proposed comprehensive national security strategic framework which could be utilized by U.S. leaders to counter Communist China's grand plan to become the world's global hegemon.

First, the Biden administration should provide strategic clarity by stating while the U.S. will not defend Taiwan militarily, the U.S. will go to war if any U.S. military bases, territories, or military forces are attacked or if necessary to defend America's treaty allies--Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, and Australia--from Chinese aggression. Only by staying out of a potential Sino-Taiwanese military conflict can the U.S. ensure the security of our allies in the Pacific, all of whom would likely come under immediate attack if the U.S. attempted to defend Taiwan given that there are U.S. military forces stationed in all but one of them. U.S. aircraft and warships would not be forward deployed within a few hundred miles of any Chinese military forces surrounding Taiwan to minimize the risks an inadvertent military clash could spark a full-scale war between the U.S. and the PRC.

There is a backlog of \$14.2 billion in congressionally authorized but yet undelivered urgent military assistance to Taiwan, depriving it of what it needs to defend itself while Congress is rushing massive military aid to Ukraine, with which the U.S. has never had any security commitment. Taking action to speed up delivery of this much needed military assistance by beefing up Taiwan's asymmetric warfare capabilities with defensive weapons such as coastal

¹⁴³ Melanie W. Sisson, "Taiwan and the Dangerous Illogic of Deterrence by Denial," May 2022, www.brookings.edu

¹⁴⁴ Craig Addison, "How Watergate saved Taiwan--Archival documents strongly suggest that Nixon was ready to abandon Taiwan in his second term", www.taipeitimes.com, 19 July 2021

defense cruise missiles, anti-tank missiles, surface-to-air missiles, combat drones, electronic jammers, aerial torpedoes, missile boats, minelayers, and smart mines to better enable it to defend itself against Chinese aggression would be well worth considering. However, U.S. policymakers should realize that attempting to provide such weapons might be used by Beijing as a pretext to initiate a full blockade of the island to prevent Taiwan from ever receiving them. The U.S. should also provide Taiwan with massive food, fuel, and humanitarian supplies to help it ride out any Chinese blockade.

Second, the Biden administration should act immediately to implement a policy of economic nationalism designed to restore America's economic independence by completely decoupling the U.S. economy from China. Congress should act to indefinitely suspend Most Favored Nation trade status for the PRC and pass former House Speaker Paul Ryan's Border Adjustment Tax which would tax U.S. imports, not exports, by twenty percent. It should also end the tens of billions of taxpayer-financed subsidies the U.S. provides to Communist China each year including several billion dollars a year to subsidize trade with the PRC via the Import-Export Bank and cut off all dual-use military technology shipments to the PRC as we have already done with Russia. Moreover, Congress should pass laws designed to prevent Chinese financiers and Chinese owned companies from donating to U.S. political and business leaders to influence U.S. policy.

Meanwhile, President Biden should issue executive orders forcing U.S. investors to immediately divest the \$1.3 trillion they are holding in Chinese stocks, deny Chinese access to U.S. capital markets, declare that U.S. official policy is to abolish America's nearly \$1 trillion annual trade deficit with the PRC, automatically match all U.S. tariffs to Chinese tariffs dollar for dollar and declare China a currency manipulator to kick in further tariffs and penalties.¹⁴⁵ Biden should also issue executive orders ordering all U.S. multi-national companies to re-shore their manufacturing industries from the PRC to the U.S. and stop collaborating with China on high-technology development projects or face massive tax penalties totaling tens if not hundreds of millions of dollars.¹⁴⁶

In addition, he should ban the thousands of Chinese People's Liberation Army and Ministry of State Security owned front companies, constituting 35% of all Chinese companies, from doing

¹⁴⁵ Yvonne Lau, "SEC chief puts Washington and Beijing on the clock with \$1.3 trillion of U.S.-listed Chinese stocks at stake," 27 July 2022, www.fortune.com

¹⁴⁶ Emily de La Bruyere & Nate Picarsic, "The Lesson of Pelosi's Taiwan Visit: Win The Production Battle, Win the War," 23 August 2022, www.forcedistancetimes.com

business in the U.S. and ban China from owning U.S. land, strategic assets, and natural resources including ports as well as energy and food production.¹⁴⁷ The FBI has revealed that Chinese Huawei cell towers in both Washington, DC and the Midwest could disrupt U.S. nuclear launch orders potentially negating the credibility of our nuclear deterrent, yet the U.S. government has done nothing to counter this clear and pressing threat thus far.¹⁴⁸ Accordingly, Biden should order the immediate seizure of all Chinese-owned lands in Washington, DC, the Midwest and anywhere near U.S. military bases as well as domestic port facilities.

