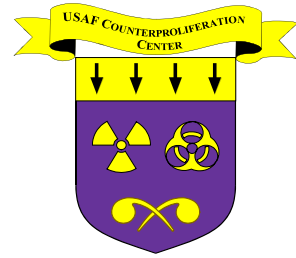


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W.M.D. Voted 2002's Word of the Year

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Filed at 4:48 a.m. ET

ATLANTA (AP) -- A long-winded phrase whose meaning reflects a nation's worry about war with Iraq has been voted 2002's word of the year.

The American Dialect Society selected "weapons of mass destruction" as its annual choice at a meeting in Atlanta.

“The term goes back 50 years, but you can't turn on the radio or television without hearing about 'weapons of mass destruction,’” said Wayne Glowka, an English professor at Georgia College & State University who is also chairman of the society's new words committee.

The society made its selection Friday.

Most of the words nominated by members of the society reflected the looming threat of war with Iraq or the suffering economy, Glowka said.

“All these words -- Iraqnaphobia, regime change, weapons of mass destruction -- they all have to do with worry about war with Iraq. So it hasn't been a very good year,” he said. “Not as bad as last year, but certainly not an 'up' year.”

Last year's word was “9-11” -- pronounced “nine-eleven,” not “nine-one-one” -- for the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington.

The American Dialect Society, founded in 1889, has been choosing words of the year since 1990.

“There is no scientific method of determining which words or phrases will be named words-of-the-year,” said Allan Metcalf, executive secretary of the group. “It's kind of like Time magazine determining the whistle-blowers were the person-of-the-year. There is no objective way of determining it. It's all done with a show of hands.”

The phrase “regime change” was voted most euphemistic, not so much for its connotations to Iraq, but because people started using it to describe other changes of leadership.

“Like when a team fires a coach, they call it 'regime change,’” Glowka said.

There was only one nomination for 2002's most inspirational word: “embetterment,” coined by President Bush. But even though it was the only candidate in that category, it was voted down because “people didn't want to encourage it,” Glowka said.

Other words won superlatives from the American Dialect Society:

- Wombanization, a synonym for feminization, won most unnecessary because it's hard to pronounce.
- Neuticles, a brand name for fake testicles for neutered pets, was named the most outrageous word.
- Blog, a log of personal events posted on the Web, was voted most likely to succeed.
- Iraqnaphobia, meaning a strong fear of war with Iraq, won most creative.

<http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/national/AP-Word-of-the-Year.html>

Washington Post

January 6, 2003

Pg. 1

N. Korea Tests Bush's Policy Of Preemption

Strategy Seems to Target Weaker Nations

By Michael Dobbs, Washington Post Staff Writer

Soon after rolling out a new post-Cold War foreign policy doctrine, the Bush administration is scrambling to explain why "preemption" may be appropriate for dealing with Iraq, but not such a good idea in defusing the threat from fellow "axis of evil" member North Korea.

A spate of nuclear brinkmanship from North Korea, which is threatening to push ahead with the production of fissile material for a series of nuclear bombs, has created an unexpected opening for Democrats and opponents of a looming war with Iraq. The critics have seized on the North Korea crisis as an opportunity to attack the administration for apparent inconsistencies in a foreign policy strategy that stresses the need to move beyond the Cold War practices of containment and deterrence.

"What North Korea shows is that deterrence is working," said Joseph S. Nye Jr., dean of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, who served as a senior Pentagon official during the Clinton administration. "The only problem is that we are the ones who are being deterred."

To blunt the criticism, administration officials from President Bush down are subtly distancing themselves from elements of the new doctrine of strategic preemption announced last summer. They are insisting that the preemption doctrine -- an assertion by the United States that it is willing to use force, unilaterally if necessary, to confront potentially hostile states bent on acquiring weapons of mass destruction -- was an option of last resort never intended to apply in all cases.

Last June, in a speech to West Point graduates, Bush declared that containment was "not possible when unbalanced dictators with weapons of mass destruction can deliver those weapons on missiles or secretly provide them to terrorist allies." Those words would appear to apply to North Korea, whose missile and nuclear programs are much more advanced than those of Iraq, and which has an active program of selling its weapons technology to others. Over the past two weeks, the administration has been forced back on what looks very much like a policy of containment toward North Korea, which has the ability to respond to a preemptive U.S. attack by inflicting massive damage on South Korea and even Japan, two key U.S. allies in Asia. There is widespread recognition, both inside and outside the government, that it is too risky to launch a preemptive military attack on a country that may have one or two nuclear weapons and can deliver a rain of devastating artillery fire on the South Korean capital of Seoul. On Friday, Bush drew a distinction between North Korea and Iraq at a ceremony for U.S. troops heading for the Persian Gulf for the escalating military confrontation with Baghdad. He said that his administration was "confronting the threat of outlaw regimes who seek weapons of mass destruction," but that "different circumstances require different strategies, from the pressure of diplomacy to the prospect of force."

"What the cases of North Korea and Iraq show is that if the threat is genuinely serious, the preemption doctrine is not pursued," said Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was national security adviser to President Jimmy Carter. "If the threat is not immediate but, as the president said, grave and gathering, then you rely on preemption. It is less risky and more satisfying to beat up someone who is less threatening than more threatening."

Put another way, the paradox of preemption is that it can be applied only to a country that is too weak to retaliate effectively. Of the three countries that Bush placed in the "axis of evil" category in his State of the Union address a year ago, Iraq is generally viewed as the weakest and most vulnerable. Administration officials are ruling out preemption as a tactic for dealing with North Korea or the third "axis of evil" member, Iran.

A senior administration official said in an interview that the administration "never said that it was going to go around preempting in every circumstance. . . . When we discussed the policy, we talked about the fact that it would be rare as an option. There are many other options at one's disposal. In the case of North Korea, we have a diplomatic option, which we don't have in other cases."

The official added that one important lesson to be drawn from the confrontation with North Korea is that "the longer a situation like this goes on, the more limited one's options become. The North Korean problem started a long time ago. It is true that our options are more limited now, because of 20 years of policies that have not managed to deal with the Korean problem."

In the administration's view, the difficulties in finding a satisfactory means of dealing with North Korea are an additional argument for preparing to go to war with Iraq, even in the absence of an immediate, overwhelming threat. "The point is not whether you are more or less threatened by a particular power, but whether you acted early enough," said the senior official. "You should not wait until you don't have very good options."

Although the preemption doctrine was articulated in its most authoritative form in Bush's West Point speech and in a new national security strategy released in September, its intellectual origins go back to the administration of George H.W. Bush.

In 1992, after the Persian Gulf War, Pentagon planners such as Paul D. Wolfowitz, who has since become deputy secretary of defense, drafted a policy statement asserting that the United States reserved the right to use preemptive strikes to stop rogue states from developing weapons of mass destruction.

Known as the Defense Planning Guidance, the draft document also called for the United States to act to prevent the emergence of any rival superpower in the post-Cold War era. The draft sparked great controversy after it was leaked to the New York Times and was substantially rewritten, but many of its key points have reemerged as part of the foreign policy strategy of the younger Bush. Even today, enthusiasm for the ideas embraced in the Wolfowitz draft are much more pronounced in the Defense Department than in the State Department.

"National strategy documents are revealing snapshots of an administration," said an official involved in devising strategy toward Iraq and North Korea. "They tell you something about people's thinking and orientation. But they are not the American equivalent of Mao's little red book. It's not as if we show up in the office each day, reread the text, and see how we can apply it."

Although U.S. officials may not take their own foreign policy guidance literally, other countries' leaders tend to place great stock in formal American pronouncements, administration critics argue. North Korean leader Kim Jong Il has drawn on the new administration doctrine and repeated expressions of "hatred" for his regime from Bush to accuse the United States of threatening a preemptive nuclear strike. U.S. officials insist that his fears lack foundation.

Brzezinski says he believes that Kim is not as crazy as he may seem, and that his actions are logical for a megalomaniac Third World dictator who feels threatened by the United States. "He is rationally crazy," Brzezinski

said. "The lesson of North Korea for other Third World dictators is to go nuclear as rapidly as possible, and as secretly as possible, and then act crazy so as to deter us."

It is a lesson that does not appear to have been lost on Iraq, which last week urged other Arab countries to follow the North Korean example. "We Arabs need to revise our behavior towards the United States, as North Korea has done, to be respected," said the Iraqi daily newspaper Babel, which is owned by President Saddam Hussein's older son, Uday.

After weeks of going along with Bush's Iraq policy, leading Democrats last week raised their voices to criticize the seeming imbalance between the administration's handling of Baghdad and Pyongyang. Outgoing Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.) was one of several who described the North Korea crisis as much more threatening to U.S. interests. "There is no urgency in Iraq," Biden told NBC. "As long as the inspectors and the international community is there, there is little or no prospect of them being able to do much mischief."

