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Moscow Times  
23 July 2009

## **Designer Quits After Missile Failure**

By Nabi Abdullaev / The Moscow Times

The country's top missile designer resigned Wednesday after the failed test-launch of a naval ballistic missile last week weakened Moscow's negotiating position with Washington over a new arms treaty.

"Yury Solomonov has submitted a letter asking that he be relieved from his duties as the general director and chief designer of the Moscow Institute of Thermal Technology," said Alexander Vorobyov, a spokesman for the Federal Space Agency, which oversees the top-secret institute.

Vorobyov said the resignation had been accepted.

Solomonov's Bulava intercontinental missile has failed in seven out of 11 test launches since 2004, the latest on July 15 when the missile self-destructed 20 seconds after launch from the submerged Dmitry Donskoi submarine in the White Sea.

This was the first test in 2009 and the first since Russia and the United States began negotiations over a new strategic arms reduction treaty to replace the Cold War-era START I agreement, which expires in December.

"If Russia had the Bulava coming soon, this would make its negotiating position stronger," said Vladimir Yevseyev, a security analyst with the Institute of Global Economy and International Relations. "Now, we don't have the missile, and a lot of the blame for this rests on Solomonov."

U.S. and Russian negotiators met in Geneva on Wednesday for their first round of talks since Presidents Barack Obama and Dmitry Medvedev agreed on the framework for the new treaty at a Moscow summit on July 6.

The Bulava, which can carry up to 10 nuclear warheads, is based on the Topol, which was also designed by Solomonov's institute and carries only a single warhead. Analysts say Russia needs the Bulava to maintain its nuclear parity with the United States as its Soviet-built missiles rapidly age and are decommissioned.

The military had planned to enter the Bulava into service in 2008, but after the first failed tests the deadline was delayed by a year and is now undecided. The military has postponed further tests until an internal investigation is carried out over the latest failure.

Solomonov's resignation does not mean that work on the Bulava will stop, Interfax reported, quoting an unidentified senior officer with the General Staff.

Solomonov, 64, could not be reached for comment Wednesday.

Solomonov started working at the design bureau in 1971 and became its chief designer in 1997. He gained significant clout after he developed the land-based Topol and Topol-M in response to a Defense Ministry order for a missile that could be produced with purely Russian-made parts. The older missiles contained components made in Ukraine, where several enterprises involved in maintaining the Soviet nuclear arsenal were left after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Solomonov's newfound clout helped him to persuade the military to chose the Bulava over another proposed intercontinental ballistic missile, the Bark, said Ruslan Pukhov, an analyst with the Center for Analysis of Strategies and Technologies.

Solomonov's design bureau traditionally led in research and design for land-based missiles, while naval missiles were developed at the Miass, Chelyabinsk-based Makeyev State Rocket Center.

"Solomonov made a successful land missile, but he overestimated his ability with the naval one," said Gennady Yevstafyev, a retired lieutenant general and a nuclear arms researcher with the PIR Center think tank. "It took Solomonov too long to acknowledge this."

The military has a lot riding on the Bulava. Its three newest Borei-class nuclear submarines are designed especially to carry Bulavas. One of the submarines, the Yury Dolgoruky, cost 23 billion rubles (\$800 million) to build, and it completed sea tests earlier this month.

Redesigning the Borei submarines to carry the Sineva, the intercontinental ballistic missile currently deployed on nuclear submarines, would cost roughly as much as building new submarines, said Alexander Khranchikhin, an analyst with the Institute of Political and Military Analysis.

Solomonov's departure is likely to open the way for new designers who specialize in naval missiles to join the Bulava project, analysts said.

The Federal Space Agency said Wednesday that it had started a search for a replacement for Solomonov and that Solomonov's first deputy, Alexander Dorofeyev, would serve as acting head for now. The new chief designer will be named in September, it said.

<http://www.themoscowtimes.com/article/1010/42/379764.htm>

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RIA Novosti  
23 July 2009

## **New Design Bureau May Take Over Failing Bulava Missile – Analyst**

MOSCOW, July 23 (RIA Novosti) - Further development of Russia's failure-prone Bulava ballistic missile could be assigned to another design bureau if the project remains in the works, a Russian military expert said on Thursday.

"For 15 years the money [for the project] has been thrown down the drain. I think [work on] the missile will be ultimately given to another firm," said Anatoly Tsyganok, head of the Moscow-based Military Forecast Center.

The missile, which is being developed by the Moscow-based Institute of Thermal Technology (MITT), has had six failures in 11 tests, and the general director of the institute resigned on Tuesday over what is believed to be a serious setback in the development of Russia's nuclear deterrent.

Yury Solomonov, who occupied the posts of MITT general director and general designer, is the most senior official to date to take responsibility for a series of failures in the development of the project.

Tsyganok said that Solomonov would most likely retain his job as the chief designer of ballistic missiles, and the decision to separate administrative and R&D responsibilities at MITT was long overdue.

"However, it is hard to say who will carry on the Bulava's development," the analyst said in an exclusive interview with RIA Novosti.

The MITT got the task to develop Bulava after the Makeyev Design Bureau in the city of Miass in the Urals, which specialized in designing submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBM), failed to produce a prototype of its own Bark SLBM.

The MITT, on the contrary, had just produced a winner in the mobile, land-based, single-warhead Topol-M. But the Solomonov-led institute had little or no experience in SLBM development.

"At present, the Makeyev design bureau is practically nonexistent. The average age of the staff is 55-60 years, and it poses a big problem," Tsyganok said.

In addition, the expert confirmed reports that the future development of the Bulava has been questioned by some lawmakers and defense industry officials.

"I heard that some lawmakers have been mulling folding the Bulava project and focusing on the existing Sineva SLBM," he said.

The RSM-54 Sineva (SS-N-23 Skiff) is a third-generation liquid-propellant submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM) that entered service with the Russian Navy in July 2007. It can carry four or 10 nuclear warheads, depending on the modification, and has a maximum range of over 11,500 kilometers (about 7,100 miles).

Russia carried out successful test launches of two Sineva missiles from two Delta IV class nuclear-powered submarines in service with the Northern Fleet, located under an ice floe near the North Pole, on July 13-14.

The results of the tests confirmed that the Sineva would stay in service with the Russian Navy until at least 2015.

The Bulava (SS-NX-30) submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM) carries up to 10 MIRV warheads and has an estimated range of over 8,000 kilometers (5,000 miles). The three-stage solid-propellant ballistic missile is designed for deployment on new Borey class nuclear-powered strategic submarines.

The Russian military expects the Bulava, along with Topol-M land-based ballistic missiles, to become the core of Russia's nuclear triad.

Since the latest failure, the Russian Navy has reiterated that the Bulava tests will continue and the missile will inevitably be deployed on Borey class submarines.

[http://en.rian.ru/military\\_news/20090723/155598994.html](http://en.rian.ru/military_news/20090723/155598994.html)

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Financial Times – U.K.

July 24, 2009

## **Russian Missile Designer Quits**

By Stefan Wagstyl and Catherine Belton

Russia's long-range nuclear rocket programme has been plunged into uncertainty by the departure of its top missile designer, who resigned after a string of failed test launches of a key new submarine missile.

The latest failure of the Bulava rocket this month highlights Moscow's challenges in replacing an ageing nuclear arsenal and maintaining a deterrent at a time of growing fears of global proliferation. Russian officials are currently negotiating with the US over a new strategic arms control pact to replace the cold war-era Start 1 treaty.

Yuri Solomonov, 64, resigned this week as head of the secret Moscow Institute of Thermal Technology, according to the Federal Space Agency, which supervises the institute.

The Bulava has failed on about seven of 11 test launches since 2004, including the latest on July 15 when the missile blew up after it was fired from a submarine in the White Sea.

The weapon was originally expected to go into service in 2007 but the defence ministry is unlikely to set a new schedule until the failure is investigated.

The Bulava is a naval version of the Topol-M land-based missile, designed by the Moscow institute and brought into service in the late 1990s. Mr Solomonov won recognition for producing the missile using only Russian-made parts in spite of the disruption caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union, when key plants ended up in Ukraine.

This success helped the Moscow institute win the contract for the new submarine missile, beating an established design centre for submarine missiles, in Chelyabinsk, in the Urals. But it seems Mr Solomonov may have underestimated the difficulties in converting the Topol-M for naval use.

Pavel Felgenhauer, an independent defence analyst, said: "The Russian authorities are in a really desperate situation because this undermines Russia's plans to sustain a credible nuclear deterrent, and this is the one thing that keeps Russia as a nuclear superpower... They don't know what to do next."

Vadim Solovyov, editor of Independent Military Observer, a defence magazine, was more sanguine, saying the missile could fly but "needed more work", including better manufacturing discipline at 650 parts suppliers.

Analysts said rivalries between defence establishments, including the Moscow and Chelyabinsk design institutes, probably contributed to Mr Solomonov's departure. The FSB security service said last week it was investigating sabotage as a possible cause of the launch failure.

The incident will fuel a sharp military budget debate, with big spending increases in recent years not matched by efficiency gains. Sergei Ivanov, the deputy prime minister, said last month that 40 per cent of the defence budget was spent on the navy – more than the land-based strategic rocket force, the space programme and the air force combined – and that most of the naval spending went on the strategic nuclear submarines.

