



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

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Issue No. 349, 22 June 2004

**Articles & Other Documents:**

[Iran Reiterates Pledge Not To Enrich Uranium](#)

[Carnegie Endowment for International Peace](#)

['Dirty Bomb' Attack In U.S. Very Likely, Scientists Say](#)

[Demolitions Raise Concern Of Nuclear Coverup In Iran](#)

[Ranks Breaking Over North Korea](#)

[Three Cows Die in Wash. After Toxin Exposure](#)

[Report Faults U.S. Action on Nuclear Proliferation](#)

["Universal Compliance: A Strategy for Nuclear Security"](#)

["The Four Faces of Nuclear Terrorism"](#)

[India, Pakistan Agree on Nuclear Hot Line](#)

[Powell Gave U.N. 'Ambiguous' Data On Iraqi Weapons, NSA Chief Says](#)

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Washington Post

June 21, 2004

Pg. 16

## **Iran Reiterates Pledge Not To Enrich Uranium**

By Reuters

TEHRAN, June 20 -- Iran assured the world again on Sunday that it had no immediate plans to resume uranium enrichment, a process that can be used to make nuclear weapons but said it might resume making parts for the enrichment equipment.

Angered by a tough U.N. resolution criticizing it for less than full cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency, Iran has threatened to reconsider its commitment to the suspension of enrichment activities.

But, in a calibrated response that diplomats believe aims to send a tough message without sparking a major crisis, Iran said it may merely suspend its pledge to stop building uranium centrifuge parts -- a commitment to which Tehran had not fully complied anyway.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Hamid Reza Asefi, echoing comments made Saturday by Iran's top nuclear negotiator, Hassan Rohani, said that Iran would continue to refrain from injecting uranium hexafluoride gas into centrifuges that spin at high speed to produce enriched uranium.

"Right now, there is no discussion about resuming enrichment at all," Asefi said at a weekly news conference. Iran says its nuclear program is geared solely to producing electricity. Low enriched uranium can be used as fuel for nuclear reactors, but highly enriched uranium can be used to make nuclear weapons.

Iran agreed to suspend enrichment last October to restore international confidence following revelations that it had kept secret sensitive nuclear research for nearly two decades.

The suspension, brokered in talks with Britain, Germany and France, was extended in February to cover the manufacture and assembly of enrichment centrifuge parts.

Iran said the European nations had, in return, pledged to back Iran at last week's IAEA meeting in Vienna.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A56376-2004Jun20.html>

[\(Return to Articles and Documents List\)](#)

(Editor's Note: Hyperlink for full PDF version of referenced report and link for Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's homepage follows article.)

Washington Post

June 21, 2004

Pg. 12

## **Report Faults U.S. Action on Nuclear Proliferation**

Carnegie Study Recommends More Aggressive Tactics

By Dafna Linzer, Washington Post Staff Writer

Within days of the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, President Bush highlighted the menace posed by weapons of mass destruction, declaring: "We will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes and terrorists to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons."

That promise led to designations, such as the "axis of evil" for Iraq, Iran and North Korea; to steps, such as the Proliferation Security Initiative, which allows the United States to search ships for weapons material; and to war with Iraq, based on the belief that Saddam Hussein's government was sitting on a stockpile of chemical and biological weapons and working toward an atomic bomb.

But according to a critical report by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, it has not helped secure vulnerable nuclear facilities, criminalized the transfer of weapons technology or meted out punishments for countries that renege on their commitment to remain nuclear-free.

"If you're really worried that terrorists are going to get nuclear materials and build a bomb, then we have to be acting a lot more aggressively and thinking more comprehensively to lock down the global nuclear complex," said Jon Wolfsthal, one of five co-authors of the Carnegie report, "Universal Compliance: A Strategy for Nuclear Security." The report is being released today at the start of a two-day conference here on nuclear weapons sponsored by the think tank.

More than 600 members of the arms control community are expected to attend the conference, including Mohamed ElBaradei, director of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); Mitchell Reiss, director of policy planning at the State Department; former senator Sam Nunn, co-chairman of the Nuclear Threat Initiative; and Hans Blix, who led the U.N. hunt for weapons in Iraq before the U.S. invasion in March 2003.