Some administration critics argue that the White House has blurred a traditional distinction between preemption and prevention. States have often asserted a right to act in self-defense to preempt an imminent attack by a rival power. Acting to prevent such attacks in the more distant future, as the Bush administration is doing in Iraq, is much more controversial because it provides a justification for states to go to war even when the threat is not imminent.

"My own feeling is that prevention makes sense against terrorists but is unwise as a doctrine against states," said Nye, of Harvard. He noted that President John F. Kennedy rejected a military strike against Cuba during the 1962 missile crisis because he thought that it would smack too much of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

Instead, Kennedy adopted a compromise course of blockading Cuba, which was of questionable legality under international law but avoided an immediate military confrontation with the Soviet Union.

A senior administration official argued that Kennedy's blockade of Cuba was tantamount to "an act of war" and provides a good analogy for what Bush is trying to achieve in his policy toward Iraq. "The blockade was an important intermediate step, but no one should doubt that Kennedy was prepared to take those missiles out, if the blockade had failed," the official said. "He was ready to act preemptively."

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A14613-2003Jan5.html>

Los Angeles Times

January 6, 2003

Pg. 1

News Analysis

Nuclear Arming Could Snowball

North Korea's moves to restart its program may prompt neighbors to build their own arsenals, security analysts say.

By Sonni Efron, Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON --The vivid prospect of a North Korea with enough plutonium for six or eight bombs could prompt neighboring countries to consider building their own nuclear arsenals, security experts warn.

Moreover, it could mean that North Korea by mid-decade would begin exporting plutonium to an eager global black market, a threat that policy analysts say could not only destabilize East Asia but also encourage nuclear aspirants in the Middle East and other regions.

"We could be approaching a nuclear tipping point," said Mitchell Reiss, dean of international affairs at the College of William & Mary in Williamsburg, Va.

"What we're concerned about is whether it's going to start a nuclear chain reaction" in which previously nonnuclear countries "may start to reconsider their bargain and to hedge their bets," he said. "If you see North Korea acquire even a small nuclear arsenal, they may begin to wonder whether nonproliferation is a mug's game."

While Japan, South Korea and Taiwan are highly unlikely to decide to go nuclear any time soon, experts say, any of the three governments could probably build a nuclear arsenal within months or years should it decide that U.S. security guarantees are no longer enough to defend it against a more dangerous world.

Moreover, a nuclear North Korea would probably push all three nations to embrace missile defense systems, analysts say. That in turn could antagonize China, particularly if the U.S. sold such systems to Taiwan.

These and other scenarios have come under urgent discussion as policy analysts and North Korea experts voice growing doubt that the Bush administration strategy of pressuring North Korea to abandon its nuclear weapons program can succeed without the direct negotiations Washington has ruled out.

Next week's meetings between Assistant Secretary of State James A. Kelly and his South Korean and Japanese counterparts will probably include discussion of the still-vague plan for a compromise to be presented by South Korea's president-elect Roh Moo Hyun. It was unclear whether the mutual concessions Roh envisions to break the stalemate would satisfy North Korea that the Bush administration did not intend to try to topple Kim Jong Il once the U.S. finishes with Iraq, or avoid the moral hazard the Bush administration sees in rewarding North Korea with sweeter new deals when it breaks old promises.

The threat of nuclear proliferation in Asia makes China a pivotal player, experts say.

The Bush administration and the South Korean government are both courting China's help in persuading North Korea that a nuclear weapons program will make it a regional pariah. China has taken the unusual step of joining with Russia in publicly criticizing Pyongyang's nuclear program.

But China would be reluctant to punish its North Korean allies by reducing aid or trade, lest it worsen the already problematic flow of desperate North Korean refugees into northern China, said Gary Samore, a former National Security Council official now at the Institute for International and Strategic Studies in London.

However, analysts note that the United States used its influence in the 1970s and 1980s to stop Taiwan and South Korea from developing nuclear weapons.

Now, the Bush administration could argue that it's time for China -- the only country with leverage or influence over North Korea -- to do its part to keep the nuclear genie bottled.

If North Korea proceeds to separate the plutonium from its spent nuclear fuel rods, a precursor to making bombs, it would be crossing a "red line" with unpredictable consequences, experts agree.

Ever since North Korea declared it was restarting its nuclear program, the Bush administration has sought to downplay the dispute by arguing that the U.S. has long believed that North Korea might already have up to two nuclear devices. But that has caused more anxiety in Asia, not less, said Kurt M. Campbell, a former Pentagon official.

"The most alarming thing we've seen from the Bush administration is this, 'North Korea has two [nuclear weapons] and what's a few more?' type of approach," said Campbell, who is studying the "tipping point" scenarios with Reiss and North Korea specialist Derek Mitchell at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. "By saying it's not a crisis ... you are emboldening the North Koreans to go further and further."

Moreover, "North Korea could easily decide it wanted to put some of its plutonium on the black market, and they could get a handsome price for it," Campbell said. "Secondly, the other countries in the region have banked on a nuclear-free Korean peninsula. To have the U.S. basically blessing that [possibility of one or two North Korean nuclear weapons] creates all sorts of problems."

Japan is not "a screwdriver away" from making its own nuclear bomb, as some have asserted, Samore said. But it does have a ready supply of weapons-grade plutonium from its civilian nuclear reactor program, and the technological prowess to construct nuclear weapons probably in less than a year, he said.

Japan's peace constitution, its pacifist political culture, and its abhorrence of nuclear arms since Hiroshima and Nagasaki make it almost unthinkable that it would opt for nuclear weapons -- as long as the U.S. "nuclear umbrella" that protects it is viewed as secure.

South Korea does not have ready access to fissile material, and the United States has long opposed its building civilian nuclear reactors. China has warned that it might use force against Taiwan if the island developed nuclear weapons.

But that does not prevent those countries -- or any others -- from quietly preparing themselves in case other nations should opt out of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, as North Korea has threatened.

"The thing to watch is whether they try to develop dual-use facilities," such as Iran's advanced civilian nuclear power program, Samore said.

If North Korea decides to further escalate tensions, an obvious next step is to resume the missile tests it stopped during negotiations at the end of the Clinton administration.

North Korea has already tested both short- and long-range ballistic missiles -- and is suspected of swapping them with Pakistan for uranium-enrichment technology. Moreover, it has an established network of Middle East clients for its missile technology, and would find no shortage of buyers if it sought to earn hard currency by selling plutonium.

A resumption in missile testing could, in turn, trigger a stampede for missile defense systems in Asia, experts said.

Japan is already involved in joint studies with the United States on a sea-based missile interceptor, and last month stepped up its commitment to the research. The Japanese government stressed that it has made no decisions about deployment, however.

"If the North Korean missile and nuclear program proceeds without restraint, it makes it more likely that the Japanese will decide to deploy missile defenses," Samore said. South Korea and Taiwan might then clamor for similar technologies, and "the U.S. would have a hard time denying these to Taiwan," he said.

But China would view that as an unacceptable strengthening of the U.S.-Taiwanese security arrangement, Samore said.

Conservatives argue that North Korea's actions demonstrate the wisdom of the Bush administration decision to deploy missile defense technology.

The way to protect the existing security infrastructure is to develop the ability to shoot down incoming ballistic missiles, the delivery system of choice for nuclear, chemical or biological weapons, said Peter Brookes, a former defense official who is now head of the Asian studies program at the Heritage Foundation, a Washington think tank. "We were fooled by India and Pakistan," which stunned the world by testing nuclear weapons in 1998, "and it could happen again," Brookes said. "Iran is pursuing a [nuclear] program, North Korea is pursuing a program, Iraq was pursuing a program. Despite our best efforts, we may be unable to prevent it. Therefore, missile defense is the logical next step."

Though many disagree with that view, the diagnosis that nuclear proliferation is undermining the global sense of security is widely shared.

In a 1963 speech, President Kennedy described his nightmare scenario of a world with up to 25 nuclear-weapon states. Reiss notes that the post-Cold War euphoria has now given way to an age of anxiety in which "new threats have arisen while the nuclear taboo was weakened."

The nuclear club now consists of seven nations: the United States, Russia, China, Britain, and France, which have signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty; and India and Pakistan, which have not. Israel, also not a signatory, is known to have nuclear weapons, though it has never acknowledged them.

A number of other nations, including South Africa and Ukraine, have voluntarily given up their nuclear weapons and joined the world nonproliferation regime.

Theoretically, any country can withdraw from the nonproliferation treaty after giving three months' notice -- as North Korea did in 1994 and has hinted it might again do.