Biden should also issue a list of critical technologies and manufactures such as rare earths, advanced semiconductors, weapon components and pharmaceuticals that must be produced in the U.S. under the Defense Production Act to eliminate U.S. dependency on Chinese imports as swiftly as possible. Finally, the administration should negotiate the formation of a new U.S.-led trade bloc to counter increasing Chinese economic domination consisting of the U.S., Canada, the European Union, Japan and Australia, all of which are sanctioning Russia right now over its war in Ukraine, while encouraging all of our allies to pursue these same measures in their own countries. The Pacific Forum recently recommended a similar course of action.¹⁴⁹ This new Western trade bloc should revive the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM) military tech export control regime to embargo dual-use military technology from reaching the PRC.

Third, in the event China implements a full-scale blockade or attacks Taiwan, the U.S. should act to mobilize America’s diplomatic might by mediating a cease-fire as quickly as possible coupled with a peaceful reunification agreement between China and Taiwan based on Deng Xiaoping’s “One Country Two Systems.” Such an agreement should guarantee Taiwan a high degree of autonomy, self-governance under Kuomintang (KMT) Party leadership, political and religious rights, and offer amnesty for all pro-independence leaders and military servicemembers along with the right to emigrate. The U.S. would only consider lessening its economic and trade sanctions against Beijing if it strictly complied with the terms of their reunification agreement with Taiwan and refrained from committing any aggressions against other countries once reunification had been achieved. A better option might be for the U.S. to mediate a reunification deal before a conflict

¹⁴⁷ Emily de la Bruyere & Nathan Picarsic, “Defusing Military-Civil Fusion--*The Need to Identify and Respond to Chinese Military Companies*, 26 May 2021, www.fdd.org

¹⁴⁸ Katie Bo Lillis, “CNN Exclusive: FBI investigation determined Chinese-made Huawei equipment could disrupt US nuclear arsenal communications,” www.cnn.com, 25 July 2022

¹⁴⁹ Akhil Ramesh, “Meeting the Chinese Threat” www.amconmag.com, 10 August 2022

breaks out with an effective date of January 2025 to greatly reduce the risks that China might opt to pre-emptively attack the U.S. homeland with massive cyber and space warfare attacks under the assumption that Biden will make good on his promise to defend Taiwan militarily.

Fourth, in the realization that any strategy to counter China's ever-increasing economic and military influence is likely to fail unless the U.S. prioritizes improving relations with Russia to divide and disrupt its military alliance with China, the administration should immediately suspend all military aid to Ukraine to pressure them to negotiate a compromise peace agreement with Russia. Such an agreement could be based on my Russo-Ukrainian War cease fire proposal outlined in the section above to prevent Russia from annexing all occupied Ukrainian territory and to end the continuing threat of Russian nuclear escalation. Following the signing of such an agreement, the U.S. should fully normalize diplomatic and trade relations with Russia, negotiate phased western NATO and Russian military withdrawals from Eastern Europe as part of a mutual security agreement and sign a grand strategic partnership for peace with Russia. This would effectively neutralize Russia's military alliance with China, which poses the greatest existential threat America has ever faced in its history.

Fifth, the U.S. should sign a non-aggression pact with China stating the intention of neither party to fight a war with each other so long as neither party attacks any of the other party's treaty allies. Both the U.S. and the Sino-Russian alliance would agree not to deploy their warships or military aircraft within two-hundred kilometers of the other nations' territorial frontiers, except for the Bering Strait, to avoid unnecessary provocations leading to potential military conflict. Optionally, the U.S. could consider signing a trilateral sphere of influence agreement with Russia and China, as outlined earlier in this chapter, to establish clear redlines/boundaries to our respective spheres to prevent future conflicts and incentivize U.S. leaders to stop deploying America's military forces into Russia's and China's spheres of influence to provoke them to ally against and potentially attack us. As previously stated, all three superpowers would guarantee the continued political independence (except in the case of Taiwan which would be guaranteed autonomy) of all the nations within their respective spheres of influence.

Sixth, in an acknowledgment of the changing global balance of power, the Biden administration should abandon America's failed, provocative, and reckless grand strategy of liberal hegemony and replace it with a strategy of offshore balancing designed to minimize the risks of war with the Sino-Russian alliance, while ensuring our vital national interests, foremost of which is America's

continued existence, are safeguarded. The adoption of such a strategy would free up to \$150-200 billion in annual savings from closing most of our 800 US military bases abroad and bringing most of our 200,000-250,000 troops home. This funding should be used to embark on a major endeavor, with a Manhattan Project sense of urgency, to rebuild America's strategic offensive and defensive capabilities.