“It seems it is the most expensive item on Russia’s entire defence budget and apparently it’s been misspent,” said Mr Felgenhauer.

Moscow could continue with the ageing Sineva missile carried on late-Soviet Delta 4 submarines. But the Sineva and the Delta are due to be decommissioned soon after 2020. The Delta’s replacement – the Borei – is already in service but is designed for Bulavas. Mr Solovyov said refitting Boreis for Sinevas would cost more than building new Boreis.

The Bulava’s difficulties draw attention to other shortcomings in military industry. With much capacity lost since the end of the Soviet era, Russian plants produce fewer than 10 Topol-M missiles yearly. With hundreds of old missiles to replace, extra capacity is required but creating it could mean boosting the defence budget even further at a time of global economic crisis.

<http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/91d7a29e-77e9-11de-9713-00144feabdc0.html>

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RIA Novosti  
24 July 2009

## **Sea Trials of Russia's Nerpa Submarine on Schedule – Official**

KHABAROVSK, July 24 (RIA Novosti) - Final sea trials of Russia's Nerpa nuclear-powered submarine, which was damaged in a fatal accident during previous tests, are continuing on schedule, a shipyard official said on Friday.

The vessel resumed sea trials on July 10 in the Sea of Japan following extensive repairs.

"The resumed sea trials are going according to schedule," the official at the Amur shipyard said, without specifying when the tests would be completed.

A high-ranking defense official said on July 10 the trials would last for about two weeks.

On November 8, 2008, while the Nerpa was undergoing sea trials in the Sea of Japan, its on-board fire suppression system went off, releasing a deadly gas into the sleeping quarters. Three crewmembers and 17 shipyard workers were killed. There were 208 people, 81 of them submariners, on board the vessel at the time.

Following the repairs, which cost an estimated 1.9 billion rubles (\$60 million), the submarine was cleared for final sea trials before being commissioned with the Russian Navy and leased to the Indian Navy by the end of 2009.

India reportedly paid \$650 million for a 10-year lease of the 12,000-ton K-152 Nerpa, an Akula II class nuclear-powered attack submarine.

Akula II class vessels are considered the quietest and deadliest of all Russian nuclear-powered attack submarines.

[http://en.rian.ru/military\\_news/20090724/155605074.html](http://en.rian.ru/military_news/20090724/155605074.html)

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Itar-Tass  
24 July 2009

## **Exhibition Features Declassified Soviet A-bomb Documents**

MOSCOW, July 24 (Itar-Tass) -- Declassified Soviet A-bomb documents will highlight an exhibition that opens in Moscow on Friday and covers the period from 1938 to 1949 when the Soviet Union tested its first nuclear weapon at Semipalatinsk range.

“Several new documents were declassified for the exhibition related to the construction of the first Soviet atomic bomb, design of closed cities, as well as the “C” department that accumulated information from abroad,” Alexei Litvin from the State Archive told Tass.

The documents include authentic reports of the Soviet intelligence about the creation of a super bomb in the United States, as well as reports of the head of the Soviet atomic project Lavrenty Beriya to Joseph Stalin.

US archives provided a confidential memorandum of US President Garry Truman that okayed the use of a nuclear bomb against Japan and pages from his diary of 1945.

Several exhibits are directly linked to the first Soviet nuclear test on August 29, 1949. Some documents disclose unknown details related to the participation of German scientists and GULAG prisoners in the project.

Visitors will see a documentary of the test shot specifically for Stalin. The film was classified for 45 years.

The exhibition will last until September 20.

<http://www.itar-tass.com/eng/level2.html?NewsID=14174460&PageNum=0>

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RIA Novosti

24 July 2009

## Russia Lays Down 2nd Graney Class Nuclear Sub

SEVERODVINSK, July 24 (RIA Novosti) - Construction of a second Project 885 Yasen (Graney) class nuclear-powered multipurpose attack submarine started on Friday at the Sevmash shipyard in northern Russia, the company said.

Graney class nuclear submarines combine the ability to launch a variety of long-range cruise missiles (up to 3,100 miles) with nuclear warheads, and effectively engage hostile submarines, surface warships and land-based targets.

The Kazan submarine will feature more advanced equipment than the first vessel in the series -the Severodvinsk, which was laid down in 1992 and is scheduled to join the Russian navy in 2010 or early 2011 after a long delay for financial reasons.

"The second submarine will have improved electronics and fire-control systems, and will be built exclusively with Russian-made materials and components," Sevmash spokeswoman Anastasia Nikitinskaya said.

The submarine's armament will include 24 cruise missiles, including the 3M51 Alfa SLCM, the SS-NX-26 Oniks SLCM or the SS-N-21 Granat/Sampson SLCM. It will also have eight torpedo tubes as well as mines and anti-ship missiles such as SS-N-16 Stallion.

Russia's Navy commander, Adm. Vladimir Vysotsky, said in July last year that the construction of new-generation nuclear-powered ballistic missile and attack submarines was a top priority for the Russian Navy.

Under the Russian State Arms Procurement Program for 2007-2015, the Navy is expected to receive at least five Project 955 Borey nuclear-powered strategic submarines equipped with new Bulava ballistic missiles and two Project 885 Yasen nuclear multipurpose attack submarines.

[http://en.rian.ru/military\\_news/20090724/155609253.html](http://en.rian.ru/military_news/20090724/155609253.html)

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Washington Post

July 21, 2009

## Is Myanmar Going Nuclear?

By DENIS D. GRAY

The Associated Press

BANGKOK -- The recent aborted voyage of a North Korean ship, photographs of massive tunnels and a top secret meeting have raised alarm bells that one of the world's poorest nations may be aspiring to join the nuclear club - with help from its friends in Pyongyang. No one expects military-run Myanmar, also known as Burma, to obtain an atomic bomb anytime soon, but experts have the Southeast Asian nation on their radar screen.

"There's suspicion that something is going on, and increasingly that cooperation with North Korea may have a nuclear undercurrent. We are very much looking into it," says David Albright, president of the Institute for Science and International Security, a Washington, D.C. think tank.

The issue is expected to be discussed, at least on the sidelines, at this week's ASEAN Regional Forum, a major security conference hosted by Thailand. U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, along with representatives from North Korea and Myanmar, will attend.

Alert signals sounded recently when a North Korean freighter, the Kang Nam I, headed toward Myanmar with undisclosed cargo. Shadowed by the U.S. Navy, it reversed course and returned home earlier this month.

It is still not clear what was aboard. U.S. and South Korean officials suspected artillery and other non-nuclear arms, but one South Korean intelligence expert, citing satellite imagery, says the ship's mission appeared to be related to a Myanmar nuclear program and also carried Scud-type missiles.

The expert, speaking on condition of anonymity because of the sensitivity of the issue, said North Korea is helping Myanmar set up uranium- and nuclear-related facilities, echoing similar reports that have long circulated in Myanmar's exile community and media.

Meanwhile, Japanese police arrested a North Korean and two Japanese nationals last month for allegedly trying to export a magnetic measuring device to Myanmar that could be used to develop missiles.

And a recent report from Washington-based Radio Free Asia and Myanmar exile media said senior Myanmar military officers made a top secret visit late last year to North Korea, where an agreement was concluded for greatly expanding cooperation to modernize Myanmar's military muscle, including the construction of underground installations. The military pact report has yet to be confirmed.

In June, photographs, video and reports showed as many as 800 tunnels, some of them vast, dug in Myanmar with North Korean assistance under an operation code-named "Tortoise Shells." The photos were reportedly taken between 2003 and 2006.

Thailand-based author Bertil Lintner is convinced of the authenticity of the photos, which he was the first to obtain. However, the purpose of the tunnel networks, many near the remote capital of Naypyitaw, remains a question mark.

"There is no doubt that the Burmese generals would like to have a bomb so that they could challenge the Americans and the rest of the world," says Lintner, who has written books on both Myanmar and North Korea. "But they must be decades away from acquiring anything that would even remotely resemble an atomic bomb."

David Mathieson of the New York-based Human Rights Watch, who monitors developments in Myanmar, says that while there's no firm evidence the generals are pursuing a nuclear weapons capability, "a swirl of circumstantial trends indicates something in the nuclear field is going on that definitely warrants closer scrutiny by the international community."

Albright says some of the suspicion stems from North Korea's nuclear cooperation with Syria, which now possesses a reactor. Syria had first approached the Russians, just as Myanmar did earlier, but both countries were rejected, so the Syrians turned to Pyongyang - a step Myanmar may also be taking.

Since the early 2000s, dissidents and defectors from Myanmar have talked of a "nuclear battalion," an atomic "Ayelar Project" working out of a disguised flour mill and two Pakistani scientists who fled to Myanmar following the Sept. 11 World Trade Center attack providing assistance. They gave no detailed evidence.

Now a spokesman for the self-styled Myanmar government-in-exile, the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma, says that according to sources working with the dissident movement inside the Myanmar army, there are two heavily guarded buildings under construction "to hold nuclear reactors" in central Myanmar.

Villagers in the area have been displaced, said spokesman Zinn Lin.

Andrew Selth of Australia's Griffith University, who has monitored Myanmar's possible nuclear moves for a decade, says none of these reports has been substantiated and calls the issue an "information black hole."