"If all we were concerned about was North Korea with a few nuclear weapons, that would be bad enough, but deterrence and containment could work," said Reiss, a former National Security Council official. "It wouldn't be destabilizing, necessarily, to the region ... if it weren't for the threat that they would be an exporter. That makes all the difference in the world.

"President Kennedy's nightmare vision of a world with 15, 20 or 25 nuclear powers may yet come to pass," Reiss said.

<http://www.latimes.com/news/printedition/la-fg-armsrace6jan06001441.story>

Washington Post

January 6, 2003

Pg. 1

Brinkmanship: A Family Trait

Like His Father, N. Korean Leans Toward Confrontation

By Peter S. Goodman, Washington Post Foreign Service

SEOUL -- The last time North Korea faced off in a nuclear confrontation with the United States, in 1994, Kim Jong Il was largely running the country from the shadows, but had not assumed total control. As tensions reached the brink of armed conflict, his father, the self-styled "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung, stepped in and struck a key compromise, according to diplomats and others.

But the father died shortly after the 1994 deal to abandon a nuclear program. This time, his son is solely in charge.

"If Kim Jong Il had been in complete control then, he might have been a little more daring," said Han Sung Joo, who was South Korea's foreign minister at the time. "Now, we don't have a Kim Il Sung to moderate."

As the world focuses anew on North Korea, seeking to calculate how far Kim Jong Il will go, this is the portrait that emerges: Like his father, he is inclined toward confrontation. He prefers to press for a deal through escalation of

threats. But Kim Jong Il may be willing to go even further than his father in challenging the United States and threatening to build more nuclear weapons.

"He looks very irrational, very dangerous and very unpredictable," said Choi Jin Wook, a North Korea expert at the Korea Institute for National Reunification, a research body affiliated with the South Korean government in Seoul.

"This is Kim Jong Il's style."

While the elder Kim never publicly admitted pursuing nuclear weapons, cloaking his efforts as energy projects, Kim Jong Il has acknowledged his ambitions to build a bomb. Diplomats take that as a sign that he is more desperate than during the last crisis, at once coping with a dreadful economy, strained relations with his most critical ally -- China -- and a sense of insecurity deepened by President Bush's decision to label his country part of an "axis of evil." He may also be unable to back down, lest he appear weak in the eyes of North Korean generals. He lacks the military credentials of Kim Il Sung, according to Han. "He has a greater need than his father to show his macho," he said.

Still, diplomats and North Korea experts see potentially crucial differences between the last crisis and the forces at work around Kim Jong Il today. He has invested time and effort to engage the outside world and improve relations with his former adversaries. Despite the evident paranoia and bluster in recent months, they say, Kim Jong Il may eventually be ready to compromise.

A Western diplomat noted that in recent days North Korea has softened its conditions for talks with the United States. Where once it called for a resumption of canceled fuel oil shipments from the United States along with a nonaggression pact, its most recent formulations have demanded only a security guarantee.

But other analysts caution that Kim's sense of desperation and eagerness for a deal could work in the opposite direction, inspiring him to escalate further, employing the only means he and his father have ever known to conduct business with the outside world -- brinkmanship.

"This is consistent with their pattern," said Mohamed ElBaradei, director general of the U.N. nuclear watchdog, the International Atomic Energy Agency, in an interview shortly after his inspectors were expelled from North Korea last month. "By escalating a situation into a crisis situation, they believe they will get a more advantageous negotiating position and get their security and economic needs catered to."

Kim Jong Il, now 60, was mostly an enigma when he assumed power following his father's death in 1994. The elder Kim had been an imposing figure who appeared to enjoy the pomp and regalia of Stalinist ritual. The younger Kim seemed nervous and uncomfortable in public. South Koreans were struck by this "short, dumpy-looking character with a strange hairdo," as one diplomat put it.

Kim also had a reputation for cruelty. He had enemies burned alive, according to a U.S. intelligence report. He loved film and actresses, and once ordered a show business pair kidnapped from South Korea to entertain him, the couple disclosed after escaping. And he had a penchant for cognac and fast cars. But beyond that, little was known.

Many expected Kim's ascent would bring change, particularly to the economy. He courted investment from South Korea and launched tourism and free trade zones inside North Korea. He sought to transcend North Korea's isolation, hosting former secretary of state Madeleine K. Albright and Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi. His summit with South Korea's president, Kim Dae Jung, in 2000 did much to change the world's image of North Korea's leader.

The South Korean president concluded that his counterpart in the North enjoyed "an ability to be receptive to new ideas and a willingness to change his views," according to Korea expert Don Oberdorfer, a former Washington Post staff writer and foreign correspondent, who quoted him in his book, "The Two Koreas." The North Korean leader "didn't appear to be a cold-minded theoretician, but a very sharp personality," Kim Dae Jung was quoted as saying. Though still reclusive, Kim Jong Il seems far more interested in the outside world than was his father. According to diplomats, he spends two hours a day surfing the Internet and watching television -- from CNN to South Korean programming and Hollywood movies. When a group of officials from Seoul visited him in Pyongyang in April, Kim amazed them with his encyclopedic knowledge of South Korean soap operas, according to Choi, and quizzed them on whether they had watched a recent episode to its end.

Unlike his father, he has many channels of communication with other countries. Groups from North and South Korea meet to discuss issues from coordinating visits of separated family members to new economic projects. Britain now has an embassy in Pyongyang.

Yet the glimpses of Kim that seep out through his encounters with outsiders suggest a disjointed and incomplete view of the world. In a recently published book, a Russian general, Konstantin Pulikovskiy, recounts a series of lengthy conversations with Kim in 2001 as he accompanied the North Korean leader in his private armored rail car during a journey to Moscow for a visit with President Vladimir Putin. They discussed topics from the beauty of dancers in Paris to the price of Italian shoes and Kim's view of his public image.

"Throughout the whole world I'm the object of criticism," Kim said, according to Pulikovsky. "But I think about it this way: If I'm talked about, I'm going about things the right way."

In another conversation, Kim brought up AIDS, saying he could not believe reports about the extent of the pandemic. "This is just impossible!" he exclaimed, according to the book. "Many countries are exaggerating the extent of their troubles to get more international aid."

Even if Kim does have a better grasp of how the world operates, it does not necessarily translate to a greater inclination to avoid confrontation. His knowledge may simply make him a more sophisticated practitioner of the family's traditional craft of brinkmanship.

"He may have much more access and understanding, but he's using it to take advantage of the conditions," said Han, the former South Korean foreign minister. "He's testing the limits of what he can do."

Many observers have been struck by what appears to be Kim's impeccable timing. He brought the current crisis to a head as the Bush administration sought to focus on a looming war in Iraq. He is exploiting favorable conditions in South Korea, where a wave of anti-Americanism has given him an opportunity to drive a wedge between the South and the United States. He appears to understand that the United States is deeply reluctant to wage war here and cannot deliver on past threats to pursue sanctions at the U.N. Security Council, because Russia and China would oppose them. This has allowed Kim to escalate again and again with little risk of military confrontation.

Kim is now being advised by the same inner circle that managed the last conflict -- First Vice Foreign Minister Kang Sok Ju, who negotiated the 1994 deal, and Kim Yong San, the railways minister and member of the powerful Administrative Council, who has handled North Korea's dealings with the South.

"They are very savvy," said Lee Jung Hoon, a North Korea expert at Yonsei University in Seoul. "They know what they are doing and they're very tough to handle."

Kim may face a more difficult arrangement of foreign interests than did his father. Russia is a less dependable ally than was the Soviet Union and relations with China are strained.

According to Choi, much of the tension with China goes back to North Korea's talks with Russia in recent years about linking the two countries' rail networks. Links now being forged between North and South Korea would eventually allow cargo to be shipped across Asia to Europe. Russia and China are jockeying to capture the bulk of the traffic. In discussing a link with Russia, North Korea seemed to be signaling that it would bypass China, Choi said.

The relationship with Beijing worsened last fall when Kim announced the creation of a free trade zone on China's border, selecting a Chinese-born Dutch entrepreneur, Yang Bin, to head it. Chinese police promptly arrested Yang and charged him with tax evasion, leaving the free trade zone up in the air.

"China had notified North Korea many times that they couldn't employ that sort of person," said Li Chunhu, a North Korea expert at Shanghai International Studies University, who studied in North Korea in the 1980s. "But North Korea ignored it, as they regarded it was their internal business and China had no right to interfere. . . . There are clear cracks in the two countries' mutual understanding and trust," Li said.

Meanwhile, the North Korean economy is in ever-deeper distress. In recent months, Kim has implemented some market-oriented changes in wages and prices to an otherwise statist, centrally planned economy. According to a report released recently by a human rights group in Tokyo, Rescue the North Korean People, the government is strapped for cash and has stopped paying for such things as food for its people and raw material for state-run factories. At the same time, it is sharply increasing taxes to pay higher salaries to soldiers and policemen.