Among the toughest claims in the 95-page report, which will be the focus of today's opening session, is that the United States is undermining its own policies by continuing to build nuclear weapons and strengthening ties with nuclear states -- India, Pakistan and Israel.

The report also chides the administration's approach to Iran, a country censured on Friday by the IAEA for failing to cooperate with international inspectors. The toughly worded rebuke at the U.N. nuclear watchdog agency was written by France, Britain and Germany, which have been trying to offer Iran incentives to give up its nuclear ambitions.

The Bush administration has taken a tougher line, saying it wants to bring the issue to the U.N. Security Council in the hope of forcing Iran to back down. But officials in Washington have quietly conceded there is little they can do if Iran decides to go nuclear.

"The U.S. should more fully back the European Union leaders," the Carnegie group wrote. "Resolving the nuclear proliferation challenge should be the highest priority in relations with Iran."

On North Korea, the report recommends that Bush appoint a special envoy to negotiate with Pyongyang for the complete dismantlement of its nuclear capabilities. The United States will take part in a new round of six-party talks in Beijing this week aimed at ending a 20-month crisis over North Korea's nuclear weapons program. But the administration has refused to talk directly to Pyongyang or reward the country before it gives up its arsenal, which U.S. intelligence now estimates to include as many as eight nuclear devices.

The Carnegie report also focuses on protecting nuclear materials, reactors and sites around the world from sabotage and theft and creating tough international measures to punish black marketeers.

"In many countries, stealing nuclear materials is no more of a crime than stealing money," the report said.

Earlier this year, a massive black market run by A.Q. Khan, the father of Pakistan's nuclear program, was exposed when Libya announced it was giving up its clandestine attempts to acquire weapons of mass destruction.

Khan was pardoned by Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf, a close ally of the United States since the Sept. 11 attacks.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A56471-2004Jun20.html>

## **Carnegie Endowment for International Peace**

<http://www.ceip.org/>

### **"Universal Compliance: A Strategy for Nuclear Security"**

<http://wmd.ceip.matrixgroup.net/UniversalCompliance.pdf>

[\(Return to Articles and Documents List\)](#)

(Editor's Note: Hyperlink for referenced book follows article.)

San Diego Union-Tribune

June 19, 2004

### **'Dirty Bomb' Attack In U.S. Very Likely, Scientists Say**

By Associated Press

Terrorists are "all but certain" to set off a radiological weapon in the United States, since it will take authorities too many years to track and secure the radioactive materials of such "dirty bombs," a team of nuclear researchers has concluded.

The U.S. and other key governments took an important step on controls this month, agreeing at the G-8 summit to tighten restraints on international trade in highly radioactive materials by the end of 2005 .

But thousands, possibly tens of thousands, of high-risk radioactive sources are already in use worldwide, with few accurate registries for tracing them, the scientists say. They cite Iraq, where an undetermined number of such sources have gone missing in the postwar chaos.

The findings are being published in a 300-page book, "The Four Faces of Nuclear Terrorism," the result of a two-year study by the authoritative Center for Nonproliferation Studies, or CNS, of California's Monterey Institute of International Studies.

The team also examined the potential for terrorists to steal or build an actual nuclear weapon, but found that less likely than the construction of a radiological dispersal device, or dirty bomb.

Unlike warheads designed to kill and destroy through a huge nuclear blast and heat, these radiation weapons – which thus far no one has employed – would rely on conventional explosives to blow radioactive material far and wide. A successful bomb could make a section of a city uninhabitable for years.

The fear of such weapons grew in the aftermath of the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks in the United States. Al-Qaeda and Russia's Chechen rebels have shown an interest in highly radioactive material.

[http://www.signonsandiego.com/uniontrib/20040619/news\\_1n19bomb.html](http://www.signonsandiego.com/uniontrib/20040619/news_1n19bomb.html)

### **"The Four Faces of Nuclear Terrorism"**

<http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/week/040618.htm>

<http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/books/pdfs/4faces.pdf>

[\(Return to Articles and Documents List\)](#)

Washington Post  
June 20, 2004  
Pg. 14

## Demolitions Raise Concern Of Nuclear Coverup In Iran

By Karl Vick, Washington Post Foreign Service

TEHRAN, June 19 -- Construction cranes stipple the skyline of Iran's capital. A city of 10 million, Tehran has been in a building boom for years.

