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Bush Case On Defense Plan Cites N. Korea

By Bill Gertz, The Washington Times

President Bush specifically names North Korea as a key threat in an unpublished order on missile defense and says such a system is needed as a hedge against military surprises and intelligence failures.

Mr. Bush also says in the presidential order, known as National Security Presidential Directive-23, that his administration will develop a strategic "triad" of long-range conventional and nuclear weapons, missile defenses, and an industrial and research infrastructure.

"Some states, such as North Korea, are aggressively pursuing the development of weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles as a means of coercing the United States and our allies," the directive says.

The White House released a "fact sheet" on the directive May 20, but it made no reference to North Korea, in an apparent effort to avoid upsetting the communist regime and continue talks on Pyongyang's nuclear programs.

The directive was signed by Mr. Bush on Dec. 16 but kept secret until last week.

A copy of the full six-page directive to top national-security officials was obtained by The Washington Times. The unclassified directive is signed "George W. Bush."

The document says the missile-defense system to be fielded next year and in 2005 will include a combination of ground-based missile interceptors, sea-based interceptors and Patriot PAC-3 systems, as well as sensors on land, sea and in space.

"In addition, the United States will seek permission respectively from the [United Kingdom] and Denmark to upgrade early warning radar in Fylingdales and Thule, Greenland, as part of our capability," the directive says.

Radar in Britain and Denmark also was not mentioned in the White House fact sheet, apparently in an effort to avoid arousing missile-defense opponents in those nations.

A White House spokeswoman had no immediate comment on why the directive was kept secret or why the details mentioned in the directive were omitted from the fact sheet.

The systems to be deployed for advanced missile defense include additional ground-based and sea-based interceptors, deployment of the Army's Theater High-Altitude Area Defense, and the Air Force's Airborne Laser systems.

Missile defenses also will include "a family of boost-phase and midcourse hit-to-kill interceptors based on sea-, air- and ground-based platforms," the directive says. It also mentions enhanced sensors and the development and testing of space-based defenses.

North Korea is a key reason Mr. Bush ordered the rushed deployment of missile defenses by next year. The first missile interceptor base is being built in Alaska as an emergency measure to blunt North Korea's threat of an attack.

North Korea conducted flight-tests of a missile capable of reaching the United States in 1998 and in October announced that it was abandoning a 1994 agreement that was supposed to have halted its nuclear-weapons program.

The Bush administration held talks with North Korea last month in Beijing and is expected to hold another round of discussions on Pyongyang's nuclear arms program next month.

The directive says past military surprises and intelligence failures highlight the need to build a system capable of intercepting missiles.

"Finally, history teaches that, despite our best efforts, there will be military surprises, failures of diplomacy, intelligence and deterrence," the directive says. "Missile defenses help provide protection against such events."

There was no mention of military surprises or intelligence and diplomatic failures in the fact sheet made public May 20.

The U.S. intelligence community failed to anticipate the first North Korean test of a Taepo Dong missile in August 1998. The CIA had stated in an estimate several months before the test that no nation other than the acknowledged nuclear powers would be able to hit the United States with a missile for at least 15 years.

Regarding the new strategic triad, Mr. Bush said traditional methods of deterring threats from missiles and weapons of mass destruction are difficult.

New enemies will try to force the United States "out of their region, leaving them free to support terrorism and to pursue aggression."

"By their own calculations, these leaders may believe they can do this by holding a few of our cities hostage," Mr. Bush said. "In recognition of these new threats, I have directed that the United States must make progress in fielding a new triad of capabilities, missile defenses and a robust industrial research and development infrastructure."
The strategic triad during the Cold War was composed of three nuclear-weapons carriers: land-based launchers, airborne bombers and submarines.

According to the directive, the United States will begin deploying an "evolutionary" missile-defense system next year that will be improved and expanded over time.

Mr. Bush says in the directive that because the system will evolve, the secretary of defense "shall update me and propose changes" as needed.

The directive also says the United States will build defenses capable of protecting both itself and its allies.

It orders the secretaries of defense and state to "promote international missile defense cooperation" within military alliances such as NATO. It also calls for the removal of blocks to cooperation with other nations and orders the two secretaries to issue a report by next month on ways to improve technology-sharing with allies.

"This review will be a related but distinct part of the broader effort to update and strengthen all U.S. export controls, as called for in the National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction," the president says.