Kim has weathered economic disaster before. Famine in the mid-1990s killed an estimated 2 million people, according to U.S. congressional estimates. A showdown with the United States could help Kim deflect attention from the economic troubles.

"North Korea is very well-accustomed to what they call the March of Hardship," a concept that dates to the painful days of Japanese colonialism in the 1920s, said Moon Jung In, a North Korea expert at Yonsei University.

"Hardship could consolidate Kim's power all the more."

Where Kim goes from here depends on what he really wants. Some argue that he was taking dramatic steps toward improving North Korea's relationship with its neighbors and the United States in the final days of the Clinton administration. The United States and North Korea were close to completing a deal that would have traded new limits on North Korea's missiles for a visit by President Bill Clinton to Pyongyang. That trip was never made. Others point out that even as Kim was courting the United States, he was apparently engaged in a secret project to enrich uranium for nuclear weapons, which was later discovered by U.S. intelligence, and which North Korea acknowledged when confronted last year by a Bush administration official.

North Korea has also continued to sell its missiles around the world. Critics say this illustrates how North Korea adeptly offers concessions to gain things it needs, while secretly developing future threats that can serve as bargaining chips later on.

"North Korea will never really dismantle its nuclear programs," said Lee. "Because what is North Korea without those weapons? It's nothing. It has no leverage. Every time, they make it sound like a new issue and get a fresh deal."

Special correspondents Wang Ting in Shanghai and Akiko Kashiwagi in Tokyo contributed to this report.
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A14756-2003Jan5.html>

Philadelphia Inquirer
January 5, 2003

Embattled U.S. Troops May Be All That Keep North Korea's Army At Bay

Younger South Koreans want the Americans out. Older people don't want to take the gamble.

By Michael Dorgan, Knight Ridder News Service

PANMUNJOM, Demilitarized Zone, Korea - If diplomacy fails, this is where another Korean war would begin. Stretched across the waist of the Korean Peninsula, the demilitarized zone, or DMZ, is a 151-mile-long belt bristling with barbed wire, minefields, antitank barriers and artillery bunkers that has divided the two Koreas since the Korean War.

A conventional war on the peninsula could kill a million civilians in the first few days, U.S. military officials with the United Nations Command in South Korea said Friday. If North Korea used the nuclear, chemical or biological weapons it has, the toll could be much higher.

"We can win, but it would be bloody," said one of the officials, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

The 38,000 U.S. troops stationed in South Korea are there to deter the North Koreans from starting another war.

The small, exposed force isn't big enough to defeat North Korea's million-strong active military and five million to seven million reserves - the world's third-largest army - even with the backing of South Korea's 560,000-man military. But U.S. officials believe that the American trip wire is enough to convince the North that the United States would be part of any fight from the start.

And while calls for the Americans' withdrawal after 50 years are rising in both South Korea and the United States, senior U.S. officials argue that America's interests are still on the line in Korea. Another war in Korea, they say, could involve China and Russia, as well as Japan, the United States' closest Asian ally.

Moreover, said one senior administration official who asked not to be named, the United States would pay a huge price if it walked away from its commitment to defend South Korea and allowed a democratic ally and important trading partner to be overrun by a Stalinist dictatorship.

Reunification of the divided peninsula under North Korea's rule, they say, appears to remain one of leader Kim Jong Il's highest priorities, second only to preserving his control over North Korea.

While an estimated two million North Koreans - 10 percent of the population - have starved to death in recent years, and as much as a third of the population has gone hungry, North Korea's government has spent an estimated 30 percent of the nation's gross domestic product on the military.

Much of the North Korean army's equipment is old but well-maintained and functional, U.S. military officials said. More worrisome, they said, North Korea's forces, more than 70 percent of which are positioned near South Korea's border, are deployed for offense, rather than defense.

"All they have to do is pop out of their holes to launch a war," one of the officials said.

It is that offensive deployment that makes many observers suspect that North Korea might invade the South, if it saw an opening.

Soldiers at the DMZ say that they have seen no signs in recent weeks that North Korea is preparing for an imminent attack.

But the North has about 14,000 artillery systems, up to 300 of which can reach the South Korean capital, just 25 miles south of the DMZ. Those systems, some of which can fire multiple rockets simultaneously, could devastate Seoul with an artillery attack in which every fourth round would likely contain chemical weapons, the military officials said.

"The loss of life here would be incredible," one of the officials said.

In addition to a huge number of artillery systems, North Korea's military has 3,700 tanks, about 100 small submarines, and the world's largest contingent of special forces, about 100,000, the officials said. Adding to its potential menace is an arsenal of up to 750 missiles. They range from Scuds capable of reaching anywhere in South Korea to No Dongs that could target all seven U.S. military bases in Japan, which would be crucial to aiding the defense of South Korea.

North Korea's steps to reactivate its Yongbyon nuclear complex have stirred less public passion in South Korea than the accidental deaths in June of two teenage girls who were run over and killed by a U.S. military vehicle.

The acquittals in separate military trials of the two U.S. soldiers involved have triggered numerous mass demonstrations, including New Year's Eve protests that drew tens of thousands. Many of the mostly young protesters demanded that U.S. troops withdraw.

"They are not needed," said one of the college-age protestors at the New Year's Eve demonstration in Seoul.

Recent polls indicate that a majority of South Koreans regard the U.S. troops as crucial to South Korea's defense and regional stability.

The key division between South Koreans on security issues is a "generation gap" that has opened between older South Koreans and those in their 20s and 30s, according to Song Young Sun, the director for security planning at the Korea Institute for Defense Analyses, a Seoul think tank linked to the Department of National Defense.

Many younger Koreans, she said, have eagerly embraced the "sunshine policy" of outgoing President Kim Dae Jung, which has sought to lift North Korea from poverty and isolation through dialogue, aid and investment. President-elect Roh Moo Hyun has pledged to continue the policy.

"They believe that sunshine is going to melt all the ice," Song said of those demanding that the U.S. troops leave.

But, she said, North Korea remains an ominous threat, and the withdrawal of U.S. forces would leave the South in grave danger.

"Our prosperity comes from a secure environment," she said, warning that investors would flee if South Korea's own formidable military were not backed up by the United States.

<http://www.philly.com/mld/philly/news/nation/4874379.htm>

New York Times

January 6, 2003

U.N. Nuclear Agency Gains A Bigger Profile, And Bigger Problems

By Mark Landler

VIENNA, Jan. 5 — When the International Atomic Energy Agency's board meets here on Monday to condemn the expulsion of its weapons inspectors from North Korea, hundreds of reporters will camp out at its headquarters, across the Danube River from the vintage Ferris wheel immortalized in the film "The Third Man."

The showdown with North Korea — and the hunt for weapons in Iraq, which also involves the agency's inspectors — has thrust this relatively anonymous institution into a harsh spotlight. After laboring quietly on the fringes of the cold war, it finds itself in a swirl of intrigue worthy of Graham Greene.

"These are taxing times for us," said Mohamed ElBaradei, the agency's Egyptian-born director general. "North Korea is coming at a very awkward moment, with the focus on Iraq."

The agency has had to stretch its resources over a vastly expanded workload and to grapple with simultaneous crises on opposite sides of the world. It has also had to deal with 134 quarreling member states, including Iraq and the United States, which question either its motives or its effectiveness.

Even as Mr. ElBaradei puts pressure on North Korea, he faces doubts — above all in the Bush administration — that his inspectors in Iraq are hard-nosed enough to uncover evidence that Saddam Hussein has rekindled his nuclear program.

With some weariness, Mr. ElBaradei said in an interview that the administration has not, even after six weeks of inspections, provided "actionable information" to help in the search for clandestine facilities.

Mr. ElBaradei spent a recent family vacation in Sri Lanka engaged in a chilly exchange of letters with the North Korean government — an exercise that ended last week when North Korea expelled the agency's two inspectors, after breaking the seals and dismantling the cameras that kept watch over its facilities.

"This is a very dangerous precedent," Mr. ElBaradei said in his Vienna apartment. "Korea is problematic because it is a country that has lots of weapons capability. We have to send a message that nuclear brinkmanship does not pay."

The agency's governing board is expected to demand that North Korea allow its inspectors, and cameras, back into the country. But officials said it would effectively give North Korea a chance to back down by stopping short of referring the matter to the United Nations Security Council.

The agency's caution reflects the perils of dealing with North Korea, which is suspected of already having a nuclear bomb and which arguably poses a greater threat to its neighbors than does Iraq. The United States, one of the agency's 35 board members, has taken a similarly tempered approach.