But in the northeast corner of this sprawling, smoggy metropolis, something was torn down a few months ago, something behind a 20-foot concrete wall.

"It was a municipal sports complex," said a grizzled man who came to the door of the guard house, shrugging and sliding into a camouflage fatigue coat without losing the ash from the cigarette clenched in his lips.

"It wasn't big enough," he said, declining to be identified. "So they demolished it, and they want to rebuild it bigger."

The yellow sign posted at the front gate -- clean and new, in contrast to the graffiti-scarred walls -- told the same story: "Sport Cultural Complex of Kowsar."

But in a few days inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency will ask to see for themselves. The now-vacant acres facing Shian 7th Alley have raised suspicions that Iran may be building nuclear weapons. Iran insists it harbors no secret weapons program, but fellow members of the IAEA board issued a resolution Friday condemning the country for failing to cooperate with an inquiry into its activities.

Satellite images of the site show that between August 2003 and March at least a half-dozen buildings were pulled down. The IAEA is investigating the images, which suggested to U.S. government analysts that Iran was concealing nuclear activities. Iranian officials have denied that claim and said inspectors are welcome to survey the site.

According to the Institute for Science and International Security, an organization based in Washington that monitors nuclear proliferation, a layer of topsoil was also carted away from the area. A machine that detects radiation, called a whole body counter, was then brought to the site, according to the institute.

"The whole body counter itself is not a clear indication of a nuclear weapons program," said David Albright, president of the institute.

But the site was not included in a list of atomic research facilities Iran was obliged to provide last year to the IAEA, the U.N. nuclear watchdog, he noted. And by the time inspectors arrive, all they may be able to confirm is a vague sense of unease.

"It'll be hard to do sample work at that site," Albright said. "People will try. But these are the changes you make if you want to defeat the environmental sampling techniques of the IAEA."

Iran has pledged to continue working with the inspectors, who expect to be in Iran at least through the summer. But the theocratic government appeared to be still absorbing the impact of the slap by the IAEA -- its second since March for Iran's lack of candor.

On Saturday, the state-run Tehran Times newspaper carried 10 articles on its first two pages about the nuclear issue. But at a news conference, Iran's official on the issue, Hassan Rowhani, declared that the IAEA resolution "does not have much significance."

Rowhani, secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, said Iran had not yet decided whether it would resume enriching uranium -- a process that produces fuel for energy or for weapons. Iran agreed last year to suspend enrichment activities after it acknowledged a nuclear program it had kept secret for 18 years.

European diplomats who insist that Iran's cooperation has been erratic have said they want Iran to give up enriching uranium permanently and back away from plans for a heavy water reactor, which could produce plutonium for a bomb.

Rowhani pledged to continue talks with France, Germany and Britain, the European countries that coaxed Iran last year to cooperate with the IAEA, but he also implied that the resolution would have unwelcome consequences.

"Since the Europeans have not met their commitment, we may take new decisions and announce them in the coming days," Rowhani said.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A54908-2004Jun19.html>

[\(Return to Articles and Documents List\)](#)

Los Angeles Times  
June 21, 2004  
IN BRIEF / SOUTH ASIA

## India, Pakistan Agree on Nuclear Hot Line

From Times Wire Reports

India and Pakistan will establish a nuclear hot line to reduce the risk of war. The longtime South Asian rivals also reaffirmed their commitments to an atomic testing moratorium — steps forward in their effort to normalize relations. Pakistan said it hoped the nuclear talks and other avenues of dialogue would lead to a summit between Pakistani President Gen. Pervez Musharraf and India's new prime minister, Manmohan Singh.

Reconciliation efforts between Pakistan and India launched under Singh's predecessor, Atal Behari Vajpayee, are continuing under India's new government.

<http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/world/la-fg-briefs21.1jun21.1.7086155.story?coll=la-headlines-world>

[\(Return to Articles and Documents List\)](#)

Christian Science Monitor

June 22, 2004

Pg. 1

## **Ranks Breaking Over North Korea**

*South Korea and China move away from the US negotiating position as six-party talks reconvene Wednesday in Beijing.*

By Robert Marquand and Donald Kirk

BEIJING AND SEOUL – Since confronting the Kim Jong Il regime with evidence of a secret uranium nuclear program two years ago, the White House has demanded a "complete, verifiable, irreversible dismantlement" of all nuclear activity in North Korea. Known by the acronym "CVID," and hewed to by the Bush team closely for a year of multiparty talks, the US position requires a full-scale retreat by Pyongyang before it can expect to receive loans, aid, and security guarantees.

