



USAF COUNTERPROLIFERATION CENTER  
**CPC OUTREACH JOURNAL**  
Maxwell AFB, Alabama

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Issue No. 513, 6 July 2006

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Miami Herald  
July 2, 2006

## **Bush Calls For Nuclear Arsenal Overhaul**

*The Bush administration wants to revamp the entire nuclear arsenal with a more durable, more secure design and spend less on maintaining older weapons.*

By Scott Lindlaw, Associated Press

LIVERMORE, Calif. - The scientists who crack open the nation's nuclear weapons for a living are never quite sure what they will find inside.

Many of the warheads were designed and built 40 years ago, and their plutonium and other components are slowly breaking down in ways that researchers do not fully understand.

With no new bombs in production, the government spends billions of dollars each year tending to its aging stockpile.

The Bush administration wants to revamp the entire arsenal with a weapon now on the drawing board named the Reliable Replacement Warhead.

The redesigned weapon is needed to ensure "a safe, secure, reliable and effective nuclear deterrent for the indefinite future," said Linton Brooks, chief of the National Nuclear Security Administration.

The administration ordered up a competition between Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory near San Francisco and Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico. The two laboratories submitted their proposals for the weapon in March. The White House plans to pick a winner by November.

As envisioned, the next-generation nuclear weapon would have the same destructive power as existing ones, but be durable enough to last for decades.

The next bomb is also meant to be so secure that it has jokingly been dubbed the "nuclear doorstep" -- useless for any other purpose, should it fall into the wrong hands.

The government and the labs refuse to discuss details of the two designs, citing national security. But they describe both proposals as "conservative" blueprints meant to assure reliability without violating a moratorium on full-scale nuclear testing in place since 1992.

"We're not going to come up with anything cutting-edge and stick it in the stockpile without testing," said David Schwogler, spokesman for Lawrence Livermore's nuclear weapons program.

The United States has not built a nuclear warhead since 1991.

The government spends about \$5 billion a year maintaining the weapons, and engineers have patched problems by opening up warheads that were never meant to be opened. The accumulation of tiny engineering changes meant the bombs moved incrementally away from their original designs, with unknown effects.

The White House believes designing a replacement warhead is vital to preserving the nation's nuclear edge, particularly amid looming questions about North Korea, which reportedly possesses several nuclear weapons, and Iran, which the administration fears wants them.

The redesign project "means making sure that aging phenomena don't cause us any questions about nuclear reliability," Brooks said in a telephone interview with The Associated Press. "It means making sure that we incorporate safety and security and use-control in a way we didn't know how to do when we designed the stockpile." Critics, including some former nuclear weapons scientists, question the need to resume nuclear weapons production, at a cost of billions of dollars, when they believe the current stockpile is safe and reliable and can remain so for years.

They also question whether a next-generation bomb can improve reliability and safety if it cannot be tested.

Congress has financed the research on the condition that the redesigned weapon reduce the need for testing.

Opponents fear the project could send the wrong signal to the world at a time when the United States and its allies are trying to curb the spread of nuclear technology.

Brooks said North Korea and Iran play into the project only "indirectly," explaining that the administration would press for the program anyway. "We didn't sit down and say, 'Look, there's problems in Iran. Let's go and invent a new design,'" he said.

The project also aims to improve safeguards against accidental detonation or use of the weapons by terrorists, Brooks said. It marks the first time that an American nuclear bomb has been designed with those goals as the top priority.

Proponents say a revamped weapon could help the United States to reduce the number of warheads held in reserve in case other weapons are found to be faulty.

A new weapons production line would be needed to produce the bomb. For instance, the Rocky Flats, Colo., plant that once made plutonium triggers for nuclear warheads was shuttered in 1989. Los Alamos can only build a handful per year; the administration is aiming for 10 next year.

The Livermore and Los Alamos labs set aside bomb-designing more than a decade ago in favor of maintaining the current stockpile.

Each year, the nation's nuclear arsenal loses about a half-dozen bombs from its reserve of several thousand as the Livermore and Los Alamos teams rip them apart in what is called "destructive analysis." Others are dismantled and refurbished with new parts.

<http://www.miami.com/mld/miamiherald/news/nation/14950253.htm>

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## Unconventional Attack From The Sea?

By F. Michael Maloof

To counter terrorists, you need to think like one. That will be the case to thwart terrorists who want to match, if not exceed, the devastating September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States.

September 11 came from the sky in a somewhat unconventional way. Terrorists turned fully-fueled airplanes with passengers into cruise missiles, crashing them into the symbols of U.S. economic and military strength: the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

In their desire to at least match the destructive effect of those attacks, terrorists will look for another "creative," unconventional approach.

This time, it could come from the sea.

In recent months, the issue of port security reached fever pitch over the prospect that a government-owned company of the United Arab Emirates was to manage a number of U.S. ports.

Ports oversee the annual movement of some 6 million containers, of which the U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) Agency inspects perhaps 3-5 percent. Indeed, CBP has little counterterrorism intelligence to support its efforts.

In all, an estimated 7,500 foreign-flag vessels make some 51,000 U.S. port calls each year.

Yet, an attack from the sea may not necessarily come from a container offloaded from a ship.

Instead, merchant ships under terrorist control could be fashioned into floating nuclear bombs. It wouldn't take many such vessels and terrorists with state-sponsor support are assessed to have such a capability.

These terrorist ships, however, would not have to enter into a U.S. port. They only would need to come near one, thereby bypassing the much-ballyhooed "National Maritime Security Strategy" of container security.

It also would make useless Customs' Container Security Initiative program at selected foreign ports. That said, authorities still would need to expend the resources to insure against the use of containers to smuggle contraband or weapons of mass destruction.

Freighters loaded with a nuclear device could approach a significant port, such as New York City, Baltimore, Los Angeles, Houston or Seattle.

In addition, nuclear bomb-laden ships could sail up the Welland Canal with its multiple locks near Niagara or enter into the Delaware-Chesapeake Bay region. Both strategic locations provide access to major U.S. inland shipping and product distribution networks.

An Hiroshima-type bomb with an equivalent of 20,000 tons of TNT could take out a city and most people in it. The heat from the blast will evaporate most structures near the explosion and create radiation that will affect the lives of many more people.

More than 75 percent of the nation's population resides on or near U.S. coasts.

The coasts also are the location for significant U.S. infrastructure needs, such as energy and telecommunications. Some three-quarters of U.S. military assets, including bases and posts, nuclear-weapons assembly plants and nuclear reactors are near U.S. coastlines.

Merchant ships devised as nuclear bombs also could include the launching a missile from a freighter off our shores. Iran is assessed to have this capability. Such a launch would go largely undetected.

Until now, this method was regarded as an increasing threat to the United States from the sea. And it still could be.

North Korea has cooperated with Iran in developing a number of long-range missiles. It also may be assisting Iran in its nuclear weapons research. North Korea already is assessed to have between two to six nuclear devices, and counting. Like Iran, North Korea recently resumed nuclear enrichment despite worldwide condemnation.

Neither country, however, is assessed now to be able to mount a nuclear device on a missile. Yet, they could devise a chemical or biological warhead on missiles that would create serious panic upon impact.

Still, a chemical or biological warhead would not have the devastating effect of freighters as delivery vehicles for nuclear weapons. Also, detection of ships with such a nuclear device on board would be very difficult, since lead containers could shield any radiation emission.

Iran and North Korea also could insure that the nuclear bomb-laden ships are registered with the proper "flag of convenience" to avoid suspicion. There are some 130,000 merchant ships registered in 195 countries. Two of the most prominent "flag of convenience" countries are Panama and Liberia. Between them, they have more than 6,000 ships on their respective registries.

Iran and North Korea most likely would use suicide-prone terrorist groups such as al Qaeda or Hezbollah to carry out the attacks to mask their true origin. In recent months, Iran even has claimed that it has some 40,000 suicide bombers signed up to retaliate should the United States bomb its nuclear sites.

Al Qaeda also is thought to have from 15 to 50 merchant ships. Their whereabouts remain largely unknown. Hezbollah also can operate ships.

Given their high seas experience, al Qaeda and Hezbollah will know that the U.S. Navy monitors most ship communications and location before they approach U.S. waters. Such monitoring often begins at the journey's origin.

Iran or North Korea then will want to insure that any nuclear device and ship be joined at a less conspicuous intermediary country. In this way, they will seek to avoid detection while linking up with the terrorist crews. The U.S. Navy constantly monitors ships to determine whether they are smuggling weapons and people. Yet, thousands of arms and illegal immigrants still manage to infiltrate by sea undetected into the United States each year.

This means that nuclear bomb-laden ships now could easily slip into normal merchant shipping channels without examination.

All of these elements could come together to pose a threat to the U.S. homeland that is almost unmatched by any other existing terrorist threat. Given our penchant for disastrous intelligence failures, however, I am not confident that we will detect and prevent such a holocaust in time.