He also says Western governments are cautious in their assessments, remembering the intelligence blunders regarding suspected weapons of mass destruction in Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

A U.S. State Department official, speaking on customary rules of anonymity, said he would not comment on intelligence-related matters such as nuclear proliferation.

"I don't want that to be seen as confirmation one way or the other. Obviously, any time that a country does business with North Korea we're going to watch to see what that is," the official said.

Alarm bells about Myanmar's aspirations have rung before. In 2007, Russia signed an agreement to establish a nuclear studies center in Myanmar, build a 10-megawatt nuclear research reactor for peaceful purposes and train several hundred technicians in its operation.

However, Russia's atomic agency Rosatom told The Associated Press recently that "there has been no movement whatsoever on this agreement with Burma ever since."

Even earlier, before the military seized power, Myanmar sought to develop nuclear energy, sending physicists to the United States and Britain for studies in the 1950s. The military government established a Department of Atomic Energy in 2001 under U Thaung, a known proponent of nuclear technology who currently heads the Ministry of Science and Technology.

Myanmar is a party to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, and under a safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency, it is obligated to let the U.N. watchdog know at least six months in advance of operating a nuclear facility, agency spokesman Ayhan Evrensel said.

Evrensel said the Vienna-based IAEA has asked Myanmar to sign a so-called "additional protocol" that would allow agency experts to carry out unannounced inspections and lead to a broader flow of information about Myanmar's nuclear activities.

The regime has remained silent on whatever its plans may be. A Myanmar government spokesman did not respond to an e-mail asking about Russian and North Korean involvement in nuclear development.

In a rare comment from inside Myanmar, Chan Tun, former ambassador to North Korea turned democracy activist, told the Thailand-based Irrawaddy magazine, "To put it plainly: Burma wants to get the technology to develop a nuclear bomb.

"However, I have to say that it is childish of the Burmese generals to dream about acquiring nuclear technology since they can't even provide regular electricity in Burma," the Myanmar exile publication quoted him last month as saying.

Some experts think the generals may be bluffing.

"I would think that it's quite possible Yangon would like to scare other countries or may feel that talking about developing nuclear technologies will give them more bargaining clout," said Cristina-Astrid Hansell at the California-based James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies. "This is not unreasonable, given the payoffs North Korea has gotten for its nuclear program."

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/07/21/AR2009072100050.html>

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Global Security Newswire  
July 21, 2009

## **Myanmar Might Be Building Nuclear Program, Experts Say**

A number of analysts say that a growing amount of circumstantial evidence suggests the military government of Myanmar is laying the groundwork for a nuclear program, the Associated Press reported today (see *GSN*, May 16, 2007).

Images released last month showing a network of 800 tunnels, apparently excavated with help from nuclear pariah North Korea, and rumors that a North Korean freighter was ferrying weapons to Myanmar before turning around under U.S. pressure several weeks ago, have stoked concerns of an atomic alliance between the Asian nations (see *GSN*, July 7).

"There's suspicion that something is going on, and increasingly that cooperation with North Korea may have a nuclear undercurrent," said David Albright, president of the Washington-based Institute for Science and International Security. "We are very much looking into it."

Washington is also looking into it, and U.S. envoys are expected to raise the matter -- at least in private meetings -- this week at the Association of Southeast Asian Nations conference in Thailand.

It remains unclear why Myanmar is building the tunnels, or what was being carried by the North Korean ship. Officials in Seoul and Washington believe the cargo was along the lines of small arms, while one South Korean intelligence analyst said satellite images indicated the ship carried Scud-type missiles and possibly material for a nuclear program in Myanmar.



North Korea is a known proliferator that is already suspected of helping Syria to build a reputed nuclear reactor destroyed in a September 2007 Israeli airstrike (see *GSN*, June 18).

Myanmar has joined the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and signed a safeguards deal with the International Atomic Energy Agency. However, it has yet to agree to the Additional Protocol, which would allow the U.N. nuclear watchdog to conduct more intrusive monitoring of any nuclear operations.

Myanmar's interest in nuclear technology dates back to the 1950s, AP reported. It signed a deal with Russia in 2007 for acquisition of a civilian nuclear research reactor and atomic studies center; Moscow, though, said that nothing has come of the agreement.

The South Korean expert said North Korea is helping Yangon build facilities for uranium operations or other nuclear activities -- a suspicion long espoused by exiled Burmese citizens and journalists. Exiles for years have claimed the government is running a nuclear-related venture called the "Ayelar Project" out of a defunct flour mill. A Burmese shadow government, operating in exile, has said Yangon is building two facilities "to hold nuclear reactors," citing military sources inside Myanmar.

Myanmar is probably not close to developing a nuclear weapon, if that is its intention, experts said.

"There is no doubt that the Burmese generals would like to have a bomb so that they could challenge the Americans and the rest of the world," said author Bertil Lintner. "But they must be decades away from acquiring anything that would even remotely resemble an atomic bomb."

Reports regarding possible nuclear-related activities in Myanmar have yet to be confirmed from inside of what is essentially an "information black hole," said Australian analyst Andrew Selth, who has been studying the issue for 10 years.

Myanmar should be scrutinized for any traces of a burgeoning program regardless of its intention, said David Mathieson of Human Rights Watch. "A swirl of circumstantial evidence indicates something in the nuclear field is going on that definitely warrants closer scrutiny by the international community," Mathieson said.

Still, others think that hints of a nuclear program in Myanmar might be a ruse orchestrated by the Burmese government to give itself more leverage in Southeast Asia. "I would think that it's quite possible Yangon would like to scare other countries, or may feel that talking about developing nuclear technologies will give them more bargaining clout," said Cristina-Astrid Hansell, an analyst with the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies. "This is not unreasonable, given the payoffs North Korea has gotten for its nuclear program."

The U.S. State Department said it is examining the issue. "I don't want this to be seen as a confirmation one way or another," said a department official. "Obviously, any time that a country does business with North Korea we're going to watch to see what that is" (Denis Gray, Associated Press/Yahoo!News, July 21).

[http://www.globalsecuritynewswire.org/gsn/nw\\_20090721\\_1079.php](http://www.globalsecuritynewswire.org/gsn/nw_20090721_1079.php)

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Washington Post  
July 21, 2009

## **Clinton Wary of Growing Burmese, North Korean Military Cooperation**

By Glenn Kessler  
Washington Post Staff Writer

BANGKOK, July 21 -- Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton said the United States is taking "very seriously" reports of growing military cooperation between North Korea and Burma.

"We know that there are also growing concerns" about such cooperation, Clinton told reporters Tuesday after talks in the Thai capital. "It would be destabilizing for the region. It would pose a direct threat to Burma's neighbors."

U.S. officials closely tracked a North Korean ship after the government in Pyongyang tested a nuclear weapon. Although U.S. officials were never certain it was headed to Burma, the ship returned to North Korea after the United States put pressure on Burma to fulfill a United Nations resolution barring most North Korean weapons exports.

Photographs have also emerged in recent weeks vast tunnels built in Burma near its new capital, Naypyidaw, with North Korean technical assistance. North Korean officials can be spotted in the photos, which were taken between 2003 and 2006 and posted on the Web site of YaleGlobal Online by journalist Bertil Lintner.

U.S. officials traveling with Clinton said that the concerns about Burma and North Korea, two of the most oppressive and opaque nations in the world, extend to possible nuclear cooperation. North Korea has a long history of illicit missile sales and proliferation, including secretly helping build a Syrian nuclear reactor that was destroyed in 2007 by Israeli jets.

"This is one of the areas we'd like to know about," said one official. "We have concerns but our information is incomplete."

Clinton also strongly criticized the Burmese government for its well-documented use of gang rape as part of a military tactic against ethnic minorities. A recent offensive against the Karen tribe has sent more than 4,000 refugees fleeing across the border into Thailand in recent weeks.

"We are deeply concerned by reports of continuing human rights abuses within Burma, particularly by actions that are attributed to the Burmese military concerning the mistreatment and abuse of young girls," Clinton said.

The Obama administration is conducting a review of its Burma policy, which Clinton said has been placed on hold while Washington awaits the outcome of the trial of Nobel Peace Prize laureate Aung San Suu Kyi.

"We have made clear we expect fair treatment of Aung San Suu Kyi and we have condemned the way that she has treated by the regime in Burma, which we consider to baseless and totally unacceptable," Clinton said.

Burma, also known as Myanmar, is regarded as one of the world's most oppressive nations, run by generals who have enriched themselves while much of the country remains desperately poor. The National League for Democracy, Suu Kyi's party, won a landslide electoral victory in 1990, but the military leadership refused to accept it. Since then, she has been under house arrest for most of the time, as have hundreds of her supporters.

In May, just days before Suu Kyi's six-year term under house arrest was due to expire, the government put her on trial for an incident involving a U.S. citizen who swam across Rangoon's picturesque Lake Inya to reach Suu Kyi's lakefront bungalow and allegedly stayed there one or two nights.

Suu Kyi was taken to Rangoon's notorious Insein Prison on charges of violating the terms of her detention by hosting a foreigner, which could bring a three- to five-year prison term, according to Burmese opposition officials. Suu Kyi, 63, is said to be in poor health and has recently been treated for dehydration and low blood pressure.