To critics, that confirms one of the agency's weaknesses as the world's nuclear watchdog. It remains a creature of its members, beholden to them for financial and political support, as well as for the satellite photos and other intelligence that enable it to uncover evidence of nuclear malfeasance.

Critics also say that as an autonomous institution under the United Nations, it has all the character flaws of a multilateral organization: a cautious, bureaucratic culture that shies away from confronting nuclear rogue states.

"There's a need for a new type of inspector," said David Albright, a former weapons inspector in Iraq who now runs the Institute for Science and International Security, a Washington-based research group that specializes in proliferation issues. "They've been short of what I would describe as detectives."

He said the problem was generational, stemming from a time when the agency's job was to keep track of declared nuclear facilities, not root out those that countries deny having.

Some analysts say the problem is a contradictory mandate that goes back to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, under whose auspices the agency was founded in 1957: to propagate nuclear energy while ensuring that it is not used for military purposes.

"The agency is sort of an anachronism," said Gary Milhollin, director of the Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control, a Washington-based research organization. "It was created in the days when the promotion of nuclear energy and the inspection of it were not thought to be in conflict."

Mr. ElBaradei listens stoically to the criticism. The 60-year-old lawyer and former diplomat has spent nearly two decades at the agency, including a stint as legal adviser to Hans Blix, the previous director, who now heads the team of chemical and biological weapons inspectors in Iraq.

Like Mr. Blix, Mr. ElBaradei emphasizes cooperation over confrontation. As an Egyptian, he said, he has an advantage in persuading Iraq that the agency "is not just a Western scheme."

He rejects charges that the agency is timid, saying that is a myth perpetuated by former weapons inspectors, who have set themselves up as commentators-for-hire. "That's unfair," he said, showing a rare flash of irritation. "It's not a culture of naïveté or softness."

But he agreed that its powers were limited. After Iraq was found to have a hidden nuclear program in 1991, the agency pushed to expand its investigative authority. Only 28 of the 70 countries it monitors currently allow the agency the broad scrutiny it says it needs to uncover clandestine nuclear activities.

One that does not is Iran, which is building a Russian-assisted nuclear power plant and two other facilities suspected by American intelligence officials as being part of a weapons program.

Mr. ElBaradei has asked Iran for access to these facilities, and expects to visit in February. Iran canceled a visit scheduled for last month. It says the reactors will be used only for peaceful energy production.

Mr. ElBaradei noted that the nuclear plants would not be completed for three or four years, giving the agency time to determine the truth.

"We don't jump to a conclusion every time a facility is built that it is a violation," he said. "You cannot just shoot from the hip. There's a lot of information you need to be in possession of."

For all the doubts about the inspections in Iraq, officials say it has become a model for an aggressive investigation, thanks to the sweeping legal powers granted by the Security Council.

Jacques Baute, the chief of the agency's Iraq action team, said he hoped to begin conducting aerial surveys for radiation with helicopters this week. Mr. Baute said that each week, his team of 10 inspectors planned to interview one or two Iraqi scientists. The agency estimates its investigation in Iraq will cost \$10 million this year, financed through the United Nations' oil-for-food program.

But the inspections have drawn resources from other activities, like using radiation to sterilize tsetse flies, which have devastated African livestock, or encouraging the use of radiation therapy on cancer patients in poor countries. Even nuclear safety fights for attention. In March, the agency will hold a conference to develop global standards for the protection of radioactive sources, to keep them out of the hands of those who would make "dirty bombs."

"Before 9/11, very few countries were convinced this was an issue," said Abel Julio González, a director in the nuclear safety department. "Now people are convinced that radioactivity is the fifth rider of the Apocalypse."

Together, nuclear safety and development programs account for only \$46 million of the agency's \$245 million budget. Nuclear monitoring is budgeted at \$87 million, but rises to nearly \$105 million with additional contributions from the United States and other countries.

Experts say the agency desperately needs more money. "The I.A.E.A. is being asked to verify nuclear compliance in 70 countries on a budget suitable to the Portland, Ore., police department," said Lawrence Sheinman, an expert on nuclear proliferation at the Monterey Institute.

The United States, which contributes a quarter of the agency's funding, has been supportive of its request for an 11 percent increase for 2004.

The Bush administration, however, has not been as forthcoming with its intelligence on Iraq, Mr. ElBaradei said. "We need to get specifics," he said. "So far, we really haven't gotten actionable information."

Agency supporters in the United States government said there were risks in not adequately supporting the inspections, because no other institution had its access to nuclear sites around the world.

"Is the I.A.E.A. being set up for failure?" said a senior American diplomat. "I certainly hope if there's a problem in Iraq, it's biological or chemical, and not nuclear."

<http://www.nytimes.com/2003/01/06/international/asia/06NUKE.html>

San Diego Union-Tribune

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Pg. 1

Well-Suited For Battle?

Military says it's ready in the event of biochemical war, but critics disagree

By Jeanette Steele, Staff Writer

CAMP PENDLETON – The 1st Marine Division recently began "Gas Mask Wednesdays," requiring 20,000 troops to wear or at least carry their protective masks all day.

Anthrax vaccinations have resumed, and smallpox inoculations will start this month for many service members.

The Marine Corps and other branches of the military have stepped up their preparations for biological or chemical weapons in the event of a conflict with Iraq. But there is skepticism about the adequacy of the U.S. military's equipment and training.

Marine officials and some defense analysts say biochemical equipment and training have vastly improved since the 1991 Persian Gulf War, when they were found to be largely deficient.

But federal agencies, analysts and two members of Congress – one Republican and one Democrat – are worried about the military's supplies of protective equipment and whether training reflects actual battlefield conditions.

A General Accounting Office report in October said 250,000 biochemical suits are defective and unaccounted for in the Army's huge inventory system.

The agency also said the Pentagon doesn't have enough protective suits for all contingencies and that the supply problem will only get worse.

Meanwhile, the Defense Logistics Agency confirmed last month that 80,000 gas masks with the wrong gaskets were issued to the armed services – including some to the Navy and Marines – and that 19,000 are still in circulation.

A Marine Corps spokesman said the service is searching its inventory for them.

Also, the Pentagon's inspector general testified to a congressional subcommittee in October that some Army units get little or no biochemical training after initial schooling.

A congresswoman has asked Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld to "certify" that the Pentagon has enough protective equipment before a war with Iraq.

"I am concerned that Pentagon officials may be downplaying the actual risks to our servicemen and women, particularly with respect to the preparedness of our forces for chemical and biological attacks," said Rep. Jan Schakowsky, D-Ill., a member of the national security subcommittee of the Committee on Government Reform. Subcommittee Chairman Christopher Shays, R-Conn., also has expressed alarm.

"When we go into Iraq, the Pentagon needs to be absolutely certain no one will be told their mask can't be fixed because the (Defense Department) bought the wrong-size gasket," Shays said.

"This breakdown of the procurement system also speaks to the larger issue of chem-bio defense readiness," he added. "Chemical officers continue to tell the subcommittee (that) commanders do not give CB (chemical and biological) defense a high priority."

'In good shape'

The military says it is ready.

Lt. Gen. Michael Hagee, the incoming Marine Corps commandant, recently told the Union-Tribune's editorial board that the Corps is satisfied with its supply of protective suits.

"Over the past year or so we've looked very carefully at our individual protective equipment to ensure that we have sufficient quantities, which we do, and that it's in good shape, which it is," Hagee said.

He also expressed confidence in the Marines' biochemical defense training, saying, "We are ready to fight whenever the president decides that it's time to fight."

If Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein unleashes sarin or mustard gases, or some other version of chemical weaponry, those suits would be the foundation of each Marine or soldier's protection.

The Marine Corps uses a layered system called the Mission Oriented Protective Posture suit.

The jacket and pants are made of chemical-resistant synthetic fibers. The gas mask and shoulder-length hood allow each Marine to breathe safely in a contaminated area. Rubber galoshes go on over combat boots, and rubber gloves cover the hands.

With every layer on, Marines are supposed to be protected for up to 24 hours.

Infantry Marines from Camp Pendleton's 1st Battalion, 5th Marine Regiment, practice about 12 hours every three months in the full suit, said Chief Warrant Officer Philip Ross, the battalion's specialist in nuclear, biological and chemical defense.

He said the minimum requirement for infantrymen is four hours per quarter.

Training allows them to get used to the stifling heat – up to 110 degrees – inside the cumbersome gear, which also constricts vision and makes movement slower and harder.

Ross compares learning to fight in the suit to a football player learning to play in pads and gear. "The more you're in it, the easier it comes," he said.

Still, discomfort is a significant factor. An Army specialist fainted while wearing a similar suit during a demonstration for journalists.

In recent years, the Marines have trained in the protective suits during exercises in Kuwait to get troops accustomed to desert warfare. Hagee said he has personally led troops on exercises during Kuwait's blistering summer.