Rebuilding our increasingly obsolescent and badly undersized strategic nuclear triad by reactivating our 2,000 partially dismantled strategic warheads in reserve as I have proposed would serve to restore the credibility of our nuclear deterrent and counter the increasing threat of Sino-Russian nuclear supremacy. U.S. leaders should also take immediate action to deploy a comprehensive national missile defense system consisting of at least 5,000 ABM interceptors, including space-based elements, and harden our critical infrastructure against the existential threats of EMP, including super solar storms, and cyber-attack. These actions would likely prove far more effective in deterring aggression by our adversaries than forward deploying more U.S. conventional military forces where they would be vulnerable to Sino-Russian nuclear/Electromagnetic Pulse (EMP) Pearl Harbor-type surprise attacks. Encouraging Japan to develop its own nuclear deterrent might also be helpful.

These important steps to free the U.S and its allies from Chinese economic dominance should be implemented as quickly as possible to eliminate China's ability to effectively blackmail the U.S. into pursuing pro-China policies or face a Chinese cut off of our manufacturing supply chains as well as to ensure that the U.S. returns to becoming self-sufficient in every critical area necessary to defend America as well as to fight and win protracted military conflicts. While cutting off America's dependency from Chinese supply chains would no doubt be painful and result in a substantial level of economic dislocation for U.S. businesses and citizens and would certainly lead to Chinese retaliatory countersanctions, America would emerge much stronger and more prosperous after restoring its manufacturing industrial base to the level it was three decades ago. Furthermore, these actions would serve to frustrate China's long-term ambitions even more effectively than fighting a full-scale war with the PRC over Taiwan and at much lower risk.

Conclusion

If our great nation is to survive the unprecedented, existential threats we are facing, the U.S. must adopt a new, more realistic national security strategy of retrenchment, which recognizes Russia's and China's spheres of influence, and significantly reduces our security commitments abroad in order to greatly diminish the increasing risk of stumbling into a full-scale war with the Sino-Russian alliance, while potentially serving to help divide and disrupt their alliance against us. We must also act swiftly to cut off all military assistance to Ukraine to pressure them to agree to an armistice ending the war with Russia while either declaring the US will not declare Taiwan militarily or negotiating a reunification agreement with the PRC to avoid war with Russia and China.

Furthermore, immediate action needs to be taken by both the President and the U.S. Congress in order to more than double the size of America's strategic nuclear arsenal, deploy 5,000 ABM's and harden the U.S. electrical power grid against EMP attack in order to restore America's ability to deter a catastrophic attack by Russia and China that, according to the Congressional EMP Commission, could result in the deaths of ninety percent of U.S. citizens within a year. In the third section of this report, I also detail a number of other critically important steps which could be implemented within a matter of weeks which would serve to massively strengthen the survivability of the U.S. nuclear deterrent and greatly increase its credibility to dissuade potential nuclear aggressors from engaging in existential attacks against us.

If you are interested in learning more about what you can do to save America from a potential nuclear/EMP apocalypse, please purchase a copy of our new book, *"Catastrophe Now—America's Last Chance to Prevent an EMP Disaster."* In addition, please take the opportunity to visit the website of the Task Force on National Security at www.emptaskforce.us to volunteer and donate to our non-profit organization to help our efforts to protect America from a nuclear/EMP apocalypse before it is too late. Finally, you can also download my presentation "What America Must Do to Stop Provoking World War Three with the Sino-Russian Alliance" under the "Latest News" section of our website on the top right.

About the Author

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David received a M.A. in National Security Studies from Georgetown University's prestigious School of Foreign Service and a J.D. from Southwestern University School of Law. He currently serves as Deputy Director of National Operations for the Task Force on National and Homeland Security, as a West Valley Police Honorary Colonel and as Editor of "The Real War" newsletter at dpyne.substack.com. David is a former U.S. Army combat arms and Headquarters staff officer who oversaw armaments cooperation with the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Africa and the Americas from 2000-2003. He also served as a Consultant for the U.S. Missile Defense Agency and as an International Analyst for both the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the Department of the Navy. Mr. Pyne also served as National Security Policy Director for then Senator-Elect Mike Lee (R-UT). He is an internationally renowned national security strategist whose articles have been published in The National Interest, RealClearHistory, RealClearDefense, Deseret News, Salt Lake Tribune, the Provo Daily Herald, WorldNetDaily.com and Military.com. He has been interviewed on television and radio and his articles have been referenced in several newspapers, magazine articles and books across the world. He also served as a contributor to Dr. Peter Pry's book, "Blackout Warfare" and was one of the principal co-authors of the new book "Catastrophe Now—America's Last Chance to Prevent an EMP Disaster." David may be reached at emptaskforce.ut@gmail.com.