"Our position is that we are willing to have a more productive partnership with Burma if they take steps that are self-evident," Clinton added. "End the violence against their own people, including the minorities they have been focused in the last months, end the mistreatment of Aung San Suu Kyi, end the political prisoners in detention who have been rounded up by the government and other steps that Burma knows it could take."

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/07/21/AR2009072101021.html>

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Washington Post

July 23, 2009

## **U.S. Offers Burma Possible Benefits**

By Glenn Kessler

Washington Post Staff Writer

PHUKET, Thailand, July 22 -- Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton made an explicit appeal to Burma on Wednesday to release jailed Nobel Peace Prize laureate Aung San Suu Kyi, offering the prospect of direct U.S. investment in the repressive Southeast Asian nation.

The release of Suu Kyi is "critical" to easing the strained relations between Burma and the United States, Clinton said. "If she were released, that would open up opportunities at least for my country to expand our relationship with Burma, including investments in Burma," she told reporters while attending a regional security forum.

President Obama renewed a year-long investment ban on Burma on May 15, citing its "large-scale repression of the democratic opposition," and U.S. officials suggested he would reverse it if Burma took strides to ease political repression.

The new administration has made an intensive effort to reach out to repressive governments with a long history of human rights abuses in an attempt to shift what officials consider stalemated policies. A brutal military junta that has orchestrated gang rape of ethnic minorities, crushed democracy efforts, and kept most of the nation's revenue from natural gas, gems and other natural resources rules Burma.

State Department officials are also firmly convinced that the Burmese government is undergoing a wrenching internal debate over what to do about Suu Kyi, whose party, the National League for Democracy, won a landslide electoral victory in 1990 that the military leadership refused to accept. Since then, she has been under house arrest for most of the time, as have hundreds of her supporters.

In May, just days before Suu Kyi's six-year term under house arrest was to expire, the government put her on trial for an incident involving a U.S. citizen who swam across Rangoon's Lake Inya to reach Suu Kyi's lakefront bungalow.

Clinton's statement appeared intended to sharpen the choice for the Burmese government, but Suu Kyi's attorneys reported Wednesday that they have been denied a request to meet with her one more time before Friday's final court hearing.

The secretary, in an interview with National Public Radio on Wednesday, attributed the many delays in the trial to internal angst among the junta. But other U.S. officials think the trial was postponed to avoid a confrontation at the security conference held by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

After Clinton's remarks, a senior State Department official said the administration has privately presented Burma with "ideas about how to begin a process of dialogue and engagement that begins with Aung San Suu Kyi," including letting her "participate in the politics" of a planned 2010 election. The United States is also seeking the release of other political prisoners, he said, speaking on the condition of anonymity. "This is worth a shot," the official said. "We are not naive about this, and there is an understanding there is a good chance that the junta will say, 'No, thank you.'"

U.S. officials reiterated Clinton's offer in a private meeting with Burmese officials Wednesday night.

In two public appearances Wednesday, Clinton also sharpened her concern, first expressed Tuesday, about "the transfer of nuclear technology" from North Korea to Burma. "We have been very clear in stating that the United States would like to see changes in the behavior of the regime in Burma," she said.

Despite the U.S. investment ban, countries such as India, Thailand, South Korea, Singapore and China have poured money into investments to exploit Burma's natural resources. At least 69 Chinese multinational corporations are involved in 90 hydropower, mining, and oil and natural gas projects in Burma, according to a 2008 report by the group EarthRights International.

Before flying to this resort island for the ASEAN forum, Clinton told Thai television in Bangkok that the organization should consider expelling Burma from the 10-nation group if the military junta does not release Suu Kyi. But later in the day she backpedaled, saying that such a decision is up to ASEAN.

To solidify relationships with the ASEAN countries, Clinton signed a nonbinding nonaggression pact that China -- a major economic competitor with the United States in the region -- signed six years ago. But she also said the United States would become the first non-ASEAN country to open an ambassador-level diplomatic post with the group.

Clinton played down comments she had made earlier Wednesday, to Thai television, suggesting the United States would provide a "defense umbrella" for Persian Gulf allies if Iran acquired a nuclear bomb. She said she had indicated no new policy.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/07/22/AR2009072200489.html>

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Bloomberg.com  
July 22, 2009

**U.S. Can Thwart Any North Korea Threat, Keating Says**

By Jeff Bliss and Tony Capaccio, Bloomberg News

The U.S. is “not alarmed” by recent missile launches and military activity by North Korea and could counter any threat from the reclusive regime, the commander of U.S. forces in the Asia-Pacific region said today.

“We have the capability to defend the U.S.” in case of attack, Admiral Timothy Keating said in an interview in Washington.

North Korea launched a Taepodong-2 ballistic missile in April in what the country said was an attempt to put a satellite in orbit. The first stage of the missile fell into the Sea of Japan, while a second stage landed in the Pacific Ocean, according to Japan. Keating said he saw no evidence that North Korea is planning another long-range missile launch. North Korea could surprise the U.S., “but I think it’s unlikely,” he said.

U.S. officials have been focusing more attention on the danger of North Korea selling nuclear technology to other countries, possibly including Myanmar’s military government. Keating said the U.S. Navy is prepared to track and inspect any North Korean vessel suspected of carrying such cargo, using new authority granted by the United Nations Security Council.

Army General Walter Sharp, the top commander of U.S. forces in South Korea, said on July 14 a North Korean ship suspected of carrying weapons technology created concern before it turned back for home. Such shipments are illegal under UN Resolution 1874, passed after North Korea defied an earlier UN prohibition and detonated a nuclear device in a May 25 test.

#### **‘United Front’**

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, who is in Thailand to confer with Southeast Asian counterparts, said today the U.S. is concerned by reports of Myanmar and North Korea cooperating on nuclear technology. She called on Asian countries to present a “united front against that ever happening.”

China recently increased its efforts to coordinate an international response to North Korea, Keating said. “China is being more helpful today than they would have been a year ago in dealing with North Korea,” he said.

Keating touched on other issues in his command area, which stretches over half of Earth’s surface.

“We are vitally interested in the partnership” with India “and it goes beyond just military to military relationship,” Keating said. The U.S. wants to expand humanitarian and disaster relief exercises with the Indian military, he said.

#### **India Contacts**

The U.S. Pacific Command is engaging with a cross-section of Indian society, including its business leaders, Keating said.

Clinton’s announcement this week during her visit to India of an agreement allowing U.S. monitoring of defense technology sold to the country was a sign of “significant progress,” the admiral said.

Keating said last week’s suicide bombings at the JW Marriott and Ritz Carlton hotels in Jakarta don’t indicate that efforts to curb terrorism in the region are flagging.

The U.S. and its allies are improving coordination and information to thwart attacks by Islamic militants, Keating said. “There is progress being made,” he said. “I’m encouraged but not satisfied.”

<http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=20601087&sid=apYsExO59mks>

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Korea Herald  
23 July 2009

## **U.S. Contingency Plans After Kim Jong-il's Death**

The United States has come up with scenarios to cope with any contingencies in North Korea after leader Kim Jong-il’s death, the commander of the U.S. Pacific Command said Wednesday, according to Yonhap News.

“We are prepared to execute a wide range of options in concert with allies in South Korea and in discussions through (the Department of) State, which would have the lead, with countries in the region, and internationally if necessary,” Adm. Timothy Keating said at a news conference at the Pentagon. “I don’t think it is axiomatic that the departure of

Kim Jong-il means a national security crisis. We'd hope it wouldn't. But we are going to be prepared if it does mean that."

Keating's remarks come amid allegations that Kim Jong-il has been pushing ahead with nuclear and missile tests to pave the way for a smooth power transition to his third and youngest son Jong-un, 26, after he apparently suffered a stroke last summer.

"What would happen if and when he cedes control or is no longer capable of exercising control? Don't know," the commander said.

"But I can tell you that we have plans with the United States Forces-Korea and others in place if the president tells us to execute those plans in the event of some uncertain succession in the North."

The commander made his remarks as U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton met with her counterparts from South Korea, China, Japan and Russia, members of the six-party talks on ending North Korea's ambitions, in Phuket, Thailand, on the sidelines of the ASEAN Regional Forum.

On the Thai resort island, Clinton expressed the U.S. intent to normalize ties with Pyongyang "if they will agree to irreversible denuclearization."

Otherwise, the top U.S. diplomat warned, the reclusive communist state "will face international isolation and the unrelenting pressure of global sanctions."

Pyongyang has said it will boycott the multilateral nuclear talks unless the U.N. apologizes for the sanctions imposed for its recent nuclear and missile tests.

Keating said he was not sure about the North Korean leader's health and possible successor.

"The facts as I know them are fairly limited. He has clearly suffered some change of health. Is it the result of a stroke? Is that change the result of a stroke? Is there some larger issue at stake? I don't know," he said. "He's a different man today than he was a year ago, physically, in appearance. As to his mental acuity, I don't know. As to the plan for succession, I don't know."

On allegations that North Korea is cooperating militarily with Myanmar, Keating said, "If it is, in fact, Burma that is receiving goods and assistance from North Korea, that's against -- that violates United Nations Security Council Resolution 1718. And we, along with the international community, would be very concerned if that is, in fact, occurring."