"It's hot, but we operated. ... We put on our gas masks. We put on our suits. You can operate," he said.

"Is it pleasant? No. (But) the other guy has to operate there, too."

Too few suits

Still, the GAO has found deficiencies in the Pentagon's stockrooms.

In its report, the federal accounting agency said the Marines have less than 50 percent of the required stock of protective boots ready to go, about half the needed gloves and about 75 percent of the jackets and pants.

The yardstick is how much protective gear the military would need to fight in two theaters at once, though the military is considering lowering that standard.

A Defense Department spokeswoman said the military believes its suit supply is enough.

"The (department) is making all efforts to ensure sufficient stocks on hand to provide service members deploying to all high-threat areas with the (newest-version) JSLIST suit," Lt. Col. Cynthia Colin said. "Sufficient stocks of both JSLIST and the BDO (the battle dress overgarment, an older version) already exist within the inventory to address any contingency."

The GAO contends that today's protective suits are wearing out faster than they are being replaced with a new, higher-tech version.

The new suits – known as the JSLIST, for Joint Service Lightweight Integrated Suit Technology – aren't replacing the older ones as quickly as planned. That means the suit inventory may drop below minimal needs in five years, the report said.

The Marine Corps' storerooms contain both the older and newer suits.

One more critic of the military's preparedness is Eric Taylor, a former Army chemical officer who now teaches biochemistry at the University of Louisiana at Lafayette. Taylor visited a six-day Marine field exercise at Camp Lejeune, N.C., last summer and is writing a paper on the military's biochemical defenses for the Cato Institute, a Washington, D.C., think tank.

He gives the Marines a C or a D grade for preparing troops for actual chemical warfare.

According to Taylor, there wasn't enough realistic practice of decontaminating troops and equipment; not enough time was spent on chemical defenses; and unit commanders knew a mock attack was coming, so there was no element of surprise.

Taylor also blamed senior officers from the Pentagon on down for not putting enough time into biological and chemical defense exercises.

"The seniors say: 'We're ready. Training is up.' But if you ask the enlisted people and junior people under them, they say, 'No, we're not,'" Taylor said in an interview.

Some experts believe U.S. forces have made strides.

A retired Navy rear admiral said the military's training and biochemical defense equipment are a "quantum leap" ahead of what they were in the Gulf War.

"I've got a fair, good amount of confidence that every fighter wing, every Navy ship and every Army battalion is fully equipped to fight in a chemical environment," said Stephen Baker, who was operations officer of the Theodore Roosevelt battle group in the Gulf War.

The Marines' Ross, a biochemical warfare specialist for 14 years, agrees that the Corps learned from the first war with Iraq.

"Back when we went to Saudi Arabia the first time, everybody was trying to play catch-up because nobody really paid attention," he said. "We always thought everyone was going to be too scared to use" chemical or biological warfare against the United States.

"But we got smart this time. We've been training to the level we need to."

Internal defense

Besides suits and masks, which largely protect against chemical weapons, the troops will also be armed with internal protections against germ warfare – vaccinations.

Experts say that though gas masks can guard against inhaling toxins, the best defenses are good general health and advance inoculation.

In September, Marines at Camp Pendleton and Miramar Marine Corps Air Station began getting vaccinations against anthrax, a deadly bacterium.

The fear of anthrax as a terrorist weapon took hold when five Americans died in the fall of 2001 from anthrax-bearing letters sent by an unknown source.

Hundreds of thousands of U.S. service members were inoculated against anthrax in the late 1990s in a controversial program that was shelved because supplies of the vaccine ran low.

A debate over the health risks of anthrax vaccinations led to at least 37 courts-martial after military personnel refused to be inoculated. A new anthrax vaccine is now being produced.

Hagee said in November that no one in the 1st Marine Expeditionary Force has balked at the vaccination this time around.

A more controversial vaccination program is to begin this month.

President Bush has ordered mandatory smallpox inoculations for 500,000 military members and 500,000 civilian emergency workers.

The White House said it believes Hussein holds the smallpox virus and may try to use it if attacked, although some analysts say it's unlikely the virus could be made into a weapon.

The United States stopped vaccinating Americans in 1972 after determining that the disease had been eradicated from the planet.

The new vaccination program has many advocates, but it also carries risks.

The Centers for Disease Control estimates that 14 to 52 people out of every 1 million vaccinated will develop serious complications, and one or two will die.

Some experts say the threat would be lower because modern medicine allows better screening for people with diseases, such as leukemia, who would probably be in danger if inoculated.

However, there are also more people with immune deficiencies, such as HIV and AIDS, who might be endangered by the smallpox vaccine.

Also, today there's an available treatment, vaccinia immune globulin, that combats most complications from the smallpox vaccine, said Dr. William Bicknell of Boston University's School of Public Health.

An advocate for reopening inoculations to the public, Bicknell believes no one would die and that would be only a few minor complications from vaccinations of healthy people.

He called inoculating military personnel "prudent, thoughtful and reasonable," because members of the military probably are in good health.

"The vaccine works. It's worked from a hundred or more years," Bicknell said. "For smallpox, we can take it off the table as a terrorist weapon."

Back on base, Ross is confident that his Marines can perform under fire from chemical and biological agents.

"The Marines in this battalion, I can tell you, are ready to go," he said. "They've trained it. They've lived it. They've been put through it over and over. They are almost sick of seeing me."

<http://www.signonsandiego.com/news/uniontrib/sun/news/>

New York Times
January 5, 2003

India Establishes A Nuclear Command System

By Reuters

India, which last year came close to war with Pakistan, its nuclear-armed neighbor, said today that it had set up a nuclear weapons command system headed by the prime minister.

India will continue its policy of "no first use" of nuclear arms, but "nuclear retaliation to a first strike will be massive and designed to inflict unacceptable damage," the government said in a statement.

It also said India would "retain the option of retaliating with nuclear weapons" in the event of a major biological or chemical weapons attack against India or Indian forces anywhere.

Pakistan, which has fought three wars with India, two over the disputed territory of Kashmir, has not ruled out the first use of nuclear weapons, saying it would conduct a nuclear strike if it felt its territorial integrity was threatened. In April, the Indian government approved a plan for a command structure with the nuclear button in the prime minister's control but gave no details.

India held underground nuclear tests in May 1998 that were followed by similar blasts by Pakistan. India's nuclear program has traditionally been shrouded in secrecy, with little publicly known about its command-and-control system.

The statement, issued after a meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security, said nuclear retaliatory attacks could be authorized only by the civilian political leadership through the new Nuclear Command Authority.

Pakistan has its own Nuclear Command and Control Authority made up of military, political and scientific officials, with President Pervez Musharraf having responsibility for the final decision.

India and Pakistan came to the brink of war last year over attacks in India that New Delhi attributed to Pakistan-based Islamic militants fighting its rule in Kashmir.

Little is known about the number of nuclear warheads and delivery systems on the two sides. Jane's Strategic Weapons System in London estimates that India has 100 to 150 warheads and Pakistan 25 to 50.

In a move coinciding with easing tensions, India and Pakistan renewed a 12-year-old agreement on Jan. 1 not to attack each other's nuclear installations.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2003/01/05/international/asia/05INDI.html>

Philadelphia Inquirer
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Pg. 1

Iraq Arms Evidence Is Elusive

Bush faces a tough call if inspectors find nothing.

By Tom Raum, Associated Press

WASHINGTON - U.N. inspectors have yet to turn up any sign of prohibited weapons in Iraq, complicating the Bush administration's task of justifying an armed invasion. Allies already are expressing misgivings, and the inspectors' first comprehensive report, due Jan. 27, could further cramp the timing of any attack.

Even as the Pentagon presses ahead with a major military buildup in the Persian Gulf, U.S. and British officials are assessing the potential consequences should the report prove inconclusive. That could force the White House into accepting more delay - or risking the wrath of allies by going it alone.

"The President continues to hope that war can be averted," White House spokesman Ari Fleischer said yesterday, suggesting there still was time for Iraqi President Saddam Hussein to relent and disarm. Still, Fleischer said, "the American policy remains a policy of regime change."

Iraq says it has no weapons of mass destruction. The Bush administration and Britain insist that it does and that it is concealing them.

In London, British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw suggested that the possibility of war had slipped below 50-50. With the North Korean crisis taking international attention, some support for armed conflict with Iraq seemed to be fading.

An additional complication for the United States and Britain is the changing membership of the Security Council. Germany - whose chancellor, Gerhard Schroeder, has voiced clear misgivings about invading Iraq - is among five countries that have just assumed rotating two-year seats.

Talk was building over the need for another Security Council resolution before moving further toward military confrontation.