*F. Michael Maloof is a former senior security policy analyst in the Office of the Secretary of Defense.*

<http://www.washtimes.com/commentary/20060701-102645-1933r.htm>

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New York Times

July 3, 2006

## Iran Again Rejects Deadline On Nuclear Plan

By Nazila Fathi

TEHRAN, July 2 — Iran on Sunday again rejected a deadline to respond to an international proposal to end the standoff over its nuclear program, saying it would respond a month.

"We do not consider such statements as constructive and invite them to wait for our answer until next month," said Hamidreza Assefi, the Foreign Ministry spokesman, the ISNA news agency reported.

The next month in the Iranian calendar begins July 23. Mr. Assefi was responding to a statement made at a meeting of the Group of 8's foreign ministers on Thursday in Russia, during which they demanded Iran make a "clear and substantive" response to the proposal in a week. President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad had previously said Iran would give its answer around Aug. 23.

"We will take into account our country's rights and interests and will also try to alleviate the other side's concerns," Mr. Assefi said.

In June, Javier Solana, the European Union's foreign policy chief, offered Iran a package of proposals from Germany and the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council: China, Russia, Britain, France and the United States. Diplomats have said it includes political and economic incentives and a promise to help develop Iran's nuclear program in return for its suspending nuclear enrichment.

Mr. Assefi said Sunday that Iran's chief nuclear negotiator would meet with Mr. Solana on Wednesday to discuss the package.

In their statement, foreign ministers from the Group of 8 nations — United States, Russia, France, Germany, Italy, Canada, Britain and Japan — demanded a response from Iran to the proposals by Wednesday. The ministers said they expected that response to come when the Iranian negotiator, Ali Larijani, and Mr. Solana meet. Mr. Assefi said the offer had ambiguities that needed to be discussed. He said Europe should be thankful that Iran was "examining the proposal with such a positive attitude and precision."

In a separate news conference on Sunday, the minister of intelligence, Gholamhossein Mohseni-Ejei, linked the arrest of an Iranian-Canadian philosopher, Ramin Jahanbegloo, to what he said were efforts by the United States to start a "soft revolution" in Iran. Mr. Jahanbegloo has been jailed since late April, when he was arrested at the Tehran airport.

"The United States is pursuing efforts to start soft revolution in Iran and in many other countries and Mr. Jahanbegloo's arrest can be defined as part of that," ISNA quoted Mr. Mohseni-Ejei as saying.

"Mr. Jahanbegloo had an assignment and the intelligence apparatus became suspicious at the scale of his activities and resources" at his disposal, he said.

Mr. Jahanbegloo has not been allowed to see a lawyer. Independent human rights groups have said his arrest was politically motivated.

*Helene Cooper contributed reporting from Washington for this article.*

<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/03/world/middleeast/03iran.html>

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Bloomberg.com

## **Russian Nuclear Security Lags, Raising U.S. Terrorism Concerns**

July 5 (Bloomberg) -- U.S. efforts to secure the former Soviet Union's nuclear stockpile are flagging as the Iraq war and Iran's atomic ambitions push it lower on the international agenda and an oil-rich Russia resists pressure for tougher action.

Almost 15 years after the U.S. launched its program to help strengthen controls on the world's largest nuclear stockpile, Russian guards are still patrolling storage sites with unloaded guns, propping open doors that should be locked and turning off intrusion detectors to avoid false alarms, according to a 2005 report by Harvard University's Project on Managing the Atom. The report found that security systems in 46 percent of the Russian buildings that contain nuclear material have yet to be fully upgraded.

President George W. Bush has said the most serious U.S. security threat is a terrorist detonating a nuclear device in a large city -- and experts say the likeliest source of material for such a device is Russia.

"The problems remain very acute," said William Potter, a former consultant to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and co-author of the book "The Four Faces of Nuclear Terrorism." "We've been diverted from what should be our priority mission, securing material on the ground in Russia and other former Soviet states." Last year, Russians reported 200 cases of suspected smuggling of nuclear and radiological materials, said Representative James Langevin of Rhode Island, senior Democrat on a House panel that tracks terrorist threats.

'What a Mistake'

Representative Jane Harman of California, the senior Democrat on the House intelligence committee, said nuclear material has been leaving former Soviet republics because the U.S. and Russia haven't been more vigilant. "What a mistake it is we let this stuff leak out of those countries," Harman said.

Matthew Bunn, a senior research associate at Harvard's Managing the Atom project, said Russians don't have the same level of anxiety about nuclear theft as do others. "If you talk to people at nuclear facilities, they say, 'Bunn, you're a worrywart,'" he said.

About 40 terrorist groups or cults have possessed or expressed an interest in using chemical, biological or nuclear weapons as well as "dirty bombs," according to the U.S. national intelligence director's annual threat assessment, released earlier this year. A dirty bomb uses conventional explosives to disperse radiological material.

Aging Complex

The Russians haven't moved to secure highly enriched uranium at civilian facilities, Potter said. They're also storing 30 tons of nuclear materials in wooden 1940s-era buildings at the Mayak nuclear complex in the southern Ural Mountains, Bunn said.

While Bush and Russian President Vladimir Putin pledged to increase cooperative efforts to secure nuclear weapons and material in their 2005 summit in Bratislava, Slovakia, there's been little follow-up since, said Potter, who is now director of the Monterey, California-based Center for Proliferation Studies.

He said that "although the rhetoric for the most part is good, it's not clear the leadership in either country has backed it up with action."

Representative John Linder, a Georgia Republican who chairs a House panel that tracks nuclear nonproliferation, said Bush hasn't focused on securing the weapons because his presidency increasingly has become tied to success or failure in Iraq. Graham Allison, an assistant secretary of defense in the Clinton administration, said Bush and Putin have also been distracted by Iran's nuclear program, currently the focus of an international diplomatic effort to get it to agree to restrictions.

Less Receptive

Richard Lugar, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and co-founder of a program to secure the Soviet nuclear arsenal, said Russia's newfound clout as the world's No. 2 oil producer has made it less receptive to U.S. pressure.

"They want to point out at the outset, 'We're not supplicants, we're rich,'" said Lugar, an Indiana Republican. The Russians want to cooperate "with the understanding we have the proper respect for the comeback that Russia has made."

Russia has resisted U.S. requests that it consolidate its nuclear sites to make it easier to keep track of the material and weapons, Potter said. The Russians also have made it more difficult for U.S. officials to inspect sensitive military and research facilities, said William Hoehn, Washington office director of the Russian-American Nuclear Advisory Council, a policy group focused on nuclear security.

'Resolved'

Vladimir Rybachenkov, counselor for nuclear affairs at the Russian embassy in Washington, said the U.S. and Russia are working well together and that U.S. personnel have been able to enter sensitive facilities. "As far as access problems, I think they've been resolved," he said.

Bryan Wilkes, a spokesman for the U.S. National Nuclear Security Administration, which maintains the U.S. stockpile and works with the Russians to secure their nuclear material, said progress on securing nuclear material has accelerated since the Bratislava summit and that security upgrades have been completed in 77 percent of all Russian buildings that house nuclear materials or weapons.

"Anyone who says we're not doing enough or making it a priority doesn't know what we do or doesn't understand what we do," Wilkes said.

Russia possesses about 16,000 nuclear warheads and 600 tons of material that could be used in bombs, according to a U.S. National Academy of Sciences 2005 report and the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.

Residue

The material is contained in weapons and barrels stored in large warehouses, Bunn said. Some of it is in the form of residue that lines the pipes and surfaces of uranium and plutonium plants or can be found at research facilities in special boxes fitted with gloves that allow scientists to work with it, he said.

Since the early 1990s, the U.S. and Russia have worked to secure and winnow the weapons stockpile. Programs set up by the 1991 Nunn-Lugar Act have destroyed or deactivated 6,828 nuclear warheads, 865 air-to-surface missiles, 29 nuclear submarines and 194 nuclear test tunnels, according to Lugar's office. The act is named for its Senate co-sponsors, Lugar and former Senator Sam Nunn, a Georgia Democrat.

The U.S. has funded about \$2 billion in security improvements at nuclear sites in the former Soviet Union, Wilkes said.

Harman questions whether all of it has been well-spent. "There is massive corruption in Russia, and so a lot of that money didn't go to exactly what it should go for," she said.

Rose Gottemoeller, director of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's Moscow Center, said she sees "a steady momentum" in upgrading security at facilities. Still, Gottemoeller, Bunn and other experts say that terrorists are developing smarter tactics and becoming increasingly brazen.

Bunn said that most Russian nuclear facilities -- even those with upgraded security systems -- probably couldn't defend themselves against attacks such as those staged by Chechen militants at a Moscow theater in 2002 and at a school in Beslan in 2004.

To contact the reporters on this story:

Jeff Bliss in Washington at [jbliss@bloomberg.net](mailto:jbliss@bloomberg.net)

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

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New York Times

July 5, 2006

## Missiles Fired By North Korea; Tests Protested

By Norimitsu Onishi and David E. Sanger

TOKYO, Wednesday, July 5 — North Korea test-fired at least six missiles over the Sea of Japan on Wednesday morning, including an intercontinental missile that apparently failed or was aborted 42 seconds after it was launched, White House and Pentagon officials said.