Clinton Wednesday expressed "growing concerns" over "military cooperation between North Korea and Burma, which we take very seriously," hinting at the possible transfer of nuclear and missile technology to Myanmar, formerly Burma.

At a daily news briefing, State Department spokesman Robert Wood elaborated on Clinton's remarks made a day earlier.

"What the secretary said was that we and our other partners in the region are very concerned about military cooperation, the extent of military cooperation between Burma and North Korea," Wood said. "And what we want to see happen is that U.N. Security Council Resolution 1874 be fully implemented. We intend to do that, and we encourage other countries to do that, as well."

A North Korean cargo ship, possibly on its way to Myanmar, returned home recently after a pursuit by U.S. Navy vessels operating under an interdiction mandate imposed recently by the U.N. Security Council Resolution 1874, which was adopted in early June after North Korea's second nuclear test on May 25.

The resolution bans the North from any further nuclear and ballistic missile tests and imposes financial sanctions, an overall arms embargo and cargo interdictions to head off the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction by the North.

Under the resolution, the U.N. Security Council slapped fresh sanctions on North Korea last week by listing five North Korean officials and as many North Korean firms subject to a travel ban and asset freeze for their involvement in nuclear and missile development programs.

[http://www.koreaherald.co.kr/NEWKHSITE/data/html\\_dir/2009/07/23/200907230086.asp](http://www.koreaherald.co.kr/NEWKHSITE/data/html_dir/2009/07/23/200907230086.asp)

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China View  
23 July 2009

## **U.S. Lawmakers Urge to Re-List DPRK as State Sponsor of Terrorism**

WASHINGTON, July 22 (Xinhua) -- U.S. Senate on Wednesday called for the Obama administration to assess the possibilities of relisting the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) as a state sponsor of terrorism.

The Senate on Wednesday discussed two amendments dealing with the DPRK and the State Department's State Sponsors of Terrorism list on the National Defense Authorization Act.

The first amendment, which was adopted by a vote of 66-31, called on the Obama administration to submit a report within 30 days to assess the DPRK's behavior since it was removed from the State Department's State Sponsors of Terrorism list.

The assessment should include an evaluation of any evidence that the DPRK has "engaged in acts of terrorism or provided support for acts of terrorism or terrorist organizations," according to SENATUS, a website specializing in coverage of the Senate's daily activities.

"If the report finds evidence that North Korea has in fact provided support for terrorism activities, they should immediately be relisted on the State terrorism list," said the report.

Under the six-party talk's framework which characterized with "action for action," on October 11, 2008, following Pyongyang agreed to all U.S. nuclear inspection demands, the Bush administration responded by removing the DPRK from the terrorism blacklist.

But voice asking to put the DPRK back on the list has been surging inside the United States since Pyongyang conducted an underground nuclear test on May 25 and subsequently fired at least seven ballistic missiles.

Pyongyang also boycotted the six-party talks on its nuclear program.

Responding to Pyongyang's behaviors, the Obama administration has decided to extend economic sanctions by prolonging the national emergency on the DPRK and has vowed to enforce sanctions against Pyongyang set in the 1874 UN Security Council Resolution.

[http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-07/23/content\\_11756033.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-07/23/content_11756033.htm)

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Reuters.com  
Jul 22, 2009

## **Clinton says North Korea must give up Nuclear Program**

PHUKET, Thailand (Reuters) - U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said on Wednesday that "complete and irreversible" denuclearization was the only option for North Korea.

Clinton made the comments in a news conference after holding talks with her counterparts from China, Russia, Japan and South Korea at the Thai resort of Phuket.

She said her counterparts supported this stance.

<http://www.reuters.com/article/topNews/idUSTRE56L2FX20090722>

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Yonhap News  
23 July 2009

## **North Korea Likens Clinton to 'Primary Schoolgirl'**

By Kim Hyun

SEOUL, July 23 (Yonhap) -- North Korea on Thursday urged U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to stop backbiting Pyongyang over its nuclear program, comparing her to a "primary schoolgirl" who doesn't understand the situation.

In remarks carried by the official Korean Central News Agency (KCNA), North Korea's foreign ministry spokesman responded to Clinton's recent remarks that likened the country to "unruly teenagers" who seek to gain U.S. attention through nuclear and missile activities.

"Sometimes she looks like a primary schoolgirl and sometimes a pensioner going shopping," the unidentified spokesman said.

"It is our view that she can make even a little contribution to the implementation of the U.S. administration's foreign policy as secretary of state only when she has understanding of the world," he was quoted as saying in the report carried in English.

In a television interview this week, Clinton said North Korea is "acting out" to "try to elevate them to center stage." The chief U.S. diplomat said Washington would not give the North the satisfaction and also downplayed the threat North Korea poses to the U.S.

North Korea rejected Clinton's criticism, saying it was "the U.S. that helped the DPRK to become the world focus." The North's nuclear program is a self-defense measure against hostile U.S. policy, the spokesman claimed.

"Her words suggest that she is by no means intelligent," he said.

"The DPRK (North Korea) has taken necessary measures to protect the nation's sovereignty and right to existence in order to cope with U.S. hostile policy and nuclear threats, not to attract anyone's attention."

The spokesman also called Clinton "a funny lady as she likes to utter such rhetoric, unaware of the elementary etiquette in the international community."

North Korea bolted out of the six-party denuclearization talks in April, protesting U.N. condemnation of its long-range rocket launch the same month. Other members of the talks -- South Korea, the U.S., China, Japan and Russia - are now at a regional security forum in Phuket, Thailand, where they are discussing ways of bringing North Korea back to the dialogue table.

Clinton, currently participating in the ASEAN Regional Forum, has said she has no plans to meet North Korean officials there.

A North Korean official attending the forum, Ri Hung-sik, insisted the current standoff between Pyongyang and Washington stems from the "deep-rooted hostile policy" of the U.S. against Pyongyang.

<http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/northkorea/2009/07/23/5/0401000000AEN20090723008500315F.HTML>

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Yonhap News  
24 July 2009

## **N. Korea Defiant at Security Forum, No Breakthrough in Sight**

By Lee Chi-dong

PHUKET, Thailand, July 24 (Yonhap) -- The U.S. message for North Korea was simple and clear: continue with the nuclear gambit and face unrelenting international pressure, or denuclearize completely and receive a "comprehensive package" of incentives.

Pyongyang's response, equally unequivocal, was that its nuclear arsenal was necessary to protect its sovereignty.

Dashing any hope of a breakthrough in the deadlocked nuclear talks, this week's ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) on this Thai resort island only succeeded in highlighting the deep mistrust between the two sides and heralded a protracted standoff between them.

The annual forum, attended by U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, set the stage for a war of words between the outspoken political veteran and a communist North known for its vitriolic rhetoric.

North Korea, in apparent protest against international pressure over its recent nuclear and missile tests, dispatched a vice foreign minister-level ambassador, Pak Kun-gwang, to head its delegation to the talks in place of its foreign minister, Pak Ui-chun.

Refusing to meet bilaterally with the North Korean delegation, Clinton used various press interviews and briefings here to deliver the Obama administration's warnings to Pyongyang. With "no place to go" and "no friends left," she

said the North faces a world unified in efforts to enforce U.N. Security Council Resolution 1874 that imposes tough sanctions on Pyongyang.

Clinton also likened the North to "unruly teenagers" demanding attention, while simultaneously emphasizing that there is still a chance for the beleaguered country to break its isolation.

"We and our partners have a more ambitious agenda for any future talks. Such talks must lead to irreversible steps by North Korea to denuclearize. This, in turn, would lead us and our partners to reciprocate in a comprehensive and coordinated manner," she said. "Full normalization of relationships, a permanent peace regime, and significant energy and economic assistance are all possible in the context of full and verifiable denuclearization."

Clinton's comments came after a series of one-one-one talks with her counterparts from South Korea, China, Russia, and Japan, all of which are struggling to revitalize the six-way denuclearization talks with the North. The bilateral meetings served as an alternative to a five-way meeting proposed by South Korea but opposed by China, host of the six-party talks.

South Korean officials said the bilateral talks were equally meaningful and effective in consulting on North Korea.

Foreign Minister Yu Myung-hwan told reporters shortly after the ARF session that he was impressed by China's clear disapproval of the North's nuclear development and Beijing's commitment to implementing the U.N. sanctions resolution.

But North Korea remained defiant and made clear it would not return to the bargaining table unless the U.S. rolls back its "hostility." In the North's first and only press availability here during the ARF, Ri Hung-sik, head of the North Korean foreign ministry's international organization bureau, said Thursday that the Obama administration's denuclearization policy was a repeat of the Bush administration's attempt to unilaterally disarm Pyongyang through "complete, verifiable, and irreversible dismantlement" of its nuclear program.

He ascribed the North's renewed missile and nuclear activities to Washington's "deep-rooted hostile policy" against it. In Pyongyang, meanwhile, the North's foreign ministry hurled personal insults at Clinton for her "vulgar remarks," describing her as a "funny lady" who sometimes "looks like a primary schoolgirl and sometimes a pensioner going shopping," apparently responding to Clinton's comparison of the North to an ill-mannered child.