The Jan. 27 deadline comes a day before President Bush's State of the Union address, putting him in a potentially awkward position if the inspectors say they cannot find any evidence of weapons programs.

"The United States at that point is going to have to produce its own evidence that there are weapons of mass destruction, or just decide to go ahead anyway," said physicist David Albright, president of the Institute for Science and International Security and a former nuclear-weapons inspector in Iraq.

Other than a desire by U.S. planners to wage any gulf war in the cooler winter months, there is no compelling reason for a hurry-up invasion, Albright said.

"So it starts in March. Or it starts next year. Saddam isn't going anywhere," he said. "And the fact that the inspectors are there bottles up his weapons programs. It puts him on the defensive. He has to hide things carefully. It's very hard to make progress with everybody watching. I think Iraq has become far less of a risk just because the inspectors are there."

U.S. officials, and many analysts, suggest there is still a chance that the inspectors may yet uncover weapons activity - or at least accuse Iraq of a cover-up in the Jan. 27 report.

Tens of thousands of U.S. combat troops are heading for the gulf in a buildup that will double the contingent to more than 100,000 by the end of January and to 200,000 by the end of February.

"We certainly prefer voluntary compliance by Iraq," Bush told troops at Fort Hood, Texas, on Friday. "Yet if force becomes necessary... America will act deliberately, America will act decisively, and America will prevail because we've got the finest military in the world."

Few doubted he was eager to see the issue come to resolution.

"While Jan. 27 is not a magic date for going to war, I think there's still a high degree of commitment in the Bush administration to pursue that option," said former Pentagon analyst Michele Flournoy, now with the Center for Strategic and International Studies. "And they will not want to wait additional weeks or months."

She said failure of the inspectors to find anything would hardly be a surprise. "Saddam has had a lot of practice in hiding what he does. He had plenty of time to conceal, to hide, to move programs. This doesn't tell us much - other than that he's very clever."

<http://www.philly.com/mld/inquirer/4888044.htm>

New York Times

January 7, 2003

Pg. 1

Bush Welcomes Slower Approach To North Korea

By David E. Sanger

WASHINGTON, Jan. 6 — The White House sought today to defuse a worsening confrontation with North Korea, applauding the International Atomic Energy Agency's decision to condemn North Korea's nuclear activities but delay taking the issue to the United Nations Security Council for sanctions.

President Bush repeated three times this afternoon that he had no intention of attacking North Korea — an effort, it seemed, both to give the North a security guarantee and ease a diplomatically embarrassing difference with South Korea and Japan over how to handle the crisis.

"I'll repeat that," Mr. Bush told reporters after a cabinet meeting today to start off a new year of domestic and international initiatives. "We have no intention of invading North Korea."

Only a week ago, as Mr. Bush vacationed in Texas, his aides were saying they would support the atomic energy agency in taking the issue straight to the Security Council, which would then consider economic penalties.

Now that approach appears to have been reconsidered. In recent days, some senior officials have warned that penalties could prompt a military response from the North — just as the administration is preparing forces for the Persian Gulf.

Tonight, as Tuesday unfolded in North Korea, its government warned of exactly that. "Sanctions mean a war and the war knows no mercy," the official Korean Central News Agency said. "The U.S. should opt for dialogue" with North Korea, it added, "not for war, clearly aware that it will have to pay a very high price for such reckless acts." The statement echoed a similar warning to the Clinton administration in 1994.

Despite the apparent shift in approach by Mr. Bush, his aides said he would not budge on his refusal to talk to North Korea until it readmits inspectors and refreezes its nuclear programs.

A senior South Korean official criticized that approach today, saying: "Talk is essential here. How do we know what the North will say until there is some dialogue with the United States?"

North Korea is only one of a number of issues that the president confronts as he approaches his second anniversary in office.

Israel's announcement that it would bar Palestinian officials from traveling to London for talks on the Middle East later this month complicated his effort to show that some progress is being made on those issues even as he heads toward a military confrontation with Iraq.

Pakistan continued its arguments over whether American forces could pursue suspected members of Al Qaeda into its territory, once again calling into question the administration's claim that the country has been a full partner in its effort against terror.

While Mr. Bush planned to use the next few weeks to make the case for action to remove Saddam Hussein of Iraq from power, one leader of the inspection teams admitted that nothing incriminating had yet been found — and some allies began to question whether there was enough evidence yet to build a coalition for military action. "We haven't yet seen any smoking gun," the head of the atomic energy agency, Dr. Mohamed ElBaradei, said in Vienna. He said laboratory tests of samples taken at sites visited by his inspectors — presumably guided by some American intelligence data — "have not raised any eyebrows."

Such assessments only complicate the issue for Mr. Bush, as he faces the question of how — and whether — to make the case in the Council in the next few weeks that Iraq remains in violation of its resolutions, and that military action is required.

North Korea's actions in recent months have been far more provocative than Iraq's. In October, it acknowledged a secret program to enrich uranium, violating its 1994 agreement with the United States. The Bush administration and its allies responded by cutting off oil shipments. And in December, the North disabled cameras, broke seals and ejected inspectors at a nuclear plant capable of producing weapons-grade plutonium.

Its flagrant violation of its nuclear commitments has put Mr. Bush in the position of arguing that Mr. Hussein, who is letting inspectors move freely even as he rails that they are gathering "intelligence," poses a more imminent threat to world security than North Korea. The North is believed to already possess two nuclear weapons and could reprocess its stockpile of spent nuclear fuel rods to produce enough plutonium for five or six additional nuclear weapons by this summer, the Central Intelligence Agency estimates.

"Part of the reason that we don't want to get North Korea's problems in front of the Security Council too quickly," one senior official suggested today, "is that the other Security Council members will be overwhelmed by too many problems at once. And these problems are different enough that you don't want one polluting the other."

At the United Nations, American diplomats say Mr. Bush has not yet decided whether to return to the Security Council to seek a second resolution authorizing war against Iraq. They concede, as Dr. ElBaradei seemed to suggest today, that the weapons inspections in the country are not yet far enough along to produce evidence that would convince skeptical Council nations that Iraq cannot be disarmed peacefully. Even Jack Straw, the British foreign minister, suggested today that it would be helpful to secure broad Security Council support for any military action — though he stopped short of saying that should be a prerequisite for a strike.

France, China and Russia, three of the other four permanent veto-bearing members of the Council, insist on a second debate and vote before they will support any military action against Baghdad. They contend that this second step is laid out in Resolution 1441, which was adopted unanimously in November to start the weapons inspections.

Top State Department officials are inclined to go for a second vote, one official there said. In December Secretary of State Colin L. Powell denounced the omissions in Iraq's declaration of its arms programs as a "material breach" of Council resolutions. But if the weapons inspectors do not uncover any secret weapons programs, American officials have little choice but to wait for a broad progress report that Dr. ElBaradei and Hans Blix, the chief United Nations inspectors, will give the Council on Jan. 27.

Mr. Bush plans to make the case, aides say, that the inspectors' failure to find evidence only proves Mr. Hussein's cleverness as an adversary — that he has spent the past four years hiding evidence of his weapons of mass

destruction. Today Mr. Bush pressed his case anew, describing Mr. Hussein as "a threat to our friends and neighbors in the Middle East," though he did not describe Kim Jong Il of North Korea as a threat to American allies in Asia. Over the next few days, the White House's diplomatic focus will shift back to North Korea. At a meeting planned for Tuesday among senior Japanese, South Korea and American officials, South Korea is expected to present a compromise proposal under which the United States and North Korea would make reciprocal moves — the former toward a nonaggression pact and aid, the latter toward nuclear commitments.

But today, Ari Fleischer, Mr. Bush's spokesman, said the issue was not who moved first, but the North's track record of going back on its agreements. "South Korea was in the midst of its 'sunshine policy,'" he said, "when North Korea was setting the sun on its word."

<http://www.nytimes.com/2003/01/07/international/asia/07PREX.html>

Washington Post

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Pg. 8

N. Korea Warned By Nuclear Agency

U.N. Watchdog Offers 'One Last Chance'

By Peter Finn, Washington Post Foreign Service

VIENNA, Jan. 6 -- The U.N. nuclear watchdog today gave North Korea "one last chance" to abandon its plans to build nuclear weapons.

The ultimatum, from the International Atomic Energy Agency, followed a resolution by its board, including Russia and China, deploring Pyongyang's "unilateral acts" and pointedly rejecting its attempts to depict the crisis as a standoff with the United States.

Leaving open the possibility of further diplomatic maneuvering in coming weeks, the agency declined to send the matter immediately to the U.N. Security Council, which can authorize punitive measures against North Korea. Instead, the agency said North Korea, which expelled nuclear monitors last month and dismantled U.N. equipment monitoring its ability to produce weapons-grade plutonium, must "urgently" resume compliance with its obligations under international agreements. And the agency's director general warned there would be no negotiation with North Korea on its economic and security concerns until the impoverished but heavily armed country makes the first move to end its "nuclear brinkmanship."