The president also ordered the secretaries of defense and state to review the restrictions on shared missile technology under the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). A report on any recommended policy changes on how the United States controls missile goods and technology is to be written before the end of next month.

"The new strategic challenges of the 21st century require us to think differently, but they also require us to act," Mr. Bush says. "The deployment of effective missile defenses is an essential element of the United States' broader efforts to transform our defense and deterrence policies and capabilities to meet the new threats we face. Defense of the American people against these new threats is my highest priority as commander in chief, and the highest priority of my administration."

http://www.washtimes.com/national/20030527-124651-5190r.htm

For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
May 20, 2003

National Policy on Ballistic Missile Defense Fact Sheet

Restructuring our defense and deterrence capabilities to correspond to emerging threats remains one of the Administration's highest priorities, and the deployment of missile defenses is an essential component of this broader effort.

Changed Security Environment

As the events of September 11 demonstrated, the security environment is more complex and less predictable than in the past. We face growing threats from weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the hands of states or non-state actors, threats that range from terrorism to ballistic missiles intended to intimidate and coerce us by holding the U.S. and our friends and allies hostage to WMD attack.

Hostile states, including those that sponsor terrorism, are investing large resources to develop and acquire ballistic missiles of increasing range and sophistication that could be used against the United States and our friends and allies. These same states have chemical, biological, and/or nuclear weapons programs. In fact, one of the factors that make long-range ballistic missiles attractive as a delivery vehicle for weapons of mass destruction is that the United States and our allies lack effective defenses against this threat.

The contemporary and emerging missile threat from hostile states is fundamentally different from that of the Cold War and requires a different approach to deterrence and new tools for defense. The strategic logic of the past may not apply to these new threats, and we cannot be wholly dependent on our capability to deter them. Compared to the Soviet Union, their leaderships often are more risk prone. These are leaders that also see WMD as weapons of choice, not of last resort. Weapons of mass destruction are their most lethal means to compensate for our conventional strength and to allow them to pursue their objectives through force, coercion, and intimidation.

Deterring these threats will be difficult. There are no mutual understandings or reliable lines of communication with these states. Our new adversaries seek to keep us out of their region, leaving them free to support terrorism and to pursue aggression against their neighbors. By their own calculations, these leaders may believe they can do this by holding a few of our cities hostage. Our adversaries seek enough destructive capability to blackmail us from coming to the assistance of our friends who would then become the victims of aggression.

Some states are aggressively pursuing the development of weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles as a means of coercing the United States and our allies. To deter such threats, we must devalue missiles as tools of
extortion and aggression, undermining the confidence of our adversaries that threatening a missile attack would succeed in blackmailing us. In this way, although missile defenses are not a replacement for an offensive response capability, they are an added and critical dimension of contemporary deterrence. Missile defenses will also help to assure allies and friends, and to dissuade countries from pursuing ballistic missiles in the first instance by undermining their military utility.

National Missile Defense Act of 1999
On July 22, 1999, the National Missile Defense Act of 1999 (Public Law 106-38) was signed into law. This law states, "It is the policy of the United States to deploy as soon as is technologically possible an effective National Missile Defense system capable of defending the territory of the United States against limited ballistic missile attack (whether accidental, unauthorized, or deliberate) with funding subject to the annual authorization of appropriations and the annual appropriation of funds for National Missile Defense." The Administration's program on missile defense is fully consistent with this policy.

Missile Defense Program
At the outset of this Administration, the President directed his Administration to examine the full range of available technologies and basing modes for missile defenses that could protect the United States, our deployed forces, and our friends and allies. Our policy is to develop and deploy, at the earliest possible date, ballistic missile defenses drawing on the best technologies available.

The Administration has also eliminated the artificial distinction between "national" and "theater" missile defenses. The defenses we will develop and deploy must be capable of not only defending the United States and our deployed forces, but also friends and allies; The distinction between theater and national defenses was largely a product of the ABM Treaty and is outmoded. For example, some of the systems we are pursuing, such as boost-phase defenses, are inherently capable of intercepting missiles of all ranges, blurring the distinction between theater and national defenses; and The terms "theater" and "national" are interchangeable depending on the circumstances, and thus are not a meaningful means of categorizing missile defenses. For example, some of the systems being pursued by the United States to protect deployed forces are capable of defending the entire national territory of some friends and allies, thereby meeting the definition of a "national" missile defense system.