The small barrage of launchings, which took place over more than four hours, came in defiance of warnings from President Bush and the governments of Japan, South Korea and China. Of the launchings, which the United States and Japan condemned, intelligence officials focused most of their attention on the intercontinental missile, called the Taepodong 2, which American spy satellites have been watching on a remote launching pad for more than a month. It is designed to be capable of reaching Alaska, and perhaps the West Coast of the United States, but American officials who tracked its launching said it fell into the Sea of Japan before its first stage burned out.

"The Taepodong obviously was a failure — that tells you something about capabilities," Stephen Hadley, President Bush's national security adviser, told reporters in a phone call on Tuesday evening in Washington. But other officials warned that even a failed launching was of some use to the North Koreans, because it will help them diagnose what went wrong with the liquid-fueled rocket.

In a statement issued late Tuesday night, the White House said the United States "remains committed to a peaceful diplomatic solution" and sought implementation of a joint statement on denuclearization issued after a meeting with North Korea in September. But it said "the North Korean regime's actions and unwillingness to return to the talks appears to indicate that the North has not yet made the strategic decision to give up their nuclear programs."



"Accordingly, we will continue to take all necessary measures to protect ourselves and our allies," the White House said, offering no details.

The missiles have been the source of considerable diplomatic tension in recent weeks, because of North Korea's declarations that it already possesses nuclear weapons. American intelligence agencies have told President Bush they believe the North has produced enough fuel for six or more weapons, but it is unclear whether they have actually used it to make nuclear devices.

However, the country is not believed to have developed a warhead small enough to fit atop one of its missiles, and it has never conducted a nuclear test, to the knowledge of American officials.

The other missiles that the North fired appeared to be a mix of short-range Scud-C missiles and intermediate-range Rodong missiles, of the kind that the North has sold to Iran, Pakistan and other nations. Those missiles also landed in the Sea of Japan.

None of the launchings were announced in advance. But the first came just minutes after the space shuttle Discovery lifted off in Florida — an event the North Koreans could monitor on television. Administration officials said they could only speculate as to whether the missile launching had been timed to coincide with the shuttle launching, or with Independence Day, but outside analysts had little doubt.

"It's very in your face to do it on the Fourth of July," said Ashton B. Carter, a Harvard professor who, with former defense secretary William J. Perry, had urged the Bush administration to destroy the Taepodong missile on the launching pad, advice the administration rejected.

"Hooray if it failed," Mr. Carter said.

While the test itself was a sign of North Korea's defiance of the United States, for the administration, the outcome was as favorable as officials could have hoped for: the North's capacity was called into question, and the North's enigmatic leader, Kim Jong Il, has now put himself at odds with the two countries that have provided him aid, China and South Korea. "Our hope is that the Chinese are going to be furious," said one senior American official, who declined to be identified.

Another official noted that only days ago, the Chinese indicated that they were trying to put together an "informal" meeting of the long-dormant six-party talks on North Korea's nuclear program.

The North has boycotted the talks since September, citing American efforts to close down the banks it uses overseas. But North Korea had apparently not responded to the Chinese invitation, and American officials said last week that the Chinese would not have made that gesture if they believed that they were about to be embarrassed by the country that they once considered a close ally.

The launching also makes it difficult for the South Koreans to continue their policy of providing aid and investment to the North, a program that has caused deep rifts with Washington. Administration officials said that Christopher R. Hill, the assistant secretary of state for East Asia and the main negotiator with North Korea, would leave for Asia on Wednesday, and that they expected him to use the launchings to try to bring South Korea and China into the fold on imposing some kind of sanctions.

At the same time, the launching is likely to strengthen the hand of hard-liners in the Bush administration who have long argued that the six-party talks were bound to fail. They now have what one American diplomat called "a clear runway" to press for a gradually escalating series of sanctions, which some officials clearly hope will bring down Mr. Kim's government.

But it is far from clear that China — which provides the North with its oil and much of its food — would go along with any move for sanctions.

The firing ended weeks of speculation about the intentions of Pyongyang, which had rolled out the Taepodong 2, its new long-range missile, in full view of American spy satellites, and came despite severe warnings from the United States and countries in this region that a test would entail further isolation and sanctions. The first missile was fired around 3:30 a.m. Wednesday, according to the Japanese government.

American officials said they believe the Taepodong 2 was the third missile fired, with the U.S. Northern Command saying that it was launched at 5 a.m. on Wednesday.

American and Japanese officials immediately condemned the launchings. But American officials had never considered it a serious threat to the United States, especially because there was no evidence the missile was equipped with a warhead. Mr. Bush's spokesman, Tony Snow, only went so far as to call the launching "provocative behavior."

The Japanese government said it would take "severe actions" against the North, possibly including economic sanctions. Those could include shutting down the ferry service to North Korea and attempting to stem the flow of the transfer of cash to the North from Koreans in Japan, though officials acknowledge that would be difficult.

At the United Nations, John R. Bolton, the United States ambassador, was "urgently consulting" with other members of the Security Council to try to schedule a meeting of the panel, according to his spokesman, Richard A. Grenell. Later in the evening, it was announced that the Council would meet to take up the matter at 10 a.m. Wednesday at

the request of Japan. Mr. Hadley acknowledged that "what we really don't have a fix on is, you know, what's the intention of all this, what is the purpose of all this?" He noted it was a violation of North Korea's previous pledges to hold to a moratorium on missile tests.

It was also unclear why North Korea fired short- and mid-range missiles, which it has tested successfully in the past and of which it is said to own several hundred.

"One theory is that they knew that there was a probability that things with the Taepodong 2 wouldn't work, so it was good to fire off a few missiles that would actually work," said a senior Bush administration official, who asked that his name not be used because he was not authorized to speak about this issue.

In 1998, the last time the North tested a missile outside its territory, Pyongyang fired the Taepodong 1, which flew over Japan before falling into the sea. That test set off a negative reaction in the region, especially in Japan, which responded by strengthening its military and its alliance with the United States.

Wednesday's tests are likely to increase calls inside Japan to strengthen its missile defense efforts with the United States, and could increase support for hawkish candidates in the race to succeed Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, who is scheduled to retire in September.

Shinzo Abe, Japan's chief cabinet secretary, who is the leading candidate to succeed Mr. Koizumi and who has gained popularity in recent years by being tough on North Korea and China, said the tests were "a serious problem from the standpoint of our national security, peace and stability of the international community and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction."

The tests are sure to anger China — which expended considerable diplomatic prestige in pressing the North not to go ahead with the launching and to rejoin the six-nation talks — and raise doubts anew about the real extent of Beijing's influence on Pyongyang. The Chinese foreign ministry said it had no comment to make yet on the launching.

In South Korea, whose government publicly urged the North not to test-fire but privately played down the risk, opponents of the government's engagement policy toward the North might gain support in presidential elections next year.

Intelligence from American satellite photographs indicated in mid-June that the North was proceeding with the test-firing of the Taepodong 2 at a launching pad on North Korea's remote east coast. Satellite photographs showed that the North Koreans had taken steps to put fuel into the missile, but the missile sat there until Wednesday morning, leading to speculation that the North was simply staging the event in order to gain attention from the United States. American officials had suggested that they might use the missile defense shield to shoot down the Taepodong 2 in midair. Bad weather in this region was said to have delayed the launching, because poor visibility would prevent the North from tracking its missile.

But the North contradicted expert opinion by launching its long-range missile in predawn darkness today.

*Norimitsu Onishi reported from Tokyo for this article, and David E. Sanger from Vermont. Reporting was contributed by Warren Hoge from the United Nations, and by David S. Cloud, Helene Cooper and Sheryl Gay Stolberg from Washington.*

<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/05/world/asia/05missile.html>

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Washington Post

July 5, 2006

Pg. 1

## North Korea Tests Long-Range Missile

***Controversial Rocket Fails as Other Types Are Fired; U.N. Session Set After U.S., Japan Condemn Action***

By Dana Priest and Anthony Faiola, Washington Post Staff Writers

North Korea test-fired at least six missiles yesterday, including its long-range Taepodong-2, senior U.S. officials said, defying strong warnings from the United States and regional powers in Asia.

The controversial long-range missile failed less than a minute after launch, falling into the Sea of Japan, along with the other, less-sophisticated missiles. Diplomatic and military officials played down any imminent threat, but Stephen J. Hadley, President Bush's national security adviser, called the display of firepower on the Fourth of July "provocative behavior."

In addition to prompting swift condemnation in Washington and Japan, the launches set off a flurry of diplomatic consultations. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice began calling Asian capitals that were waking to the news, and the U.N. Security Council was set to take up the matter today. Meanwhile, a special U.S. envoy, Christopher R. Hill, was dispatched to consult with allies.



Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Aso said Tokyo was likely to impose economic sanctions against North Korea in response to the missile tests; Japanese authorities said they would begin by banning North Korean ships from Japanese ports for six months or more.

In Pyongyang, an official from North Korea's communist government met with Japanese reporters and acknowledged the missile launches. Japan's NHK television quoted Foreign Ministry official Lee Byong Dok as saying: "This is an issue of national sovereignty, and other countries do not have the right to judge. We are not bound by any agreement regarding missiles."

Over the past several weeks, U.S. intelligence officials had warned of a possible long-range missile test by North Korea, and the issue became the subject of increasingly acrimonious exchanges between the United States and North Korea. Pyongyang's main benefactors, China and South Korea, as well as Japan and other nations had urged the North not to proceed with a test. Last night, Hadley said the launch "just shows the defiance of the international community by North Korea."

The tests could further isolate North Korea and tilt U.S. policy in favor of Bush administration hard-liners who have argued that stronger sanctions are the only way to bring North Korea back to the table in stalled disarmament talks.

In Japan, U.S. Ambassador J. Thomas Schieffer told reporters that he and Japanese officials had discussed the possibility of getting the U.N. Security Council to impose economic sanctions on Pyongyang.

In a nationally televised announcement in South Korea, Suh Choo Suk, senior presidential secretary for security policy, said the North's "provocative act" would deepen its isolation and affect inter-Korean ties.

The South Korean government has said it would punish Pyongyang in the event of a missile test by curbing the massive investment and humanitarian aid that has formed an integral part of its rapprochement with the North in recent years. President Roh Moo Hyun is now likely to face international and domestic pressure to follow through. A scaling back of financial assistance to the North by South Korea and China is considered key to the success of any international sanctions against Pyongyang.

North Korea last test-fired a long-range missile in 1998; it had observed a moratorium on such launches since 1999. Hadley said that although the test was a clear violation of that moratorium, it offered the United States important insight about North Korea's weapons capabilities: "The Taepodong is a failure. That tells you something about capabilities." North Korea's intentions were left unclear, he said.

"It's hard to get a sense of what they think could be achieved by this," he told reporters. "This is something we've been seeing coming for a while, so it's not a particular surprise."

The Taepodong-2 was the third of at least six missiles launched beginning at 2:33 p.m. EDT and ending four hours later. They included two short-range Scud missiles and three medium-range Nodongs, another type of Scud, Hadley said. It was the first time in recent memory that North Korea had launched so many missiles at once.

All the missiles apparently landed within 400 miles of the Japanese coast, with the last landing approximately 312 miles northwest of Japan's western city of Niigata, Japanese officials said.

U.S. surveillance observed all the launches, said an official at the Pentagon, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

"None posed a threat," a Pentagon spokesman said in an e-mail account of the incident, and "no action [was] required." The Taepodong-2 missile failed after about 35 seconds, he said.

There were South Korean news reports that 10 missiles had been launched, but those reports could not be immediately confirmed.

A senior State Department official said the tests were "an affront to everybody, not just us," and that they would likely have a big effect on South Korean public opinion, which is already impatient with the flow of humanitarian assistance meant to induce the North Korean leader, Kim Jong Il, to join the world community.

The failure of diplomacy is also likely to embarrass China. Beijing, North Korea's biggest benefactor, has called on Pyongyang to return to a new round of nuclear disarmament talks, which involve six nations and have been stalled for the past six months. China's ability to prod the North Koreans back to the table was considered a key test of Beijing's aspirations for increased diplomatic clout in the region.

There was no immediate reaction from the Chinese Foreign Ministry to the missile tests, but a North Korea specialist at People's University in Beijing said the action puts China and other nations in a difficult position.

"Generally it has not changed dramatically the major elements in the game," said Shi Yin Hong. "The first casualty will be the six-sided talks. Of course it embarrasses China, but it also embarrasses the U.S. It embarrasses mostly the South Koreans."

To counter the growing missile threat from the North, the United States plans to send Japan four defensive Patriot Advanced Capability-3 missile batteries to be stationed on the island of Okinawa by the end of the year.

After the tests, Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's chief cabinet secretary, said: "The fact that North Korea launched these missiles despite warnings from the international community is a grave issue not only regarding Japan's security but peace and stability for the international community and non-proliferation, and we will make a stern protest and express our regret to North Korea."

The Nodong is a medium-range Scud missile. The Taepodong-2 is a multi-stage missile with a possible range of 2,175 to 2,672 miles, meaning it could hit parts of Alaska.

North Korea's 1998 test involved a three-stage missile. The first stage splashed down in the Sea of Japan, the second crossed Japan's main island of Honshu, and a third stage -- detected by U.S. intelligence only weeks later -- broke up and traveled 3,450 miles downrange, falling into the Pacific Ocean.

Many analysts agree that North Korea is years away from building a nuclear warhead small enough to fit on a missile. Its medium- and long-range missiles also have displayed chronic problems with accuracy.

The Bush administration has increased its insistence recently that North Korea abandon its missile program, but the administration has not hinted at any form of immediate military action.

During a recent visit with Koizumi, Bush called a possible missile launch by the North "unacceptable" and said North Korean leader Kim "is just going to have to make a decision: Does he want to be isolated from the world, or is he interested in being an active participant?"

*Faiola reported from Tokyo. Correspondent Maureen Fan in Beijing and researcher Meg Smith in Washington contributed to this report.*

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/07/04/AR2006070400649.html>

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Washington Times

July 5, 2006

Pg. 1

## North Korea Launches Missile Show

By Bill Gertz, The Washington Times

North Korea launched a volley of missiles yesterday, including a long-range Taepodong-2, which can strike U.S. territory, and five others, including one that landed near Russian territory.

A Pentagon official said there were "multiple launches from multiple locations" and added that more launches may come from North Korea in the coming days.

"They are out to prove a point," the official said of Pyongyang's reclusive communist regime.

The White House and U.S. air-defense officials last night said that there were six launches over a four-hour period.

"The Democratic People's Republic of Korea launched six ballistic missiles, including a long-range Taepodong-2 missile," the U.S. Northern Command said last night.

The 9,300-mile-range Taepodong-2, which can reach parts of the United States, appeared to have failed after 42 seconds of flight, said U.S. officials who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

Officials had no other details on the failed Taepodong test or the missile that landed close to Russia. The other launches were of shorter-range missiles -- the 620-mile-range Nodong missile and a Scud-type missile with a range of 300 to 500 miles.

The U.S. government was prepared to shoot down the Taepodong-2 if it appeared to be heading to U.S. or allied territory, using the new limited missile-defense system with interceptors deployed in Alaska and California.

The White House said North Korea's decision to escalate its nuclear standoff with the international community by test-firing missiles will further alienate it from the international community.

"The North Koreans have again clearly isolated themselves," White House press secretary Tony Snow told reporters.

"We do consider it provocative behavior," National Security Adviser Stephen J. Hadley said.

President Bush had met with Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and Mr. Hadley, Mr. Snow said.

Christopher Hill, assistant secretary of state, is to head to the region today, and Mr. Hadley is to meet with his South Korean counterpart, a meeting in Washington that already had been scheduled, Mr. Snow said.

One administration official told The Washington Times that the missile launches were expected, as preparations for them had been detected over the past two weeks, adding that the North Koreans appear to have timed the launches for a major U.S. holiday.

Still, the missiles were launched without any formal warning, U.S. officials said, and there were no recent official statements from the North Koreans about testing plans.

"North Korea has gone ahead with the launch, despite international protest," Japanese Chief Cabinet Secretary Shinzo Abe said. "That is regrettable from the standpoint of Japan's security, the stability of international society and nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction."

The missiles all landed in the East Sea/Japan Sea, between Japan and Korea, with no reports of damage, Mr. Abe said.

He said the first missile was launched at about 3:30 a.m. today local time (2:30 p.m. EDT yesterday). If the timing is correct, the North Korean missiles were launched within minutes of yesterday's liftoff of Discovery, which blasted into orbit from Cape Canaveral, Fla., in the first U.S. space shuttle launch in a year.

Normally, when missile or space launches are carried out, the governments conducting the tests will issue international notices to airmen and mariners to avoid ocean and airspace where the tests are to be conducted. But North Korea does not follow the same missile-testing protocols as the United States or other nations.

Both Japan and South Korea protested the missile tests, with Tokyo persuading the U.N. Security Council to schedule an emergency meeting for this morning.

"We will take stern measures," Mr. Abe said today, adding that economic sanctions were a possibility.

At the United Nations, U.S. Ambassador John R. Bolton told reporters that he was "urgently consulting other Security Council members."

In Beijing, China's Foreign Ministry refused to comment on the tests. "At this point, we have nothing to say on this," a spokesman told Agence France-Presse this morning.

In the North Korean capital, Pyongyang, people went about their business as usual today, Kyodo News reported.

There was no celebration of the missile launches, or even any official comment. There was no TV broadcast in the morning, and radio news mentioned North Korean leader Kim Jong-il visiting a factory as its top item.