"Compliance and not defiance is the way toward a solution," Mohamed ElBaradei, director general of the agency, said at a news conference after an emergency session of the 35-nation board of governors. "The international community is not ready to negotiate under blackmail, under threat. . . . I hope [North Korea] will seize this opportunity."

Today's resolution, which was faxed to the North Korean Foreign Ministry, called on the country to give up "any nuclear weapons program expeditiously and in a verifiable manner." ElBaradei said he expected North Korea to meet with U.N. officials immediately and to comply with its obligations under international accords in a matter of weeks. Otherwise, he said, the matter automatically would be turned over to the Security Council.

The decision not to impose a strict deadline for compliance or to refer the matter to the Security Council immediately was also an attempt to buy time, diplomats here said. And the latest escape hatch for North Korea reflected the international community's uncertainty about how to effectively sanction the isolated and erratic leadership of a country that, unlike Iraq, is in a position to unleash a massive military barrage against its neighbors. "It would not be prudent to push them into a corner or to put a noose around their necks," said a senior U.N. official, echoing fears here that North Korea would be a far deadlier adversary than Iraq if pushed to the brink.

But North Korea, which faced a similar if less formal resolution last November, so far has shown no sign it will negotiate. And today, North Korea again threatened the United States.

"If the U.S. unleashes a nuclear war on the Korean Peninsula, it will not escape its destruction," said the official Korean Central News Agency, echoing persistent statements from North Korea that it faces a specific threat from the United States that has spawned the current crisis.

In Washington, the Bush administration welcomed the atomic energy agency's resolution calling on North Korea to comply with its obligations.

"The president views this as the appropriate course of action," said Ari Fleischer, a spokesman for President Bush. "The nations involved in this decision today are very broad. . . . It takes a lot of work to get condemned by Iran and Cuba, and North Korea has done it."

A senior U.S. diplomat said the merit of today's resolution was that it firmly elevated the crisis beyond a bilateral dispute while allowing North Korea to retreat.

"We had a clear affirmation of international concern," the U.S. diplomat said. "What North Korea has done is really corrosive. For the first time in history a state has dismantled the safeguard system."

In talks with U.S. officials in October, North Korea admitted that it had a program to enrich uranium for nuclear weapons, a violation of a 1994 agreement with the United States in which the country pledged to freeze a nuclear program that could be exploited for weapons. In exchange, an international consortium agreed to provide fuel oil to North Korea and build safe atomic reactors to meet its energy needs.

The United States, in response to North Korea's admission, secured consortium consent to suspend the oil deliveries. North Korea then announced that it was lifting the freeze on its nuclear facilities, expelled U.N. inspectors and removed surveillance equipment.

"We are seriously concerned by the recent developments regarding Pyongyang's decision to lift the 'freeze' on its nuclear facilities," said Grigory V. Berdennikov, the Russian ambassador here.

But both Russia and China, while endorsing today's condemnation, also called for dialogue between the United States and North Korea as a necessary step to defuse the crisis.

"Aggressive rhetoric and threats, and especially efforts to isolate [North Korea], could only lead to further escalation of tensions," said Berdennikov, in comments clearly directed at the Bush administration.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A19379-2003Jan6.html>

USA Today
January 7, 2003
Pg. 7

Kuwait, Fearing Attack, Asks For Smallpox Vaccine

By Richard Willing, USA Today

Kuwait is seeking smallpox vaccine to guard its citizens against a possible biological attack by Iraq, Kuwait's ambassador to the United States said Monday.

Kuwait's government, an ally of the USA, believes Iraq might launch a biological attack as a reprisal if the American military takes action against Iraq.

"We have had a request to the CDC (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention) for about three months to supply the needed vaccines," Salem Abdullah Al-Jaber Al-Sabah said in a meeting with USA TODAY editors and reporters. "We are still waiting to hear."

The news was the surest sign yet that Kuwait, an oil-rich nation of 800,000 on Iraq's southeast border, believes the United Nations' weapons inspection program in Iraq could fail to deter war.

A spokesman for the CDC, Llewellyn Grant, said he was unable to immediately confirm the request had been received. He said his agency's focus has been on acquiring enough vaccine to inoculate Americans. Last month, President Bush announced plans to vaccinate about 500,000 members of the U.S. military and to offer vaccination this month to 450,000 to 500,000 public health and hospital staffers.

Iraq occupied Kuwait from August 1990 until February 1991. A U.S.-led military coalition expelled the Iraqis after a six-week war. More than 15,000 U.S. troops are stationed in Kuwait, which could be a staging area for any invasion of Iraq.

The ambassador also said:

*War in Iraq is not "inevitable," but "time is running out" for Iraq to comply with United Nations' requirements to end any programs to build biological, chemical or nuclear weapons.

*Most Kuwaitis are pro-American. Two incidents last October and November, in which one American soldier was shot dead and three others wounded by Kuwaitis, were "terribly unfortunate" aberrations.

*Most anti-American sentiment among Arabs is caused by America's ongoing support for Israel in its conflict with the Palestinians.

"We would have preferred the Palestinian question to be resolved or at least a peace process put on track before dealing with Iraq," Al-Sabah said. "But perhaps President Bush is correct and that dealing with Iraq first will strengthen America's hand ... with respect to the Palestinians."

<http://www.usatoday.com/usatoday/20030107/4756951s.htm>

Newport News Daily Press

January 4, 2003

Micro-Defense: Deploying Langley Airmen Get Anthrax Vaccinations

By R.W. Rogers, Daily Press

LANGLEY AIR FORCE BASE -- Chief Master Sgt. Frank Washburn didn't hesitate as the needle filled with anthrax vaccine sank into his waiting arm.

"No, absolutely not - I would not leave home without getting this shot," said Washburn, who works in the logistics section for the Air Combat Command but who will soon be plying his trade in a place the Air Force euphemistically calls "SWA" - for Southwest Asia. Most civilians know it as the Mideast.

Washburn is one of hundreds of Langley airmen leaving within the next few days for parts unspecified and length of time unknown. Suffice it to say that they're part of a U.S. military buildup intended to knock Iraqi President Saddam Hussein from power, one way or another.

Although none of the airmen getting predeployment shots Friday said he would rather battle Iraqi troops than stay home, the airmen did express a willingness to do what they're asked to do.

"For the most part, everyone I've talked to said they're ready to go," Tech. Sgt. Ronald Osborne said. He's a medical technician whose wife is also in the Air Force.

"There is some nervousness - questions about what Saddam might do," said Osborne, 41. "But we have been prepared for this."

The Air Force is preparing its airmen by giving them a regimen of shots to combat anthrax, various strains of hepatitis, tetanus and diphtheria.

Weaponized anthrax is the biggest concern, said Col. Jim Hougas, commander of the 1st Aerospace Medical Squadron.

That's because, he said, its spores can lie dormant for decades until inhaled.

Once in the lungs, the spores multiply rapidly but cause few symptoms until it's too late. Death results from respiratory failure.

The military had a plan to immunize all service members.

But it wasn't universally embraced, and some troops went so far as to face court-martial, instead of taking the shots.

The plan was largely discontinued in 1999 because of problems in producing the vaccine.

This fall, deploying airmen began again getting anthrax shots - a full cycle that consists of six shots taken over 18 months.

A yearly booster shot is required after that.

In the post-Sept. 11, pre-Saddam-showdown world, anthrax shots aren't meeting much resistance.

"It's a very pleasant surprise," Hougas said.

"We've had no one formally refuse the anthrax shot."

<http://www.dailypress.com/news/local/dp-26115sy0jan04.story>

Washington Post

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Pg. 6

Bush Has No Ill Effects From Smallpox Shot

By Associated Press

President Bush has shown no ill effects from a smallpox vaccination he received more than two weeks ago, his spokesman said yesterday.

On Dec. 13, Bush directed as many as 500,000 U.S. troops to get smallpox vaccinations as part of an effort to guard against bioterrorism. He promised to get the shot himself, though he said his family would not be inoculated because the risk of a domestic attack did not justify it.

He was vaccinated on Dec. 21, before leaving the White House for a holiday respite at Camp David and at his ranch in Texas.

"The president has not had any adverse reactions," White House press secretary Ari Fleischer said.

Experts estimate that 15 out of every 1 million people vaccinated for the first time will face life-threatening complications, and one or two will die. Reactions are less common for those being revaccinated, as Bush was.

Normally the window in which symptoms would appear is about eight to 10 days long.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A19483-2003Jan6.html>