Building on previous missile defense work, over the past year and a half, the Defense Department has pursued a robust research, development, testing, and evaluation program designed to develop layered defenses capable of intercepting missiles of varying ranges in all phases of flight. The testing regimen employed has become increasingly stressing, and the results of recent tests have been impressive.

Fielding Missile Defenses
In light of the changed security environment and progress made to date in our development efforts, the United States plans to begin deployment of a set of missile defense capabilities in 2004. These capabilities will serve as a starting point for fielding improved and expanded missile defense capabilities later.

We are pursuing an evolutionary approach to the development and deployment of missile defenses to improve our defenses over time. The United States will not have a final, fixed missile defense architecture. Rather, we will deploy an initial set of capabilities that will evolve to meet the changing threat and to take advantage of technological developments. The composition of missile defenses, to include the number and location of systems deployed, will change over time.

In August 2002, the Administration proposed an evolutionary way ahead for the deployment of missile defenses. The capabilities planned for operational use in 2004 and 2005 will include ground-based interceptors, sea-based interceptors, additional Patriot (PAC-3) units, and sensors based on land, at sea, and in space. In addition, the United States will work with allies to upgrade key early-warning radars as part of our capabilities.

Under our approach, these capabilities may be improved through additional measures such as:

- Deployment of additional ground- and sea-based interceptors, and Patriot (PAC-3) units; Initial deployment of the THAAD and Airborne Laser systems; Development of a family of boost-phase and midcourse hit-to-kill interceptors based on sea-, air-, and ground-based platforms; Enhanced sensor capabilities; and Development and testing of space-based defenses.

The Defense Department will begin to implement this approach and will move forward with plans to deploy a set of initial missile defense capabilities beginning in 2004.

Cooperation with Friends and Allies
Because the threats of the 21st century also endanger our friends and allies around the world, it is essential that we work together to defend against these threats. Missile defense cooperation will be a feature of U.S. relations with close, long-standing allies, and an important means to build new relationships with new friends like Russia.

Consistent with these goals:
The U.S. will develop and deploy missile defenses capable of protecting not only the United States and our deployed forces, but also friends and allies; We will also structure the missile defense program in a manner that encourages industrial participation by friends and allies, consistent with overall U.S. national security; and We will also promote international missile defense cooperation, including within bilateral and alliance structures such as NATO.

As part of our efforts to deepen missile defense cooperation with friends and allies, the United States will seek to eliminate impediments to such cooperation. We will review existing policies and practices governing technology sharing and cooperation on missile defense, including U.S. export control regulations and statutes, with this aim in mind.

The goal of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) is to help reduce the global missile threat by curbing the flow of missiles and related technology to proliferators. The MTCR and missile defenses play complementary roles in countering the global missile threat. The United States intends to implement the MTCR in a manner that does not impede missile defense cooperation with friends and allies.

Conclusion

The new strategic challenges of the 21st century require us to think differently, but they also require us to act. The deployment of effective missile defenses is an essential element of the United States' broader efforts to transform our defense and deterrence policies and capabilities to meet the new threats we face. Defending the American people against these new threats is the Administration's highest priority.


USA Today
May 27, 2003
Pg. 8

General: 'Just Matter Of Time' Before Banned Arms Found

The chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff said Monday that its "just a matter of time" before U.S. military forces find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. "Given the number of prisoners now that we're interrogating, I'm confident that we're going to find weapons of mass destruction," Air Force Gen. Richard Myers said. He said that U.S. forces have found two of the mobile weapons laboratories that Secretary of State Colin Powell cited in a United Nations presentation to justify the war. However, little else has been found to support the U.S. claim that Iraq had chemical and biological weapons and was developing nuclear weapons. Myers was interviewed Monday on ABC and NBC news programs. Also:

*A team of international experts is in Iraq inspecting the mobile labs that U.S. officials say were used to manufacture banned weapons.
*U.N. nuclear inspectors were preparing to return to Iraq to assess damage at the Tuweitha nuclear facility, which was looted by nearby villagers. U.S. officials say some of the radioactive material that inspectors were monitoring before the war at the site south of Baghdad are missing.

Los Angeles Times
May 27, 2003

Experts Inspecting Mobile Labs, Nuclear Center In Iraq

By Associated Press

BAGHDAD — A team of international experts is visiting Iraq to inspect mobile labs that U.S. officials believe were part of a biological weapons program, a top U.S. military commander said Monday.

Meanwhile, U.N. nuclear inspectors were preparing to return to the country to conduct a damage assessment of Iraq's largest nuclear facility.