The U.S. State Department struck back. "What is vulgar is that the North Korean government chooses to harvest missiles rather than enough food for its people," its spokesman Philip Crowley said. "And what is unintelligent is the path that the North Korean government has chosen. It's a dead-end which dooms the North Korean people to a dismal future."

The heated exchange between Pyongyang and Washington suggests that a quick breakthrough is unlikely in the months-long stalemate.

"It will take more time to break the impasse," a senior South Korean government official said at a private meeting with a group of reporters.

He stressed, however, that not all doors were closed. The impasse, he said, "will not continue forever."

It is not unusual for North Korea to insist on its position and criticize the U.S. and its allies at the ARF and other multilateral events.

More noteworthy is that North Korea has refrained from taking further provocative steps in recent weeks, possible a sign that it is taking a wait-and-see attitude to Washington's "two-track" approach that seeks dialogue with the North while imposing sanctions.

"It is important to read the actual mood in Pyongyang, not every comment by a working-level official at the ARF," the official said. "It is still early to say that North Korea feels severe pain from the U.N. sanctions. There is a possibility that North Korea will change its course and seek dialogue as time goes by."

<http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/northkorea/2009/07/24/46/0401000000AEN20090724004200315F.HTML>

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Korea Herald  
July 24, 2009

## **N.K. Reaffirms End Of Nuclear Talks**



North Korea reaffirmed Thursday that it would not rejoin the six-way talks on its nuclear program in response to the international community's condemnation of its recent nuclear test and missile launches, according to a two-page document summing up the results of this week's ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), according to Yonhap News.

"The DPRK briefed the Meeting of the fact that the ongoing aggravated situation on the Korean Peninsula is the product of the hostile policy of the United States against her, and stated that the Six-Party Talks have already come to an end," the chairman's statement issued by Thailand read. DPRK stands for North Korea's official name, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The statement reflected the communist nation's position despite South Korea's efforts to increase international pressure on its defiant neighbor.

"The DPRK did not recognize the UNSC Resolution 1874 which has been adopted at the instigation of the United States," it read in reference to the U.N. resolution imposing a set of sanctions on Pyongyang for its nuclear test on May 25.

[http://www.koreaherald.co.kr/NEWKHSITE/data/html\\_dir/2009/07/24/200907240073.asp](http://www.koreaherald.co.kr/NEWKHSITE/data/html_dir/2009/07/24/200907240073.asp)

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Bloomberg.com  
24 July 2009

## **Clinton Exhorts Asia to Rein in Nuclear-Armed North Korea, Iran**

By Indira A.R. Lakshmanan

(Bloomberg) -- Secretary of State Hillary Clinton used her latest Asia trip to push two U.S. foreign policy priorities: keeping nuclear weapons from hostile regimes and enlisting global coalitions to achieve that objective.

Clinton used the spotlight she commands abroad in the past week to emphasize the dangers of nuclear proliferation. Her effort to rally a coalition behind that message at an Asian security meeting was an early test of U.S. President Barack Obama's preference for multilateral pressure over military force.

Yesterday she excoriated North Korea's unwillingness to abandon its nuclear weapons program, prompting a defiant press conference from a North Korean official attending the same forum.

"There is no place to go for North Korea," Clinton said at the Association of Southeast Asian Nations Regional Forum in Phuket, Thailand. "They have no friends left." North Korean diplomat Ri Hung Sik stormed out of the press room because Clinton was about to arrive, then told reporters that U.S. proposals were "nonsense" and nuclear negotiations "dead."

The North's official Korean Central News Agency attacked Clinton, saying she would "pay" for her recent "vulgar" comments. KCNA said Clinton is "unintelligent" and looks sometimes "like a primary schoolgirl, and sometimes a pensioner going shopping."

'Vulgar' Spat

U.S. State Department spokesman Philip J. Crowley responded in kind.

"What is vulgar is that the North Korean government chooses to harvest missiles than enough food for its people," Crowley said at a press conference in Washington. "And what is unintelligent is the path that the North Korean government has chosen."

In two days of meetings in Thailand, Clinton kept the agenda focused on North Korea, seeking support for efforts to get the regime back to the negotiating table. In contrast to the Bush administration, which had little to do with Asean, Clinton signed a friendship treaty with the group and announced the U.S. would send an ambassador to its mission in Jakarta.

Before arriving in Thailand, she held strategic talks with India, discussions that will include asking the world's largest nuclear-armed democracy to join global treaties and use its influence as an emerging economic power to halt the spread of sensitive technology.

U.S. 'Is Back'

"The United States is back in Southeast Asia" and "fully engaged," she said.

Clinton repeatedly expressed concern about reports that North Korea and Myanmar are expanding military ties and sharing nuclear technology. After emerging from hours of talks yesterday, Clinton thanked Myanmar for being cooperative and pledging to enforce United Nations sanctions against North Korea, while adding the U.S. would remain “vigilant” against any military cooperation between the two countries.

The true test for the Obama administration’s emphasis on engagement and multilateralism will be results. A month since a UN resolution passed allowing for tough sanctions and the U.S. began building a coalition to enforce them, the North has shown no signs of standing down.

The isolated communist state run by Kim Jong Il has earned global opprobrium for testing a nuclear device and numerous missiles in recent months. The U.S. is also concerned the North’s actions might fuel a nuclear arms race across Northeast Asia as neighbors feel compelled to defend themselves.

#### Middle East Parallels

Clinton warned of parallels in the Middle East, where Iran’s suspected pursuit of nuclear weapons is causing unease among its neighbors.

“Iran needs to understand that its pursuit of nuclear weapons will not advance its security,” she said in Phuket. “It faces the prospect if it pursues nuclear weapons of sparking an arms race in the region.”

The U.S. is working with allies in the Middle East to boost their defenses against an Iranian threat, she said, suggesting the U.S. could extend a “defense umbrella” to protect them.

Asked how the administration would overcome the Iranian standoff, Clinton noted that Obama has “a very clear preference for talking with people and not prejudging what might come.”

“At the same time,” she added, “the nuclear clock is ticking.”

[http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=20601087&sid=ayDDmlUp\\_jRM#](http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=20601087&sid=ayDDmlUp_jRM#)

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China View  
21 July 2009

## Launch of Iran's Bushehr Nuclear Power Plant Postponed

TEHRAN, July 21 (Xinhua) -- The launch of Iran's Bushehr nuclear power plant operation has been postponed, the semi-official Fars news agency reported on Tuesday.

The Bushehr nuclear power plant will launch operation by the end of 2009, Iran's Ambassador to Moscow Seyed Mahmoud Reza Sajjadi told Fars on Tuesday.

Sajjadi said that Sergei Kiriyyenko, head of Russian Rosatom, the state nuclear energy corporation, "announced that the company has a plan to launch the operation of Bushehr plant by the end of this year."

Kiriyyenko made the remarks during a meeting held in Moscow with Deputy Head of Iran's Atomic Energy Organization Mohammad Saeedi, according to Sajjadi.

In April, Iran's Energy Minister Parviz Fattah said the Bushehr nuclear power plant will start to generate electricity from mid-summer.

"Bushehr nuclear power plant will generate 500 megawatt electricity from mid-summer," Fattah was quoted as saying by local IRNA news agency.

The operation of the Bushehr nuclear power plant had been Iranians' old dream, he added.

The country's 1,000-megawatt nuclear power plant originally started in the mid-1970s by Siemens of Germany but was abandoned with the outbreak of the country's 1979 Islamic Revolution.

Iran and Russia, after reaching an agreement on nuclear cooperation in 1992, signed a contract in January 1995 to finish the construction of the plant, the completion of which has been repeatedly delayed.

[http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-07/21/content\\_11746601.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-07/21/content_11746601.htm)

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London Guardian  
22 July 2009

## **US will take 'Crippling Action' if Iran Becomes Nuclear, says Clinton**

Julian Borger, diplomatic editor

Hillary Clinton today signalled a significant shift in US foreign policy by discussing publicly how a nuclear-armed Iran could be contained in the Middle East.

Until today, the shared position of the US, Britain and France was that Iran would not be allowed to acquire nuclear weapons, and no senior official from any of the three countries would discuss the option of containment.

However, Clinton broke that taboo during a visit to Thailand, when she pledged enhanced US protection for Washington's Gulf allies, implying nuclear protection, if Iran succeeded in building a bomb.

"We... have made it clear that we'll take actions, as I've said time and time again, crippling action working to upgrade the defences of our partners in the region," Clinton told Thai television.

"We want Iran to calculate what I think is a fair assessment: that if the United States extends a defence umbrella over the region, if we do even more to develop the military capacity of those (allies) in the Gulf, it is unlikely that Iran will be any stronger or safer because they won't be able to intimidate and dominate as they apparently believe they can once they have a nuclear weapon."

Sir Richard Dalton, a former British ambassador to Tehran said: "She's implying that, if Iran became a nuclear weapon state, then the US would develop their existing defence commitments and that the US would contemplate nuclear deterrence to protect Persian Gulf states."

The remarks appeared to be aimed at reassuring Arab allies uneasy about the rise of a nuclear Iran, and considering their own nuclear options. It also seeks to influence the decisions being made in Tehran. But it drew an immediate riposte from Israel's minister of intelligence and atomic energy, Dan Meridor.

"I was not thrilled to hear the American statement...that they will protect their allies with a nuclear umbrella, as if they have already come to terms with a nuclear Iran. I think that's a mistake," Meridor said.