On Monday, Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs R. Nicholas Burns warned North Korea against firing any missiles and urged the communist country to return to six-nation talks on its nuclear program. The six-party talks, suspended by North Korea, involved negotiations by the United States, China, South Korea, Japan and Russia with Pyongyang over the country's nuclear program.

It will be several days before analysis of the missile launch is completed and the reasons for the Taepodong failure can be identified. The 1998 Taepodong flight was successful for the first two stages. The last stage failed.

*This article is based in part on wire-service reports.*

<http://www.washtimes.com/national/20060705-015519-6396r.htm>

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Washington Post

July 5, 2006

Pg. 10

## **Ayatollah's Moves Hint Iran Wants To Engage**

### ***Supreme Leader Sets Course for WTO Membership***

By Karl Vick, Washington Post Foreign Service

ISTANBUL -- As diplomatic maneuvering continues over Iran's nuclear program, the cleric who holds ultimate authority in the country has signaled twice in recent days that Iran intends to engage the wider world it long held at bay.

Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, Iran's supreme leader, announced the formation of a new council to advise him on foreign affairs and a new privatization program aimed at preparing Iran for eventual membership in the World Trade Organization.

Neither move was related directly to the nuclear controversy, which a senior Iranian official is due to discuss with the European Union's top diplomat on Wednesday. But analysts said Khamenei's announcements served to reinforce the assumption of U.S. and European officials that Iran wants to be more integrated in the world.

Based on that theory, E.U. foreign policy chief Javier Solana last month presented a package of incentives to Iran -- including promises of trade and technical advice -- as part of efforts to persuade Iran to suspend uranium enrichment.

"As far as bringing Iran out of isolation and joining with international organizations, it's a positive step," said Davoud Hermidas Bavand, a professor of international law at Tehran's Supreme National Defense University, referring to Khamenei's announcement.

The formation of a new foreign relations panel may also indicate dissatisfaction with the foreign policy performance of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. Khamenei named as the panel's chairman Kamal Kharrazi, the man Ahmadinejad removed as foreign minister after taking office last year.

"I think it's significant," said a European diplomat in Tehran, who asked to not be identified further so that he could speak openly. "Personally, I think it amounts to trying to put limits to the president."

The new Strategic Council for Foreign Relations also includes another former foreign minister, a former admiral in the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, a former commerce official and a cleric with hard-line credentials who has served as Iran's ambassador to China. The new council joins a constellation of existing government panels devoted to foreign policy, but it will report directly to Khamenei, who "sensed a deficiency," Kharrazi told Iranian media.

Bill Samii, who follows Iranian affairs for U.S.-funded Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, said Ahmadinejad's confrontational rhetoric reflects the views of fellow veterans of the eight-year war with Iraq, when Iran was bitterly disappointed to find itself fighting alone. Western powers and Arab states supported Saddam Hussein's secular Iraq. "Ahmadinejad and his cohorts play up the sort of appeal to the Third World and the Non-Aligned Movement on the nuclear issue, and of course their background and their experience in the war with Iraq teaches them you want to be as self-sufficient as possible," Samii said. "But the leadership and people in responsibility know you can't go it alone. You can't walk the talk."

He said Khamenei wants to find a way for Iran to be part of international politics and the global economy without being seen as having given in to Western pressure. Iran has traditionally defined itself in contrast to the West, and Western powers now accuse it of secretly pursuing nuclear weapons.

"Iran has been isolated . . . and this is something they find very unpalatable," Samii said.

Iran's embrace of reforms that could win the nation acceptance in the international community has been halting. The government controls as much as 80 percent of the economy, leaving unclear how cash-strapped ordinary Iranians will find money for the shares in state enterprises that Khamenei has said will be sold.

Foreign investors remain wary of a system that in June announced that a company affiliated with the Revolutionary Guard would be awarded a \$2.3 billion contract to develop a natural gas field.

Yet membership in the WTO, the treaty organization that sets the rules of international trade, has been a stated goal of Iran for years. Until last year, the U.S. government maintained a policy of blocking Iran's bid. The two countries broke off diplomatic relations a quarter-century ago, after militant students took 52 Americans hostage at the overrun U.S. Embassy in Tehran while protesting previous U.S. interference in Iranian affairs.

But the Bush administration last year signaled that it would drop its objection to WTO membership as part of a bid to coax Iran to suspend its nuclear program. In a package now under consideration by Iranian officials, the United States joins Russia, China, France, Britain and Germany in offering an assortment of other assistance provided Iran's long-secret program is certified as peaceful, as Iran maintains it is.

A European diplomat said Solana would press Iran's lead nuclear negotiator, Ali Larijani, to respond to the package before July 12, when foreign ministers of the six powers are scheduled to meet in Paris. Iran has said it will not have a formal reply until August.

*Staff writer Dafna Linzer in Washington contributed to this report.*

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/07/04/AR2006070400750.html>

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Philadelphia Inquirer

July 5, 2006

## **Iran Rejects Plea To Respond Quickly On Nuclear Proposal**

*Tehran said it needed until mid-August to study incentives for suspending its program.*

By Ali Akbar Dareini, Associated Press

TEHRAN, Iran - Iran rejected Russia's and China's calls for a quick response to incentives to suspend its nuclear program, indicating yesterday that it wanted to negotiate the terms of the offer.

The exchange among the three nations came a day after diplomats said the United States, Britain and France would revive a push to punish the Islamic republic with U.N. Security Council sanctions if it does not suspend uranium enrichment and agree to talks on its nuclear program by July 12.

Russian President Vladimir V. Putin said he would like talks on the incentive package to start before the July 15-17 summit of the eight wealthiest industrialized nations, but said he thought that was unlikely.

"We would really like our Iranian partners to accept the proposals," Putin said.

Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Jiang Yu said Beijing hopes Iran will "respond to the package at an early date," adding: "The urgent task is to help resume the talks as soon as possible."

Iranian Foreign Minister Manouchehr Mottaki restated Iran's position that its response to the offer - from the United States, Russia, China, Britain, France and Germany - will come in mid-August.

"The August date announced by Iran was based on the necessity for a comprehensive and accurate study of the package and is unalterable," the official Islamic Republic News Agency quoted Mottaki as saying.

Mottaki indicated that Tehran hoped to negotiate the terms of the package before responding to demands that include an Iranian freeze of uranium enrichment during any negotiations.

"What can happen until that date [mid-August] is talks between Iran, the European Union and other countries that contributed in drawing up the package," he said.

The six countries that made the offer want Iran to freeze enrichment before any talks begin.

The United States, Britain and France are pushing Moscow and Beijing to support them on possible Security Council action - including sanctions - if Tehran refuses the package of incentives, which include nuclear expertise and hardware including reactors.

Russia's and China's ties to Iran and opposition to sanctions have hobbled attempts to create a common front in the standoff.

Jiang called on world powers to "exercise restraint" in the dispute, and Putin's statement appeared aimed at playing down hopes for a breakthrough before the G-8 summit in his hometown, St. Petersburg, where the issue is likely to top the agenda.

German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier said during a visit to Slovenia that he hoped a positive response from Iran would come before the meeting. And British Prime Minister Tony Blair told lawmakers, "I want a response as soon as possible."

<http://www.philly.com/mld/philly/news/nation/14966552.htm>

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Washington Post

July 6, 2006

Pg. 1

## **U.S., Allies Seek Punitive Action Against N. Korea**

By Colum Lynch and Anthony Faiola, Washington Post Staff Writers

UNITED NATIONS, July 5 -- The United States and its allies on Wednesday sought to impose punitive measures on North Korea for launching a series of seven missiles on Tuesday, but emphasized that diplomatic measures with the communist nation should not be abandoned.

U.S., British and Japanese officials attempted to increase pressure on North Korea through the United Nations, presenting the Security Council with the draft of a legally binding resolution demanding that the North Korean government immediately cease the development, deployment, testing and proliferation of ballistic missiles. Separately, Japan imposed limited economic sanctions on the North, including a measure prohibiting its officials, ship crews and chartered flights from entering Japan.

While Bush administration officials condemned the test-firing of the missiles on Tuesday, they played down the missiles' military importance. The one with the longest range, believed capable of reaching Alaska and possibly the U.S. West Coast, failed less than a minute after launch and fell into the Sea of Japan.

President Bush appeared to temper his response Wednesday in comments after an Oval Office meeting with President Mikheil Saakashvili of Georgia. "One thing we have learned is that the rocket didn't stay up very long and tumbled into the sea, which doesn't, frankly, diminish my desire to solve this problem," he said.

"There are attempts to try to describe this almost in breathless, World War III terms," said White House press secretary Tony Snow. "This is not such a situation. This is a situation in which people are working with a regime in North Korea, trying to reason with a dictator, to step back from provocative activities."

[On Thursday, North Korea's Foreign Ministry issued a statement confirming for the first time that it had test-fired missiles, calling the launch successful and part of a "routine" military exercise that was "aimed at reinforcing our self-defense capabilities."]