Yet Wednesday, as the next round of six-nation talks on Korea's nuclear crisis commences in Beijing, Chinese and South Korean delegates are expected to break ranks, join forces, and politely challenge the practicality of American insistence on CVID.

As the states closest to North Korea both geographically and diplomatically, China and South Korea will ask the US to rethink what one high-level source in Beijing calls an "unrealistic" position. Both Beijing and Seoul are even prepared to discuss allowing Kim Jong Il to pursue a nuclear-energy program that is "peaceful," sources say.

"We agree with CVID in principle, but we question whether it will allow talks to be productive," says Jin Linbo, director of Asia-Pacific Studies at the China Institute of International Studies in Beijing. "China feels that CVID is a final goal, not something that needs to be complete right now."

Since February, differences between China and the US have widened in the nuclear-talks process, sources in both Washington and Beijing confirm. Last month China's deputy foreign minister suggested for the first time that Beijing had no convincing evidence that North Korea had or is pursuing the uranium program that sparked the nuclear crisis on the Korean peninsula. The claim has been made at times in South Korea as well, to the frustration of US officials.

Some Korean affairs experts both in Asia and the US have said for months that the "complete, verifiable, irreversible dismantlement" formula is problematic. North Korea has never accepted the principle of CVID and has always balked at agreeing to that as a solution, including in the first round of six-nation talks last August. It has been clear for months that Kim Jong Il is waiting for the outcome of US elections in November before deciding what strategy to pursue, experts say.

Some analysts say the new request to Washington by Seoul and Beijing is mainly aimed at keeping the highly sensitive Kim engaged as the process waits for the elections. The move ensures that Kim is not "ganged up on in the talks" until the next diplomatic round, as a Beijing source put it. In exchange for the US backing off its CVID demand, the Beijing-Seoul plan would secure a freeze by the North on its nuclear weapons program, and a promise to allow inspections of the Yongbyon nuclear facility.

Monday a preliminary "working group" convened in Beijing prior to Wednesday's opening of talks.

South Korea's new approach emerged in talks and seminars over the past week, marking the fourth anniversary of the inter-Korean summit in Pyongyang between North Korea's Kim, and Kim Dae Jung, then president of South Korea.

"We hope the talks in Beijing will make a breakthrough," says Moon Jung In, the Yonsei University political science professor who organized the Korean conference.

"The United States should allow the peaceful use of atomic energy," says Mr. Moon. The formula, he said, would be "a freeze" on North Korea's program for developing nuclear warheads and "inspection of all nuclear weapons."

Moon's views summarize the ambition of an increasingly influential liberal elite in South Korea to get the US to tone down its insistence on CVID while accepting the notion of a freeze as an interim step on the way to that final goal.

The Bush administration's position is intended to end what it sees as the North's perpetual use of the diplomatic process to gain money and attention.

The Korean nuclear crisis emerged in Oct. 2002 when US envoy James Kelley, in Pyongyang, confronted North Korean officials with evidence of a secret highly enriched uranium program, or HEU.

North Korea at the end of 2002 expelled inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency from Yongbyon where some 8,000 spent plutonium fuel rods were sealed and under video surveillance as part of the 1994 Geneva framework agreement negotiated by the Clinton administration. In early 2003 the North removed those nuclear rods from the Yongbyon cooling pond and restarted the five-megawatt experimental reactor there. That reactor is suspected to have produced one or two warheads before the 1994 agreement was signed. US intelligence analysts believe the North may have fabricated several more warheads over the past year.

North Korea, having acknowledged the HEU program to Mr. Kelley, has since steadfastly denied its existence. The denials contradict evidence of North Korean transactions with Pakistan as well as the word of Abdul Qadeer Khan, "father" of the Pakistan atomic bomb, who has said he saw facilities for HEU development during a visit to North Korea.

Chinese questioning of the existence of HEU, which broke in an interview in the New York Times last month, is thought to be mainly a public position. China insists that it has not received enough evidence from the US to make a conclusive determination on the existence of a uranium program in the North. But this does not mean Chinese officials have ruled out a uranium program by Kim. When pressed, a senior Chinese source in Beijing pointed out that "we don't have complete belief in what North Korea has said. They [North Korean officials] have made a great deal of contradictory statements."