Clinton's comments appear to reflect a new US pessimism on Iran following the June presidential elections, that brought an entrenchment by hardliners in Tehran.

There had been hope in Washington that Barack Obama's warm overtures to the Iranian people and the offer of talks with Iran without preconditions would break the long-running impasse over Iranian enrichment of uranium.

Iran insists the uranium is intended for peaceful power generation, but the UN security council has called for it to be suspended, at least until doubts over Tehran's intentions are resolved.

Iran had put off, until after the recent election, a response to the latest offer from six major powers – the US, Britain, France Germany, Russia and China – to offer economic help and technical assistance in building a nuclear power industry, if Iran suspends enrichment. There is little hope left in Washington or other western capitals that any response now will be positive.

The outgoing director of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mohamed ElBaradei, said recently he thought Iran was developing a breakout capacity to build nuclear weapons, so that it would have all the components in place to build a warhead at short notice.

The containment option is boosted by the belief that Iran is running out of uranium ore to convert and enrich. The US thinks the supply will run out by next year and is urging all uranium-producing countries to tighten control over their exports, to ensure Iran does not get hold of any more.

If that effort is successful, it would severely limit the size of arsenals Iran is able to build. That is the theory at least. It is very much "plan b" as far as the west is concerned, but it is a bow to new realities.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/jul/22/clinton-protect-gulf-iran-nuclear>

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New York Times

July 23, 2009

## Clinton Speaks of Shielding Mideast From Iran

By MARK LANDLER and DAVID E. SANGER

PHUKET, Thailand — Stiffening the American line against Iran, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton warned Wednesday that the United States would consider extending a “defense umbrella” over the Middle East if the country continued to defy international demands that it halt work that could lead to nuclear weapons.

While such a defensive shield has long been assumed, administration officials in Washington acknowledged Wednesday that no senior official had ever publicly discussed it. Some of the officials said the timing of Mrs. Clinton’s remarks reflected a growing sense that President Obama needed to signal to Tehran that its nuclear ambitions could be countered militarily, as well as diplomatically.

It also signified increasing concern in Washington that other Middle East states — notably Saudi Arabia and Egypt — might be tempted to pursue their own nuclear programs for fear Iran was growing closer to realizing its presumed nuclear ambitions.

Mrs. Clinton later clarified her comments on Iran, delivered in advance of a regional meeting here, saying her warning that the United States might create such an umbrella did not represent any backing away from the Obama administration’s position that it must prevent Tehran from obtaining a bomb capability. But her words suggested that the administration was developing a strategy should all efforts at negotiation fail.

Her statement also came as Iran’s internal divisions and crackdown on post-election protests have complicated Mr. Obama’s pledge to “engage” Iran directly. Iranian officials have hinted that they will present new proposals on the nuclear program, and American officials have said their offers to negotiate stand.

Speaking during a televised town hall meeting in Bangkok, Mrs. Clinton said, “We want Iran to calculate what I think is a fair assessment, that if the U.S. extends a defense umbrella over the region, if we do even more to support the military capacity of those in the gulf, it’s unlikely that Iran will be any stronger or safer, because they won’t be able to intimidate and dominate, as they apparently believe they can, once they have a nuclear weapon.”

Asked about Mrs. Clinton’s comments, Sir Nigel Sheinwald, the British ambassador to the United States, said, “I don’t think it should be read as an acceptance of an Iranian nuclear weapon” but rather as a statement intended to “reassure our partners in the gulf.”

A senior White House official said he believed that Mrs. Clinton was speaking for herself and that she was, as she insisted, restating existing policy.

Mrs. Clinton’s invocation of a defense umbrella is reminiscent of the so-called nuclear umbrella that Washington extends to its Asian allies: implicitly, the promise of an American reprisal if they are attacked by nuclear weapons. But she did not use the term nuclear, and a senior State Department official cautioned that her remarks should not be interpreted to mean that.

After meeting the foreign ministers of China, Russia, Japan and South Korea, Mrs. Clinton also said that the United States would not offer new incentives to North Korea to return to negotiations. She said all of the other nations that had engaged in talks with North Korea in the past five years were united in demanding that North Korea undertake a “complete and irreversible denuclearization” before receiving any economic or political incentives from them.

She did not detail the steps that would be part of such a process, though she confirmed that they could include the disabling of the Yongbyon nuclear complex. Last year, North Korea began to dismantle that complex, where it runs a nuclear reactor and reprocess fuel rods to recover plutonium, but it vowed in June to restart production there.

The United States has had an uncharacteristically visible presence at this gathering of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, or Asean. It signed a friendship treaty with Asean’s 10 members and called on one country, Myanmar, to release the imprisoned pro-democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

Israel’s minister of intelligence and atomic energy, Dan Meridor, told Israeli Army radio: “I was not thrilled to hear the American statement from yesterday that they will protect their allies with a nuclear umbrella, as if they have already come to terms with a nuclear Iran. I think that’s a mistake.”

Mrs. Clinton said she was trying to make even starker the choice Iran faced if it did not agree to abandon its program.

The administration has talked about bolstering the military capacity of Iran's neighbors in the Persian Gulf so they could better meet the threat of a heavily armed Iran. It has also defended the proposed missile defense system in Eastern Europe as a potential shield against Iran.

"It faces the prospect, if it pursues nuclear weapons, of sparking an arms race in the region," Mrs. Clinton said. "That should affect the calculation of what Iran intends to do, and what it believes is in its national security interest."

On North Korea, Mrs. Clinton tried to project a united front, saying that China, Russia, Japan and South Korea had pledged to carry out the United Nations sanctions adopted in June against the North after its recent nuclear and missile tests.

Mrs. Clinton also reiterated concerns that North Korea might be transferring nuclear technology to Myanmar, which American officials refer to by its former name, Burma. She is to deliver a statement on North Korea on Thursday. In an excerpt provided to reporters, the tone remained unyielding, but the United States pledged to give North Korea "significant economic and energy assistance" if it undertook a verifiable denuclearization.

At the ministers meeting, Mrs. Clinton demanded that Myanmar release Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi, who could face years in prison on charges that she violated her house arrest. "It's so critical that she be released from this persecution that she has been under," she said later at a news conference. "If she were released, that would open up opportunities, at least for my country, to expand our relationship with Burma, including investments in Burma."

American officials met with diplomatic officials from Myanmar later to reiterate Mrs. Clinton's demand.

[http://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/23/world/asia/23diplo.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/23/world/asia/23diplo.html?_r=1)

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Global Security Newswire

July 24, 2009

## **Significant Anti-WMD Measures Implemented After Sept. 11 Report, DHS Says**

The U.S. Homeland Security Department initiated a number of programs to prevent and prepare for chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear terrorism as it implemented the Sept. 11 commission's 2004 security recommendations, the agency said in a report Wednesday (see *GSN*, Feb. 2).

In line with the commission's call to improve cargo screening, Customs and Border Protection placed 1,200 radiation portal monitors and additional scanners at seaports, mail processing centers and border crossings. The equipment scans 98 percent of all incoming cargo as well as 98 percent of trucks and other vehicles entering the United States from Canada. All vehicles entering the country at southern border crossings now undergo scanning, according to the report.

The department's Container Security Initiative has deployed equipment at 58 ports around the world to help scan U.S.-bound cargo for weapons materials, the report notes. The Secure Freight Initiative, meanwhile, has begun scanning cargo at five sites for potential nuclear-weapon materials (see *GSN*, June 29).

In an effort to bolster the nation's maritime transportation security, the U.S. Coast Guard four years ago began pursuing new methods of intercepting potential WMD hazards. All Coast Guard crews now carry radiation-scanning technology, and personnel receive training in boarding and searching ships for radioactive materials.

The 4-year-old Domestic Nuclear Detection Office has begun more than 200 research and development initiatives aimed at developing new radiation detection capabilities in conjunction with other government agencies and private-sector entities. More than 7,000 emergency responders and state and local police have had access to DNDO nuclear detection training, the report adds.

Following the Sept. 11 panel's recommendation to assign homeland security grants based on threat levels, the department assigned \$861 million in fiscal 2009 for the State Homeland Security Program; \$799 million for the Urban Areas Security Initiative, with more than half of the money going to the top seven risk areas; and \$49 million for the Interoperable Emergency Communications Grant Program (see *GSN*, Nov. 6, 2008). The Port and Transit Security Grant Programs received \$777 million from the department and \$300 million in additional funds through the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act.

To evaluate and address vulnerabilities of the nation's infrastructure, the department established the National Infrastructure Protection Plan. In fiscal 2009, Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano announced \$49 million in grant funds for the Buffer Zone Protection Program, nearly \$12 million for the Intercity Bus Security Grant Program and more than \$2 million for the Trucking Security Program.

Napolitano is expected to discuss her department's response to the commission's recommendations during a meeting today with the National Security Preparedness Group, a bipartisan panel that includes former Sept. 11 commission Chairman Thomas Kean and Vice Chairman Lee Hamilton, along with former Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge (U.S. Homeland Security Department release, July 22).