North Korea's two main benefactors -- China and South Korea -- as well as Russia had a somewhat muted response to the missile tests.

"We hope that all the relevant sides can remain calm and restrained and do more things which are conducive to peace and stability," Liu Jianchao, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman, said in a statement.

China and Russia, two of the five countries on the Security Council with veto power, expressed concern that the imposition of punitive measures could derail efforts to restart stalled six-nation talks with North Korea to suspend its nuclear program. They said that it would be more appropriate to respond to North Korea's tests with a statement of concern from the president of the Security Council. Presidential statements carry less political force than a resolution because they are not legally binding.

Several observers warned that even if Beijing agreed to some form of censure, it would remain reluctant to impose tough economic sanctions out of fear that such measures could destabilize North Korea and spark a crisis on their shared border.

"I don't think China will take at this moment stronger political or economic action against North Korea," said Chu Shulong, a political science professor at Tsinghua University and expert in international security. "We Chinese believe basically, fundamentally it is not our problem, the missile launch problem. It's a problem between North Korea and the U.S., it's a problem between the DPRK and Japan, it might be a problem between North Korea and

South Korea. But basically it's not a China problem." DPRK stands for Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the North's official name.

The draft U.N. resolution, which was formally introduced by Japan, would also require states to prevent the transfer of money, material or technology that could "contribute" to Pyongyang's ballistic missile program or advance its capacity to develop nuclear explosives or other weapons of mass destruction. And it "strongly urges" North Korea to resume the six-party talks with the United States, China, South Korea, Japan and Russia.

Japan's ambassador to the United Nations, Kenzo Oshima, told reporters after a two-hour emergency meeting of the 15-nation Security Council that the U.N. body needed to send a "swift, strong and resolute" message to North Korea that its action is unacceptable.

John R. Bolton, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, said the council's reaction to the missile tests highlighted North Korea's growing isolation. "No member defended what the North Koreans have done," Bolton said. "I think there is support for sending a clear signal to Pyongyang," the North Korean capital.

South Korean officials joined the United States and Japan in verbally condemning the launches, but officials in Seoul, the South Korean capital, said they were still "carefully considering" whether to follow through with threats to cut off humanitarian aid in the event of a missile launch.

Analysts and some diplomats involved in the six-nation nuclear talks said the first casualty of the missile tests might be the talks themselves. For more than six months, North Korea has resisted returning to the negotiating table, citing "sanctions" imposed late last year against financial institutions that the U.S. Treasury Department linked to suspected counterfeiting, money laundering and drug smuggling operations by the North Korean government. The missile tests, analysts and diplomats said, made the chance of a compromise deal between the key players -- the United States and the North Koreans -- less likely.

Christopher R. Hill, the Bush administration's top negotiator in the six-party talks, said that North Korea would not be offered any new incentives to suspend its nuclear weapons program.

"No one is interested in sweetening the deal," Hill said. "The question is how to get the North Koreans to come and implement their part of that deal."

Analysts said North Korea may have conducted the tests in the belief that it would not win any concessions from the Bush administration. "The U.S. has called for North Korea to return to the six-party talks, but after what the North Koreans have done, the talks have in effect fallen apart," said Terumasa Nakanishi, a North Korean expert at Kyoto University in Japan. "They have violated their promise not to escalate the situation. There is no trust left."

[South Korea media outlets on Thursday morning cited senior officials in Seoul as saying that North Korea could be preparing to launch three to five additional short- and medium-range missiles. North Korea reportedly warned local fishing vessels to stay clear of the missile testing site until Tuesday, and intelligence data suggested possible launch preparations.]

Officials said the next moves would be determined by a blizzard of back-door diplomacy going on in Asian and European capitals and at the United Nations. Taro Aso, Japan's foreign minister, was joining Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice in attempting to woo China, South Korea and European powers into a tough line on North Korea. North Korea experts said the options for the Bush administration remain limited, particularly if the Chinese and South Koreans were reluctant to impose tough economic sanctions. Instead, many said, it was more likely that Japan and the United States would seek to continue isolating North Korea by slowly tightening economic sanctions. Japanese officials, for instance, indicated they might be prepared to halt millions of dollars in remittances that are sent annually to North Korea from Koreans living in Japan.

Diplomats and analysts have speculated that North Korea may have conducted the missile tests in the hope of winning concessions similar to those offered by the Bush administration to Iran in an effort to stop its nuclear program.

Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi said North Korea's strategy was irrelevant. Referring to the tests, he said: "No matter what their intention might be, there is nothing positive they can gain."

*Faiola reported from Tokyo. Correspondent Maureen Fan in Beijing, staff writers Michael Fletcher and Robin Wright in Washington and special correspondents Akiko Yamamoto in Tokyo and Joohee Cho in Seoul contributed to this report.*

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/07/05/AR2006070500217.html>

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Washington Times

July 6, 2006

Pg. 1

## Missile Defense Tested Briefly In Rocket's Failure



By Bill Gertz, The Washington Times

North Korea's firing of seven missiles was the first real test of the new U.S. ground-based missile defense, even though the failure of the long-range Taepodong-2 seconds after launch prevented the Pentagon from responding with a U.S.-based interceptor, defense officials said yesterday.

The 9,000-mile-range Taepodong-2 failed after 42 seconds and several hundred miles of flight, but was detected by a military Defense Support Program satellite within seconds of its engines igniting at a launch pad at a facility called Taepodong on the northeastern coast.

But NBC News last night reported, citing U.S. intelligence officials, that North Korea was not backing down and appears to be preparing another Taepodong-2 launch, having another missile in the last stages of assembly. President Bush told reporters yesterday the long-range missile "tumbled into the sea" during the failure.

The Taepodong-2 was the most important of the seven missiles, including one short-range missile that the Japanese and South Korean militaries say was launched yesterday. U.S. officials say the series of launches was part of a show of force by the reclusive communist state.

The launch failure shows that the North Koreans will need to continue development work, the officials said. It is not known how many additional Taepodong-2s North Korea has built.

The missile volley will likely lead Japan's government to speed up development of sea-based missile defenses, the officials said.

Six shorter-range missiles were fired, including at least two Scud-C type missiles and two 620-mile range Nodongs. All were fired from a base in Kittaeryong, located along the southern part of North Korea's east coast. North Korea makes two versions of the Soviet-design Scud that have ranges of between 300 and 500 miles, in addition to Nodong and Taepodong missiles.

The South Korean defense minister also has warned that further tests were possible, according to South Korean news reports today.

"There is a possibility that North Korea will fire additional missiles," the Yonhap news agency quoted Yoon Kwang-ung as telling lawmakers, although South Korean newspapers centered their speculation on the shorter-range weapons.

The missiles were tracked and landed in the northern part of the East Sea/Sea of Japan, with one of the missiles landing within 100 miles of the Russian port city of Nakhodka, defense officials said.

The U.S. Northern Command, the military unit in charge of U.S. missile defenses, said in a statement that all seven missiles were detected and tracked "immediately" after launch Tuesday and yesterday.

The command's troops are continuing to monitor North Korea for additional missile firings, using a worldwide network of ground-based, sea-based and space sensors.

"While Ground-based Midcourse Defense System interceptors at Fort Greely, Alaska, and Vandenberg Air Force Base, Calif., were operational during the flight, top officials from the command were able to determine quickly that the launch posed no threat to the United States or its territories," the statement said.

Defense officials said the Taepodong-2 failure after less than a minute meant that the U.S. interceptors were not loaded with what is called a "weapons task plan" that is part of the guidance system needed for the interceptor to slam into the missile's re-entry vehicle during its flight through space.

The task plan includes tracking and speed data that tells the interceptor it will be traveling to a specific area of space and that it will get additional update information one or two times during its 20-minute flight.

North Korea's motivations are not clear to U.S. intelligence and policy officials. However, the most likely explanation is that North Korea is seeking to win concessions from the United States, including a lifting of recent economic sanctions that have made it harder for the Pyongyang regime to raise hard currency through Banco Delta Asia. The Macao-based bank was found to be a main conduit for North Korean government counterfeiting and money-laundering of profits from drug trafficking.

"It is a major strategic miscalculation," said one administration official. The official said the motivations for the tests appear aimed at winning concessions from the U.S. in the six-party nuclear talks and other issues, such as U.S. defenses against illegal North Korean government activities around the world.

"They are clearly trying to grab the world's attention," said a defense official.

Officials also said the launches may have been a response to the Treasury Department's imposition of sanctions May 8 that are designed to prevent North Korea from making money from American and U.S.-based companies that purchase North Korean flag registry for commercial ships.

The sanctions overturned the Clinton administration's 1999 easing of sanctions in a bid at inducing North Korea not to conduct further missile tests, after a long-range Taepodong-1 was fired in August 1998.

Russia's military chief of staff, Gen. Yuri Baluyevsky, told reporters in Chita, Russia, that, contrary to other nations' statements, a total of 10 North Korean missiles were launched and that Russian tracking systems monitored the launches, the Interfax-AVN news service reported.