Along with the US, North and South Korea, and China, the six-party talks hosted include Russia and Japan. They are expected to last from three to five days and to be resumed next fall. While the North Korean crisis burned hotly in 2003, the US presidential election and events in the Middle East have drawn attention from the issue. Little intelligence is available on how or whether Kim has continued to reprocess the plutonium fuel rods.

The Asian partners of the six-party talks, particularly South Korea and China, insist that the talks will continue regardless of whether or not the current round yields any breakthroughs.

<http://www.csmonitor.com/2004/0622/p01s04-woap.html>

[\(Return to Articles and Documents List\)](#)

Baltimore Sun  
June 22, 2004

## **Powell Gave U.N. 'Ambiguous' Data On Iraqi Weapons, NSA Chief Says**

*General says in new book that audiotapes offered as evidence are inconclusive*

By Mark Matthews, Sun National Staff

WASHINGTON - The director of the National Security Agency acknowledges in a new book that audiotapes that Secretary of State Colin L. Powell aired before the United Nations last year to justify the need to confront Iraq offered "ambiguous" evidence that Baghdad was hiding banned weapons.

The comments by Lt. Gen. Michael Hayden, who was interviewed by writer James Bamford, spotlight doubts among high-level intelligence officials about evidence the Bush administration used to explain why U.N. weapons inspections should cease and the United States should go to war.

At the time, Powell described the three tapes, which he played on Feb. 5, 2003, for the United Nations and international news media, as proof that Iraq was hiding weapons of mass destruction from inspectors. The tapes contained bits of conversations, intercepted by the NSA, among people Powell described as officers of Saddam Hussein's elite Republican Guard.

On the tapes, one of the men talks of a "modified vehicle" from the al Kindi Co., which Powell said was known to be involved in banned weapons activity. Another relays an order to "clean out all the areas" and to "destroy the message." A third tells an officer to delete the phrase "nerve agents" if it comes up in wireless instructions. Powell said last month that the United States, which has occupied Iraq for more than a year, has been unable to locate or identify the men whose voices are on the tapes.

"Powell was comfortable that what he put forward on Feb. 5 was solid information, based on our best assessment of what Iraq's WMD programs consisted of," a Powell aide said yesterday, on condition of anonymity.

Hayden told Bamford that while the tapes raised strong suspicions about Iraq, they were inconclusive. "If you take a textual analysis of that, they are ambiguous," Hayden said, as quoted in Bamford's book *A Pretext for War: 9/11, Iraq, and the Abuse of America's Intelligence Agencies*.

"That said, you don't have to be a dishonest or intellectually handicapped person to be very suspicious about when the guy's saying remove all references to this from your code books or the other guy saying, 'I've got modified vehicles here.'"

Hayden said the agency didn't know how the vehicles were modified: "That's the ambiguity." But he defended the NSA's decision to provide such evidence to Powell for his presentation. "In my heart, each one of them individually could be explained away as this, that or the other. Collectively, they made a reasonably good package."

Bamford recounts that Hayden was surprised that Iraq did not make a more substantive effort to discredit Powell's evidence, but rather resorted mainly to vague charges that it was made up of forgeries and fabrications. Iraq's response "lessened the sense of ambiguity," Hayden said.

The tapes provided a dramatic addition to Powell's presentation, in part because the NSA, the super-secret spy agency based at Fort Meade that monitors communications worldwide, rarely makes public any such raw intelligence.

In his presentation, Powell offered no hint of questions or ambiguities surrounding the tapes. Indeed, he argued that the evidence he was unveiling was part of an array of damaging intelligence compiled against Iraq.

"I cannot share with you everything that we know, but what I can share with you, when combined with what all of us have learned over the years, is deeply troubling," Powell told the U.N. Security Council.

He argued that the tapes show the Iraqis to be "worried" about what the inspectors might find and reveal "part of a system of hiding things and moving things out of the way and making sure they have nothing left behind." The Iraqis' reference to "nerve agents," meant, Powell said, "Don't give any evidence that we have these horrible agents.' But we know that they do, and this kind of conversation confirms it."

But David Kay, who led the search for Iraq's weapons of mass destruction after major combat was declared over in May 2003, said yesterday in an e-mail that he still does not understand what the tapes meant.