The Tuwaitha nuclear research center was looted by villagers who took barrels thought to have stored radioactive material. They put drinking water in them, and some villagers have become ill.
Mark Gwozdecky, spokesman for the International Atomic Energy Agency, said a small team would try to determine what happened to materials the agency had monitored at the site since the end of the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Inspectors will "determine what is missing and what it will take to recapture that material and ultimately repackage it and reseal it," he said.

Col. Tim Madere of the Army's V Corps said last week that 20% of the barrels the IAEA had been monitoring at Tuwaitha were missing.

Another team of experts invited by Washington to inspect the labs arrived Saturday, Madere said. The first trailer was seized near Mosul on April 19. The second was found May 9 at Al Kindi, a former missile research facility.


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London Sunday Telegraph
May 25, 2003
Pg. 28

**Britain Finds Iraq's 'Smoking Gun': A Topsecret Missile**

*Deposed dictator was supervising a system able to deliver weapons of mass destruction anywhere in the Middle East*

By Con Coughlin, in Baghdad

British military officers have uncovered an attempt by Saddam Hussein to build a missile capable of hitting targets throughout the Middle East, including Israel, The Sunday Telegraph can reveal.

Plans for the surface-to-surface missile were one of the regime's most closely-guarded secrets and were unknown to United Nations weapons inspectors. Its range of 600 miles would have been far greater than that of the al-Samoud rocket - which already breached the 93-mile limit imposed by the UN on any Iraqi missiles.

Saddam's masterplan for the new missile, which was being developed by Iraq's Military Industrialisation Commission (MIC), the body responsible for weapons procurement, constitutes the most serious breach uncovered so far of the tight restrictions imposed on Iraq's military capability after the 1991 Gulf war. The range of Saddam's missiles was restricted to prevent him from using them as a delivery system for weapons of mass destruction.

David Kay, the former United Nations weapons inspector responsible for dismantling Iraq's nuclear weapons programme in the 1990s, said the British discovery proved that Saddam had no intention of complying with UN requirements.

"This is the smoking gun we have been looking for," he said. "We have known all along that Saddam was desperate to develop a delivery system for his mass destruction weapons, and this missile would undoubtedly have given him that capability."

Details of Saddam's secret missile programme were discovered by British weapons experts after interviews with several former senior officials of the MIC.

Gen Mudh'her Sadeq Sabe'a, the head of missile technology at the MIC, was in charge of the development programme, which began in 1999. Once a week Gen Mudh'her and Abdul Tawib Mulla Hawish, the minister responsible for the MIC, would travel to the presidential palace in Baghdad to deliver a progress report to Saddam, who is said to have taken a keen personal interest in the project.

Mr Hawish surrendered to coalition forces shortly after the war and has provided British officials with a detailed breakdown of Saddam's plans to manufacture the weapon.

The rocket motor was to be built at the Abu Ghraib military base, the main fuselage at al-Waziriyah and the navigation system at al-Taji. "We had finished the research stage and entered the development stage," said a senior Iraqi engineer who worked at the MIC and is now co-operating with British officials. "If it had not been for the war, development would have been completed within a year."

Iraqi officials insist that the missile was intended to carry a conventional warhead, but British weapons experts believe it could easily have been adapted to carry chemical or biological weapons.

The Iraqis say that the missile's main purpose would have been to protect Iraq from attack by neighbouring countries. However, it could also have been used to attack Israel. During the Gulf war Saddam launched Soviet-made Scud missiles at targets in Israel.

The discovery of the plans for Saddam's secret missile programme is being hailed as a significant breakthrough by coalition commanders, who have so far failed to find any convincing evidence of Saddam's weapons of mass destruction programme.
Group Says Iran Has 2 Undisclosed Nuclear Laboratories
By Sheryl Gay Stolberg
WASHINGTON, May 26 — An Iranian opposition group said today that it had evidence of two previously undisclosed uranium enrichment facilities west of Tehran — information that, if proven, might add to the Bush administration's argument that Iran is violating its commitment not to produce nuclear weapons.

The group, the National Council of Resistance of Iran, an umbrella for Iranian opposition organizations, said the facilities were two small laboratories that operate as satellite plants to a larger nuclear facility in Natanz, in central Iran. The group said the facilities were discovered by the People's Mujahedeen, a resistance group that brought the Natanz plant to the attention of international weapons inspectors.