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New York Times  
July 6, 2006

## **U.S. Seeks Strong Measures To Warn The North Koreans**

By Helene Cooper and Warren Hoge

WASHINGTON, July 5 — The Bush administration tried Wednesday to build international support for stronger measures, including sanctions, to persuade North Korea to abandon its weapons program after it fired a seventh missile into the Sea of Japan. But China and Russia resisted, saying they favored less punitive actions.

"I strongly believe that it is much more effective to have more than one nation dealing with North Korea," President Bush said a few hours after the North followed its six-missile barrage of the previous day with a seventh missile launching.

"I view this as an opportunity to remind the international community that we must work together to convince the North Korean leader that he must give up his weapons program," Mr. Bush added.

The unsuccessful launching of a new missile called the Taepodong 2 on Wednesday in the face of repeated international warnings effectively scrapped a moratorium that North Korea had observed since 1998. A successful test of the long-range missile would have represented a significant expansion of North Korea's ability to make advanced weapons.

Bush administration officials suggested that more tests might be on the way: Stephen J. Hadley, the president's national security adviser, said that the North had initially rolled about 10 missiles up to the launching pads, meaning that maybe three or four more could be ready soon, though it was unclear what types they might be.

And officials turned their attention to persuading China, and to a lesser extent Russia, to put pressure on North Korea to abandon its nuclear weapons program.

At the United Nations, Japan circulated a proposal for a Security Council resolution condemning the missile tests, urging North Korea to return immediately to talks on its nuclear program and threatening sanctions if it did not move to irreversibly dismantle the nuclear program.

China and Russia indicated that they would prefer a blander, nonbinding "presidential statement" from the Council, with no threat of punishment against the already isolated North Korean government.

Vitaly I. Churkin, the Russian ambassador, counseled against "whipping up emotions too much," and Wang Guangya, the Chinese ambassador, noted that the Council had issued a presidential statement rather than a resolution in 1998, when the North last tested a missile outside its own territory.

But American officials, from Mr. Bush on down, lobbied the Chinese publicly and privately to come down hard against the North Koreans.

In an unusually public challenge to Beijing, Assistant Secretary of State Christopher R. Hill, Washington's main negotiator with North Korea — officially the Democratic People's Republic of Korea — presented the missile launchings as an act of defiance.

"China said, 'Don't do it,' and the D.P.R.K. went ahead and did it," Mr. Hill said. "Now we need for China to be very firm about what's acceptable behavior and what's not acceptable behavior."

On Wednesday night President Bush spoke by telephone with South Korea's president, Roh Moo-Hyun, and Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan. The White House said Mr. Bush thanked them for "their strong statements condemning the North Korean missile launches, and the president stressed the need for a unified and strong response in the United Nations and elsewhere to North Korea's provocative behavior."

Administration officials would like China to at least back a Security Council resolution condemning the firing of the missiles, a symbolic step that could set up punitive sanctions if North Korea tested more missiles.

Beyond that, Washington may also try to persuade China to cut off oil shipments to the North for a few days, something Beijing has done in the past.

Mr. Hill spoke before leaving for Beijing, where he is to meet with his counterparts in the dormant six-party talks on the North Korean nuclear program. The North has boycotted the talks since last September, when the United States cracked down on banks and North Korean companies suspected of counterfeiting dollars and laundering money.

About a month ago, a day after the United States offered to hold direct talks with Iran over its own nuclear program, North Korea invited Mr. Hill for direct talks in Pyongyang. That offer was immediately rebuffed by the White House, which insisted that the North instead return to the deadlocked talks, at which China, South Korea, Japan and Russia are the other participants.

On Wednesday, administration officials were still insisting that the only forum for a discussion with North Korea was the six-party talks. "It is really a matter of the region saying to North Korea that it has to change its behavior," Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice said.

Of the seven missiles fired, United States intelligence officials have focused most of their attention on the single long-range missile, the Taepodong 2, which American spy satellites had been watching on its launching pad for more than a month.

It is designed to reach Alaska, and perhaps the West Coast of the United States, but American officials who tracked its launching said it had fallen into the Sea of Japan before its first stage burned out.

The other missiles fired appeared to be a mix of short-range Scud-C missiles and medium-range Rodong missiles of the kind based on old Soviet designs that North Korea has sold to Iran, Pakistan and other countries.

"If one missile is going to get your attention, then seven will really get your attention," said Robert Einhorn, a senior adviser at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and former assistant secretary of state for nonproliferation under President Bill Clinton. "It's kind of an 'in-your-face, America, we're really going to break this moratorium in a big way.' "

Administration officials cautioned against drawing much cheer from the Taepodong 2's failure, suggesting that North Korean scientists might have been able to glean knowledge from the launching for future use.

Rocket experts also attached little significance to the trouble that the missile had, saying that in general, new models often blow up in flight tests before engineers can find and fix all the problems.

"It's a trial and error process," said Charles P. Vick, an expert on the North Korean rocket program at GlobalSecurity.org, a research group based in Alexandria, Va. "They're trying to build and test to wring out the problems. It's the process any nation has to go through."

*William J. Broad contributed reporting for this article.*

[http://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/06/world/asia/06missile.html?\\_r=1&oref=slogin](http://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/06/world/asia/06missile.html?_r=1&oref=slogin)

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New York Times

July 6, 2006

## North Korea's Neighbors Condemn Missile Tests, But Differ On What To Do

By Norimitsu Onishi and Joseph Kahn

TOKYO, July 5 — Japan, South Korea and China on Wednesday all condemned North Korea's missile tests, but regional analysts doubt the launchings will bridge big gaps between the regional powers on how to handle North Korea.

The military exercise strained relations between North Korea and all its neighbors. Kim Jong Il, North Korea's leader, scoffed at stern warnings from Washington and Tokyo, which have favored a tougher line, and embarrassed Seoul and Beijing, which have used economic and diplomatic incentives to lure the North out of isolation.

But when Christopher R. Hill, the assistant secretary of state for East Asia and the lead negotiator with North Korea, returns to the region this week, he will find that many of the same rifts that existed before continue to complicate the task of forming a united front. He will also find a region that remains in the throes of disputes that pit Japan against China and South Korea, and that are unrelated to North Korea.

Japan took the hardest line on Wednesday, saying it is considering imposing economic sanctions, possibly cutting off a significant source of cash for North Korea by cracking down on money transfers from Japan. It also banned the North Korean Mangyongbong-92 ferry — the only regular link between Japan and North Korea and a conduit for transferring cash and supplies to the North — from entering its ports for six months.

"We will consider every type of sanctions possible," said Shinzo Abe, Japan's chief cabinet secretary and a leading candidate to succeed Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi.

South Korean officials indicated that they would withhold 500,000 tons of rice and 100,000 tons of fertilizer the North had sought in aid this year. South Korea has already delivered 350,000 tons of fertilizer this year.

But South Korean officials made it clear they would maintain their basic efforts to engage North Korea through economic cooperation, a policy exemplified by a joint industrial complex in Kaesong, North Korea.

China, North Korea's most significant ally, took the softest line of the three major regional powers, calling for calm from all sides.

"We are seriously concerned about the events that have occurred," Liu Jianchao, a Foreign Ministry spokesman, said in a statement.

Japan toughened its foreign policy after North Korea launched a midrange missile, the Taepodong 1, over its territory in 1998. Japanese analysts said the launchings early Wednesday, and North Korea's growing defiance in the face of international condemnation, would further harden Japan's position.

"This time, it's more serious than in 1998," said Yasunori Sone, a professor of politics at Keio University. "North Korea is challenging everybody this time, even China and South Korea. I think the consequences in Japan will be even greater."

The rising threat from North Korea, Japanese analysts said, is likely to help Japan's political leadership persuade the Japanese public of the need to strengthen military ties with the United States, transform Japan's Self-Defense Forces into a full-fledged military and eventually revise Japan's pacifist Constitution.

These changes could further strain Japan's relations with South Korea and China, which suffered under Japanese militarism and remain sensitive to any signs of its revival. Disputes with China and South Korea over territory and Mr. Koizumi's annual visits to the Yasukuni Shrine, where Japanese war criminals are enshrined, have already undermined Japanese influence in the region, said Kiichi Fujiwara, a professor of international relations at the University of Tokyo.

"Our relations with South Korea and China are at their worst, and without their support we can't do anything against North Korea," Mr. Fujiwara said. "If we want to be tough against North Korea with economic sanctions, we need the support of China and South Korea."

It is unlikely, regional analysts said, that China and South Korea, the North's two biggest trading partners, would agree to sanctions. Both countries have increased their economic activities with the North in recent years, partly to prevent it from collapsing and destabilizing the region, and partly to encourage the North to adopt economic reforms.

Yoon Duk Min, a regional security specialist at the government-affiliated Institute for Foreign Affairs and National Security in Seoul, said South Korea, which has been accused of being soft on the North, would adopt a relatively tough stance toward the North in the short term.