"I wish I knew!" Kay wrote. "I have read the transcript of that intercept many times, and still am uncertain what it really was about."

Powell has commented only briefly about the tapes in the 16 months since he addressed the Security Council. In an interview with reporters last month, he said: "We can't find those guys. I don't know who those guys were. ... I don't know that we ever knew their names."

Kay confirmed that his investigators tried to locate the officers but had few clues and were hampered by conditions in Iraq.

Powell has voiced regret that another section of the speech - contending that Iraq had mobile biological weapons - came from an intelligence source who may have deliberately misled the United States. He acknowledged that the failure to find weapons of mass destruction has hurt American credibility.

"I put forward the best information that the intelligence community had, and I spent four days at the CIA drilling them and getting the best information I had," he said in the interview May 26. "They believed in what they gave me. I believed in what they gave me. I presented it to the United Nations on behalf of my country. And to the extent that it was not accurate, I'm disappointed. Does it affect credibility? Sure."

A senior State Department official rejected Bamford's assertion in his book - which the author does not attribute - that "Powell knew that the case [against Iraq] was anything but solid and was based almost entirely on poor guesswork."

Intelligence officials have described months of debates among intelligence agencies in the months leading to Powell's U.N. presentation about whether Iraq still had active programs to develop weapons of mass destruction.

The debates included discussion of the tapes.

"The tapes were not as clear-cut as they sounded," said a former intelligence official involved in the talks. Inside the intelligence community, "I didn't see anybody change their mind" after the tapes were played.

"They were a bit of information that was more flash than substance," the ex-official said.

Bamford asserts that much of the prewar intelligence on Iraq that the NSA generated was "ambiguous and far from solid."

A key problem for analysts, Hayden told Bamford, was trying to distinguish between Iraq's alleged pursuit of weapons and its efforts to evade U.N. sanctions.

"You may give country X the benefit of the doubt, but if country X is Iraq, this is a guy who you know has lied about his weapons of mass destruction program, so there's a tendency here to be suspicious even about ambiguous activity," Hayden said.

An NSA spokesman, asked to comment yesterday, said: "Mr. Bamford was granted access to General Hayden, but his conclusions are his own."

<http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/nationworld/iraq/bal-te.tapes22jun22,0,78532.story>

[\(Return to Articles and Documents List\)](#)

Washington Post

## **Three Cows Die in Wash. After Toxin Exposure**

*By Marc Kaufman*

Washington Post Staff Writer

Tuesday, June 22, 2004; Page A06

At least three dairy cows have died after being exposed to a toxic substance in Washington state, and the Food and Drug Administration, the Department of Homeland Security and the FBI have begun investigations into who and what caused their deaths.

In a release issued last night, the FDA said that an unnamed toxic substance had caused at least three deaths on a farm in Enumclaw, about 50 miles southeast of Seattle. The incident was first reported to law enforcement on June 6 but was made public yesterday.

The release said that FDA and FBI investigators visited the farm over the weekend and yesterday and that tissue samples from a cow that died Saturday were sent to the FDA's forensic chemical center, a specialized laboratory in Cincinnati.

"It could be a prank. It could be a criminal offense. It could be someone trying to pollute the food supply," said Raymond G. Lauer, spokesman for the FBI office in Seattle. "It might be something and it might be nothing. At this point, we just don't know."

According to the FDA, no milk from the exposed animals has entered the food supply. It said that "fewer than 20" dairy cattle were involved in the incident, and that some of the exposed animals did not become ill. The agency, as well as Lauer, said the incident appeared to be isolated to one farm and one herd.

The collection of agencies that have converged on the farm indicates that criminal activity is suspected. The FDA Office of Criminal Investigations is involved, as well as the sheriff's office for King County, Wash., the FBI, and the Homeland Security Department. The U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Washington State Department of Agriculture have also been brought in, according to the FDA release.

The FDA, which is leading the investigation, said it will provide more specific information when it becomes available.

Enumclaw is a small town due east of Tacoma that has Mount Rainier as a backdrop. The town is about 100 miles northwest of Mabton, the site of the dairy farm that housed the first animal in the United States identified to have mad cow disease.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A59415-2004Jun22.html>

[\(Return to Articles and Documents List\)](#)