"The Iranian regime is working on other outlets to circumvent international supervision and international monitoring," a council official, Ali Safavi, said in an interview. He said one site had already installed several centrifuges for processing uranium, and called on international inspectors to scrutinize the facilities.

"This organization has been extremely on the mark in the past," said a senior United Nations official who is familiar with the situation in Iran, adding, "They are a group that seems to be privy to very solid and insider information." However, People's Mujahedeen has stirred some controversy within the Bush administration. In a gesture toward Iran, the administration has classified the organization as a terrorist group. However, American military officials have also signed a cease-fire with People's Mujahedeen fighters based in Iraq.

Iran has insisted that its intention is to make fuel for a civilian nuclear power program. But in recent months American officials have grown increasingly concerned that Iran is developing a secret nuclear weapons program in violation of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, which it has signed.

Administration officials are now trying to build international support for an official finding from the International Atomic Energy Agency, the branch of the United Nations that monitors peaceful nuclear programs.

Mr. Safavi said his organization, which plans to make its information public on Tuesday, had already provided details to the atomic energy agency, whose board is meeting in June at agency headquarters in Vienna to review Iran's compliance with the treaty.

A spokeswoman for the agency, Melissa Fleming, declined to comment on the People's Mujahedeen's allegations. "We are not commenting at all on the situation in Iran because we are in the midst of a very sensitive inspection," she said. "We are going there. We are taking samples and we are doing analysis."

The State Department also declined comment. An independent expert, Gary Milhollin, director of The Wisconsin Project, an arms control research group, said, "I think the Bush administration ought to take it seriously." "They ought to ask the I.A.E.A. to ask Iran for either a denial or a confirmation," he said, "and if the Iranians confirm it, then the I.A.E.A. ought to ask to be allowed to see both sites."

In the interview today, Mr. Safavi said the two laboratories were intended to function as a backup to the Natanz site in case that facility were to come under military attack. "These sites will allow the mullahs to continue their uranium weapons production," he said, describing them as "smaller, dispersed sites used for uranium enrichment."

The two laboratories, Mr. Safavi said, are both in the Hasthgerd region, near Karaj, about 25 miles west of Tehran. He said construction at the sites began in 2000 under strict security.

Mr. Safavi also provided a list of eight businesses that he described as "front companies" set up by the Atomic Energy Organization, the branch of the Iranian government that oversees nuclear activities, to conduct secret weapons work.

Mr. Milhollin, the arms control expert, said it would make sense for Iran to build satellite nuclear facilities, "because of the risk that Israel or somebody else could bomb the sites that are known."

But he said it might be difficult for the Bush administration to prove that the Iranian program violates the nuclear nonproliferation pact. The pact requires that countries make their nuclear sites available to international inspectors, but disclosure is not required until the sites contain the fissile material that explodes in nuclear weapons. Countries that are in the early stages of building nuclear facilities can legally keep those sites secret.

Ft. Detrick Unearths Hazardous Surprises

Cleanup Finds Debris Of Biological Warfare

By Elizabeth Williamson, Washington Post Staff Writer

Two years of digging at the U.S. Army's Fort Detrick in Frederick has unearthed more than 2,000 tons of hazardous waste -- including vials of live bacteria and nonvirulent anthrax that the military did not know was buried there, Detrick officials said.

Discovery of the pathogens at the former biological weapons research center turned what the Army thought would be industrial waste removal into the biggest cleanup in its history. So far, cleanup crews have discovered more than 100 glass vials, many containing live bacteria, and in a few, a nonvirulent strain of anthrax. The $25 million excavation is due to end this year.

While the Army searches for evidence of biological and chemical weapons in Iraq, Fort Detrick's cleanup saga shows how, nearly 40 years after the United States ended such programs at home, it still struggles with their lingering dangers. As in the Middle East, poor documentation, the passage of time and the programs' secrecy have slowed the effort.

"You find it, contain it and try to figure out what it is," said Col. John Ball, Fort Detrick garrison commander. "We're learning, but it's expensive."

In the tall grass off Kemp Lane in Frederick, deer leap, white tails flashing, and cows graze nearby. When the animals die, they are autopsied as a precaution. This is Area B, a 400-acre site that hosted Fort Detrick's target range, cropland and, in its southwest corner, a network of waste pits. Inside a specially pressurized and filtered vinyl tent, workers in biohazard suits empty the dump of its Cold War trash and secrets.