[http://www.globalsecuritynewswire.org/gsn/nw\\_20090723\\_2600.php](http://www.globalsecuritynewswire.org/gsn/nw_20090723_2600.php)

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Mainichi Daily News – Japan  
24 July 2009

## **Belgian Lawmaker Seeks to Outlaw Nuclear Arms**

BRUSSELS -- A member of the Belgian Federal Parliament is preparing a bill that would ban the use, production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons, it has been learned.

Belgium has already gained prominence in the arms control community as the first country to ban cluster and depleted uranium munitions. Belgian Senator Philippe Mahoux may add to that reputation when he presents his nuclear weapons ban to the Senate, which he plans to do in early September, he has revealed to the Mainichi.

Mahoux's proposed law may have international resonance, especially as U.S. President Barack Obama is pursuing disarmament and has declared his aim of a nuclear-free world.

The bill looks to ban the use, production and storage of weaponized nuclear materials -- including bombs themselves -- within Belgium. It's a legal equivalent of Japan's three non-nuclear principles against producing, possessing, and allowing entry to nuclear arms. Belgium is not a nuclear power, but it is a NATO member and does have U.S. tactical nuclear weapons deployed on its territory. Should Mahoux's bill pass and the three-point ban go into effect, such nuclear weapons stored on Belgian military bases would no longer be welcome.

The Federation of American Scientists believes there are 10 to 20 American B61 model nuclear bombs at the Kleine-Brogel Belgian Air Force Base in the north of the country, which would likely be carried to targets by Belgian F-16 warplanes should they be deployed. According to France's Fondation pour la Recherche Strategique (Foundation for Strategic Research), the conditions of the weapons' storage and use have been agreed to by the Belgian and U.S. governments, but these arrangements would have to be reevaluated should Mahoux's bill pass into law.

The Belgian government will "neither confirm nor deny" the presence of U.S. tactical nuclear weapons on Belgian territory. However, in January 2008 Belgian Minister of Defense Pieter De Crem admitted to their deployment, though he retracted the statement soon afterwards. The American tactical nuclear arms deployed in Europe remain a symbol of the bonds between the continent and the U.S., with deep implications for trans-Atlantic relations.

Both the Belgian Senate and House of Representatives passed a resolution in 2005 calling for the gradual withdrawal of U.S. tactical nuclear weapons, and as the argument for disarmament heats up worldwide there is a very good chance Mahoux's nuclear ban bill will pass. On top of the three points related earlier, the bill would also ban financial institutions in Belgium from lending money or providing other financial services for nuclear arms production or development.

Belgium is not the only European country with U.S. tactical nuclear arms on its soil; the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and Turkey are also hosts to the weapons. However, should the nuclear ban go into effect in Belgium, there is a good chance that other countries will begin moving in the same direction.

<http://mdn.mainichi.jp/mdnnews/international/news/20090724p2g00m0in002000c.html>

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Washington Post  
July 24, 2009

# One of Bin Laden's Sons May Have Died in Missile Strike

By Joby Warrick

Washington Post Staff Writer

A CIA missile strike early this year is thought to have killed one of Osama bin Laden's oldest sons, a 27-year-old who had followed his father's footsteps into al-Qaeda, U.S. counterterrorism officials said Thursday.

Saad bin Laden -- one of at least 23 children fathered by the al-Qaeda founder, according to "The Bin Ladens," by Steve Coll -- was apparently killed inside Pakistan in an attack by one of the spy agency's unmanned Predator aircraft. Intelligence officials said that the attack occurred in late winter and that the younger bin Laden had not been the intended target.

"He was in the wrong place at the wrong time," said a Washington-based intelligence official who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

If the death is confirmed, the son will have been the closest relative to bin Laden killed by U.S. forces since the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks on New York and Washington.

U.S. officials had been trying for months to confirm the death when the first reports leaked late Wednesday. One counterterrorism official cautioned that the identification was "not 100 percent certain."

"There are some indications that he may be dead," said the official, who declined to elaborate. None of the officials interviewed would reveal precisely where and when the attack occurred.

Confirming the identities of victims of such attacks is difficult because most occur in rugged, isolated regions largely under Taliban control. Although al-Qaeda often issues "martyrdom" statements announcing the deaths of operatives, there has been no such statement for bin Laden's son.

Saad bin Laden has long been associated with the terrorist group and is thought to have spent much of the past few years under house arrest in Iran before moving to the Pakistani border region. In addition to his alleged involvement in a 2003 al-Qaeda bombing in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, he also is said to have served as a link between the terrorist group and the Quds Force, an Iranian special operations group that has attacked U.S. troops in Iraq.

Still, U.S. officials played down his role as a leader of the group.

"If he is dead, Saad bin Laden was a small player with a big name. He has never been a major operational figure," the Washington-based counterterrorism official said.

The apparent death was first reported late Wednesday on the [Long War Journal](#) blog and on the Web site of National Public Radio.

In Pakistan, government and intelligence officials appeared unaware of the death, and some questioned the report. A source linked to al-Qaeda-allied Taliban fighters, reached by telephone in North Waziristan, said he had heard nothing to confirm the report.

"The drones did kill some of our brothers but they have had no success in killing our leaders," the source said.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/07/23/AR2009072301966.html>

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New York Times

OPINION

July 23, 2009

## Terror Creeps Into The Heartland

By Nicholas D. Kristof

KARACHI, Pakistan--It was the home of a Muslim religious teacher, but he was stockpiling more than copies of the Koran. His house blew up this month in a thunderous explosion that leveled much of his village and could be heard six miles away. Police reported that he was storing explosives, rockets, grenades and suicide vests.

But perhaps what was most dispiriting was that this arsenal, apparently intended for terror attacks, was not in the tribal areas in the northwest of Pakistan where the Taliban and Al Qaeda have long conducted operations. Rather this was in the southern part of Punjab, the Pakistani heartland.

The explosion was a reminder of what some call the “creeping Talibanization,” even of parts of Pakistan far from the formal fighting. Militants seem to be putting the entire country in play, and that’s one reason Pakistan should be President Obama’s top foreign policy challenge.

Think of it this way: It would be terrible if Afghanistan or Iraq collapsed, but it would be unthinkable catastrophic if Pakistan — with perhaps 80 to 100 nuclear weapons — were to fall into chaos.

Even here in Karachi, the pragmatic commercial hub of the country, extremists have taken over some neighborhoods. A Pakistani police document marked “top secret,” given to me by a Pakistani concerned by the spreading tentacles of jihadis, states that Taliban agents sometimes set up armed checkpoints in one such neighborhood here.

These militants “generate funds through criminal activities like kidnapping for ransom, bank robbery, street robbery and other heinous crimes,” the report says.

The mayor of Karachi, Syed Mustafa Kamal, confirms that Pashtun tribesmen have barred outsiders from entering some neighborhoods.

“I’m the mayor, and I have three vehicles with police traveling with me. And even I cannot enter these areas or they will blow me up,” Mr. Kamal said, adding, “Pakistan is in very critical condition.”

Lala Hassan of the Aurat Foundation, which works on social issues, said: “There’s no doubt militancy is increasing day by day, not only in Karachi but all over Pakistan.”

On this trip, I also traveled in South Punjab and found it far more troubled than in my previous trips to the area. Some music shops and girls’ schools have been threatened by fundamentalists, local residents said. In the city of Bahawalpur, home to a notorious militant, my interpreter asked me not even to step out of the vehicle.

The Daily Times of Pakistan described the situation as “terror’s free run in South Punjab.”

But the militants may have overreached. Their brutality, including the flogging of a teenage girl before a large crowd, has shocked and alienated many Pakistanis. It is just possible that the tide is turning as a result.

A poll of Pakistanis released this month by WorldPublicOpinion.org found that one-third believed that the Taliban intended to gain control of all of Pakistan, but 75 percent thought that would be a bad result. Two years ago, only 34 percent of Pakistanis believed that Islamic militants constituted a “critical threat.” Now, 81 percent do.

Unfortunately, the United States has acted in ways that have often empowered the militants. We have lavished more than \$11 billion on Pakistan since 9/11, mostly supporting the Pakistani Army. Yet that sum has bought Pakistan no security and us no good will.

In that same poll, 59 percent of Pakistanis said that they share many of Al Qaeda’s attitudes toward the United States, and almost half of those said that they support Al Qaeda attacks on Americans.

One reason is that America hasn’t stood up for its own values in Pakistan. Instead of supporting democracy, we cold-shouldered the lawyers’ movement, which was the best hope for democracy and civil society.

If we want to stabilize Pakistan, we should take two steps. First is to cut tariffs on manufactured imports from Pakistan. That would boost the country’s economy, raise employment and create good will. Cutting tariffs is perhaps the most effective step we could take to stabilize this country and fight extremism.

Second, we should redirect our aid from subsidies to the Pakistani military to support for a major education initiative. A bill in the Senate backed by the Democrat John Kerry and the Republican Richard Lugar would support Pakistani schools, among other nonmilitary projects, and would be an excellent step forward.

In rural Pakistan, you regularly see madrassas established by Islamic fundamentalists, typically offering free tuition, free meals and even scholarships to study abroad for the best students. It’s clear that the militant fundamentalists believe in the transformative power of education — and they have invested in schools, while we have invested in the Pakistani Army. Why can’t we show the same faith in education as hard-line Muslim fundamentalists?

<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/23/opinion/23kristof.html>



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