"There will be increasing doubts about the government's policy of engagement — criticism that we have been betrayed by North Korea by these launchings," Mr. Yoon said.

But Mr. Yoon and other experts said South Korea was likely to resume its engagement policy after some period despite pressure from the United States and Japan to join them in an economic squeezing of the North. A consensus has taken root in South Korea that a conflict with the North should be avoided at all costs, and that improving relations remains the only feasible option even if that causes difficulties in the South's alliance with the United States.

"Whatever happens, the current government, or whatever government that follows it, will find it very difficult to discard the engagement policy," said Hamm Taik Young, a political scientist at the University of North Korean Studies in Seoul. "The cold war is over. We can't live on by branding North Korea as the enemy. North Korea is there. We have to deal with it."

Political analysts said the tests were a slap in the face for Beijing, though many expect it to still seek middle ground between North Korea and the United States and Japan.

"This is a very frustrating development for our leaders, but the basic strategy will probably stay in place," said Shi Yinhong, an international relations expert at People's University in Beijing. "They will not abandon their patient approach in seeking a long-term, peaceful solution."

*Norimitsu Onishi reported from Tokyo for this article, and Joseph Kahn from Beijing. Choe Sang-Hun contributed reporting from Seoul, South Korea.*

<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/06/world/asia/06react.html>

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Washington Post

July 6, 2006

Pg. 16

## **Experts Say Missile Failure Highlights Ineptness**

By Thomas E. Ricks and Anthony Faiola, Washington Post Staff Writers

The major fallout from North Korea's series of missile launches and the malfunction of its long-range rocket is that its missile program now looks somewhat inept, weapons experts said yesterday.

"The Taepodong-2 was not ready for prime time," said David Kay, a veteran weapons inspector, referring to Pyongyang's controversial attempt to launch a long-range missile. "The ridicule for the failure is entirely on" the North Korean government.

The multistage Taepodong was supposed to be capable of flying perhaps several thousand miles, but it fell into the sea between Korea and Japan about 40 seconds into its flight, before its second stage ignited, officials said. It was not clear whether the missile crashed or was aborted by its controllers, but U.S. and Japanese officials said that intelligence and monitoring of the Taepodong-2 test launch indicated that it failed.

The result of the attempt is that, to some specialists, North Korea looks less dangerous than it did just a few days ago.

"Seems to me their ICBM [intercontinental ballistic missile] capability has gone no better than sideways the past eight years, if not down," said retired Adm. Dennis Blair, a former chief of the U.S. Pacific Command.

"Less threatening, because less capable," agreed Rep. Mark S. Kirk (R-Ill.), who tracks North Korea.

A Pentagon official said it is too early to expect a definitive intelligence analysis of what happened to the missile.

John Pike, director of GlobalSecurity.org, a defense think tank, noted that after the successful launch of the Taepodong-1 in 1998, it took about a week for all the photographs and other data to be collected and analyzed. But he speculated that the termination of the flight at about 40 seconds, as the missile was undergoing maximum stress, indicated that North Korean engineers may have weakened the missile's structure and lightened its sides in an effort to enable it to fly farther. "In the drive to get it to a longer range, they might have made something that is too fragile," he said.

Kirk said it is especially significant that the missile failed at about 40 seconds, because that indicates that a problem occurred in the first stage of the craft, which he said had been redesigned to make it bigger.

Tuesday's failure stood in stark contrast to the launch of the Taepodong-1, which shocked U.S. and Japanese officials with its capabilities by soaring over Japan and into the Pacific Ocean. The prospect now that North Korea's most sophisticated technology had fatal glitches indicates that the communist state's technological limits may have been broadly overstated for years.

Military experts say that North Korea's economic problems and its moratorium on missile launches declared in 1999 may have taken a toll on its missile research and development. If the North Koreans, who export an estimated \$1.5 billion worth of missiles a year to the Middle East and Africa, had hoped to prove its quality to its clients with Tuesday's test, the plan may have backfired.

"It could be that they just got lucky in 1998," said Motoaki Kamiura, a Tokyo-based defense analyst and North Korea expert. "The failure of the Taepodong-2 shows that they are still at the first stage of their next major breakthrough in missile technology. That doesn't mean their other missiles aren't dangerous, but this one is not ready."

On the other hand, North Korea obscured its embarrassment somewhat by launching six other shorter-range, Scud-like missiles along with the Taepodong, noted retired Rear Adm. Michael McDevitt, a former chief planner for the U.S. Pacific Command who is a specialist on East Asian militaries. "Having six successes as against one failure reads and sounds a lot better" than just one failure, he noted.

In addition, he said, North Korean rocket scientists probably gained valuable data from the failed launch. "They learn something from every launch, no matter whether it is a success or failure," he said.

*Faiola reported from Tokyo.*

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/07/05/AR2006070501551.html>

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Los Angeles Times

July 6, 2006

## **A Big, Booming Cry For More Attention?**

*Feelings of rejection led to North Korea's missile launch, analysts say. The nation is known for coming up with a crisis when it needs one.*

By Barbara Demick, Times Staff Writer

SEOUL — At first glance, North Korea's missile launches were an audacious step at a time when the international community was urging restraint.

In fact, the move came from a well-thumbed playbook that has been passed down from father to son, starting with the nation's founder, Kim Il Sung, and now in the hands of leader Kim Jong Il.

Such has been the North's modus operandi for decades: To solve a crisis one needs to create a crisis.

The North Koreans' crisis was the feeling that they were being ignored by the United States.

The isolated regime had asked repeatedly for one-on-one meetings with Bush administration officials and last month went as far as inviting chief U.S. negotiator Christopher Hill to Pyongyang, the North's capital. Among other things, they wanted to ask for the release of \$24 million in North Korean deposits frozen by a bank in Macao that is under investigation by the U.S. Treasury Department.

But the North Koreans were rebuffed by the administration, which instead urged them to come back to six-nation talks aimed at reining in the North's nuclear program.

"They felt rejected and ignored," said a South Korean diplomat who spoke to North Korean counterparts recently as part of an effort by Seoul to derail the missile launches. The diplomat, who asked not to be named, said the North Koreans interpreted the response to the Hill invitation as a "hostile policy by the Bush administration that left them no choice."

The many warnings against the launch issued by the administration, along with similar concerns voiced by Japan, China, South Korea and Russia, were taken by the North as a challenge, experts said.

"It was a matter of their dignity. They would have lost face if they didn't launch," said Nam Sung-wook, a South Korean foreign policy analyst at Korea University.

More than just pride, the North Koreans' bluster is part of the glue that keeps their improbable country intact years after so many other communist regimes have collapsed.

North Koreans are taught that their missiles are capable of reaching the continental United States and striking terror in the hearts of Americans.

North Korean defector Kim Kil Son, who worked in a missile unit, has told American experts that he witnessed a 1997 visit in which Kim Jong Il offered "on the spot guidance" and boasted that "the American bastards couldn't do anything" to protect themselves from the long-range Taepodong missile.

Besides the Taepodong 2, which reportedly failed to launch properly Wednesday, North Korea also tested at least six short- to medium-range missiles over the Sea of Japan.

Yang Sang-mook, an international relations specialist with the South Korean National Assembly, said he believed that domestic political considerations were the primary motive for North Korea following through on the missile launches.

"Kim Jong Il had to show the military that he has got guts. They really needed to get out a fireworks show for the domestic audience," Yang said.

There were also business considerations.

Missiles are one of North Korea's few profitable exports. Until recently, when the Bush administration cracked down, missiles brought in about \$500 million a year, mostly from Pakistan, Iran, Yemen, Syria and, until the fall of Saddam Hussein, Iraq.

North Korea has long been infamous for its ability to come up with a crisis on demand. In a 1955 book still widely read by diplomats dealing with North Korea, "How Communists Negotiate," one of the negotiators of the armistice that ended the Korean War, U.S. Navy Adm. C. Turner Joy, described how the North Koreans would create incidents to gain advantage in negotiations.

Often, they have used provocations as a means to launching talks.

The logic may be as flawed as that of a boy pulling the hair of a girl he likes, but it seems to have worked for the North Koreans.

Veteran North Korea watchers recall that the country's 1993 launch of a medium-range Rodong missile was part of the impetus that brought about a 1994 agreement under which the United States and allies promised to provide energy assistance in return for a missile freeze.

After the test firing of a Taepodong 1 over Japan in 1998, the Clinton administration launched a new diplomatic initiative on North Korea, resulting in the visits of then-Defense Secretary William Perry and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to Pyongyang.

"This is typical North Korean brinkmanship to get attention," said Park Jin, a leading conservative in South Korea's National Assembly and a political scientist.

But Park said the current situation is more serious than that of 1998 because the North Koreans have since developed nuclear capability. "They've played this game before, but it is getting more dangerous."

<http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/world/la-fg-tactic6jul06.1.4760377.story?coll=la-headlines-world>

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