"There's a certain time capsule effect," Ball said.

Inside the tent, bulldozers operate under blast shields, as pit contents periodically ignite. The crew breathes through air hoses. The site is quarantined for two hours at the end of each working day, while the tent's air is tested for pathogens.

When digging began in April 2001, the Army expected to find mostly lab chemicals, debris and incinerator ash. But little more than one foot down, the bulldozers hit upon corroded drums of herbicides and unknown chemicals, syringes, lab instruments and strange substances mixed with the dirt. They plucked out 50 pressurized cylinders of gases and liquids that still await analysis. Four dissected laboratory rats appeared, still floating in jars of formaldehyde at least 30 years old.

But what the Army least expected to find were tiny vials of live bacteria like Brucella melitensis, Klebsiella pneumoniae and Bacillus anthracis -- a nonvirulent form of the anthrax bacterium, the potent form of which was brewed by the gallon at Fort Detrick until 1969.

"The documentation for where this came from doesn't exist," said Lt. Col. Donald Archibald, Fort Detrick's director of safety, environment and integrated planning. After larger objects are removed, the soil and waste are pulverized, and throughout the process, they are doused with bleach to kill all bacteria. After testing for pathogens, it is sent in sealed containers to a disposal facility in Texas.

The few documents that exist say Fort Detrick used the dump from 1955 through the 1960s, while the post served on the front lines of the U.S. biological and chemical warfare program. During those years, technicians brewed a pastelike anthrax "slurry." Scientists sprayed germs into a giant sphere called "the Eightball," testing them on livestock and, occasionally, people. The Crops Division tested a key ingredient in the dangerous Vietnam-era defoliant known as Agent Orange: Traces of it have shown up in the dump.

Hubert Kaempf, 83, supervised Detrick's waste haulers during those years. "We had one of the finest safety departments in the world," he said. "But what was in keeping with safety and sanitary laws then would now be very much forbidden."

Some waste -- laboratory materials, animal carcasses -- was supposed to be sanitized, incinerated or both, and the ashes buried. Chemicals were dumped directly into the pits. From time to time, other government institutions sent trash to Detrick's landfill. They included, Kaempf said, the Central Intelligence Agency, which, a declassified government report shows, tested biological agents at Fort Detrick.

The pits had no linings, as Fort Detrick's landfill does now. There was no inventory done. Such precautions weren't required.
Then, in 1969, President Richard M. Nixon halted the weapons programs. Fort Detrick underwent a massive decontamination and became a conventional medical research center. Today, it houses the National Cancer Institute and the U.S. Army Medical Research Institute of Infectious Diseases (USAMRIID). "When Nixon shut us down," Kaempf said, "There was a lot of lab apparatus that was just dumped. Whatever records . . . I have no way of knowing where they went." In 1991, toxins turned up in Army monitoring wells near the dump. Tests showed trichloroethylene, or TCE, a metal-cleaning solvent linked to liver and kidney damage, and tetrachloroethylene, or PCE, a degreasing compound believed to cause liver cancer.

The Maryland Department of the Environment and the Frederick County Health Department tested 33 wells at homes near Area B. Half were contaminated with the two agents, six so badly the water was unfit to drink. In a few wells, concentrations of the two chemicals exceeded Environmental Protection Agency limits many times over. In an Army monitoring well nearest the dump, the chemicals were so concentrated, "you could smell it," said Joseph Gortva, an engineer who is managing the cleanup. The post paid to put homes with tainted wells on the city water system. It briefed politicians and posted detailed information on its Web site. It convened an advisory board of neighbors, former workers and businesspeople for public meetings every two months.

"They've been very open and honest," said Michael Kurtianyk, a real estate agent on the advisory board. "I was looking for something really secretive, but no."

Others aren't so sure. Said Helen Alexander, another member from Frederick: "We probably don't know all the ins and outs of what they actually found."

At one meeting in November 2000, the advisory board asked a representative from the Maryland Department of Health and Mental Hygiene whether the department could study cancer rates in the population living downhill from the dump from the 1960s through the 1980s. He replied, according to the minutes, "that it would be difficult because data from the Maryland Cancer Registry only goes back to 1992."

To secure Pentagon money for a cleanup, Detrick needed to estimate the size and scope of the project. Archivists located an old map of Area B, noting a series of four waste pits in a corner known as B-11. A soil test boring released a gas that sent several workers to the hospital for observation.

By the late 1990s, the restoration team had compiled thick binders with everything it knew. "We couldn't rule out that we might find biological material, though we didn't expect to," Archibald said. The Pentagon authorized a $5 million project. Digging began on the largest of the four main waste pits. Frederick Mayor Jennifer Dougherty, who had previously taken Fort Detrick to task about sharing information on the cleanup, remembered a phone call from Ball a year ago, the day the anthrax turned up. "He said, 'We found a vial . . . ' " she recalled. "At that point, your mind just races."

Ball remembered thinking, "This could be bad, but let's wait for the testing." It showed the vial contained "a vaccine strain of anthrax," which could not cause the disease. The Fort Detrick team found identifying biological materials a costly, uncertain process.

In a Restoration Advisory Board meeting Oct. 9, Ball "expressed his surprise at learning that the United States, being one of the most advanced technological nations in the world . . . does not have the ability to rapidly and accurately identify biological culture samples," meeting minutes noted.

Whether in Iraq or Frederick, "there's a body of science we rely on, but there's a lot of gray area," said Archibald, the safety director. "The more money you put into testing, the better the results."

As retrieving, identifying and destroying biological agents tripled the cleanup budget, the Pentagon balked, pressing to delay the digging. Ball and Maryland officials pushed for the funds needed to finish. Digging in the final three pits started this month and is expected to end by December. "I think today's Fort Detrick is a good neighbor," said Dougherty, the mayor.

Though a spokesman for the EPA said the groundwater contamination has reached acceptable levels, the Army estimates it will take four more years, and more money, to clean it completely. Meanwhile, Fort Detrick is searching for other uncharted dumps.

"You never know what's there until you start digging," Ball said. "We've generally ruled out finding a nuclear weapon."

*Researcher Bobbye Pratt contributed to this report.*

A New Eye On North Korea

The U.S. has acquired an important new asset in its diplomatic battle with North Korea over nuclear weapons. In what appears to be a major intelligence coup, the CIA last month recruited a foreign nuclear scientist who worked on North Korea's nuclear-weapons program, two U.S. officials and a foreign-government source tell TIME. The scientist has been relocated to the U.S. and has provided valuable information on the "location, degree of development in capabilities, where they are, how far along they are in developing multiple-weapons capability," a U.S. official said.

His information, it is hoped, will be especially valuable in the next round of talks with North Korea. Until now, American officials have been largely in the dark about North Korea's exact nuclear capabilities, especially since the country ejected international weapons inspectors and withdrew from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in January. The CIA, whose spokesman declined to comment, had earlier concluded that North Korea has developed at least two nuclear devices, U.S. officials say. But the scientist has helped confirm that the North Korean program is much further along than that. "It's one thing to make one or two," says the U.S. official. "It's another thing to have a process in place to make hundreds. They're on their way to be able to make hundreds within the next couple of years."

By Timothy J. Burger and Perry Bacon Jr.

Washington Times
May 24, 2003
Pg. 2

Terrorists Said To Eye Biological Arms

Pentagon tells Hill al Qaeda also seeks chemical weapons

By Associated Press

Osama bin Laden's terrorist network has been pursuing a sophisticated biological-weapons research program and is seeking chemical weapons, the Pentagon has told Congress. Other terrorist groups and dozens of countries also are pursuing chemical and biological weapons, which could be used in a regional conflict or terrorist attack, the military said in a report.

"The relative ease of producing some chemical or biological agents has increased concern that their use may become more attractive to terrorist groups intent on causing panic or inflicting large numbers of casualties," the Pentagon report said.

The report also said companies in Russia and China are the key suppliers of the know-how and equipment for countries like Iran trying to develop their own biological and chemical weapons. It said Iran and Syria have chemical weapons and may be trying to make biological weapons, and Libya is trying to make both.

Al Qaeda's interest in chemical, biological and nuclear weapons has long been known. Bin Laden has said Muslims have a religious duty to make and use weapons of mass destruction against Americans and Jews.

American forces in Afghanistan discovered documents and equipment showing often-crude attempts by the terrorist network to develop chemical weapons and strong interest in biological weapons. The Pentagon report, sent to Congress in April and disclosed in a news release late Thursday, is the first government document to say al Qaeda had a sophisticated biological-weapons development effort.

The Pentagon report does not offer any more details on that germ-weapons effort.

An FBI bulletin last month said the capture of al Qaeda operations chief Khalid Shaikh Mohammed provided fresh evidence of the terror network's experiments with chemical and biological weapons.

U.S. officials say al Qaeda is linked to several men arrested in London in conjunction with the discovery of traces of the biological toxin ricin. Officials say the men were part of Ansar al-Islam, an al Qaeda-linked group that operated out of northern Iraq before U.S. and Kurdish forces destroyed their headquarters during the war in Iraq.

While ricin is extremely deadly and has no antidote, it can be produced easily from the beans of the castor plant.
"The threat of terrorists obtaining and employing biological or chemical materials has increased" in the wake of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, the Pentagon report said. But the report also noted that creating ways to deliver such weapons to kill large numbers of people requires sophisticated technology that's beyond the reach of most terrorist groups and many countries. On the other hand, crude weapons could be made by "almost any nation or group." While unsophisticated weapons might kill only a few, "they could have significant operational repercussions due to the psychological impact created by fears" of chemicals or germs, the report said. The report says "entities in Russia and China" are the main suppliers of equipment and technology related to biological and chemical weapons. Russia, in particular, has been a source of equipment and expertise for Iran's chemical- and biological-weapons programs, it said. Iran has denied having chemical-, biological- or nuclear-weapons programs. The Pentagon report says Iran may have some biological-weapons stocks and has stockpiled chemical weapons. Syria also denies it has chemical or biological weapons. The Pentagon report says Syria has stockpiles of the nerve agent sarin and is seeking to make the more sophisticated nerve agent VX. The report also says Syria "is believed to be pursuing the development of biological weapons," but is not believed to have progressed beyond the research phase. The report says Libya also is trying to make biological and chemical weapons, but has not had much success.

USA Today
May 28, 2003
Pg. 1

Bugs, Weeds And Houseplants Could Join The War On Terror
By Mimi Hall, USA Today

When June Medford came up with the idea to use tiny weeds as weapons in the war against terrorism, she figured most people would call it a joke. But the federal government didn't laugh. Now, armed with a half million-dollar grant from the Pentagon, the Colorado State University plant biologist is trying to genetically engineer Arabidopsis plants to change color rapidly if they sense a biological or chemical agent. If her plan works, the technology could be used to turn forest evergreens, backyard shrubs or even pond algae into sentinels for scientists. One day, everyone in America might be able to use a cheap houseplant as an early-warning system. It could be the proverbial canary in a coal mine for the post-Sept. 11 age.

"A lot of us started thinking differently after 9/11," Medford says. When she ran the idea by government officials, "they said, 'Well, let's give it a try, because if it does work, it could make a huge difference.' "

Medford's Fort Collins, Colo., laboratory is among scores across the country where scientists and entrepreneurs are working on products that could help the government prevent or respond to another terrorist attack. In Richmond, Va., a biologist is trapping insects such as beetles, crickets, bees and moths to see whether they could be used as environmental monitors of biological and chemical agents. In Menlo Park, Calif., researchers are trying to develop a handheld voice-recognition translator that could help federal border agents communicate with foreigners seeking to enter the United States. Outside Chicago, workers at a small research company are seeking to devise an inexpensive DNA detector that could be used by people with no background in molecular biology to diagnose, quickly and accurately, an infectious disease such as smallpox.

These efforts sound like they belong in a science-fiction movie. But they're all real-life, cutting-edge projects, funded partially by government grants. Officials acknowledge that some of the projects won't pan out. But they say government investment in high-tech research is worthwhile. Some of the projects could be useful additions to the war on terrorism; others could revolutionize the way officials protect the nation from attack.

Most of the projects now are funded through the Defense Department. But after tightening security at the nation's borders and airports, the Department of Homeland Security is getting involved. The department has $130 million this year to spend on projects it deems worthy.

"We aim to attract the very best minds from the private sector and the academic community and get them working on high-stakes, high-payoff projects," Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge said in a recent speech marking the department's 100-day anniversary.

Anti-terror weeds and bugs
Under the terms of Medford's grant, she has 18 months to figure out how to make her weeds tattle on terrorists. If one of her plants noticed a deadly nerve agent such as sarin gas, it would probably be too late to help people nearby. But if it sensed anthrax in the air, people could know they were exposed before showing symptoms. That would give them more time to take antibiotics.

Medford's not using real biological and chemical agents in her experiments, which are aimed at causing the rapid breakdown of chlorophyll. She's using estrogen, because experiments have found it will prompt the "de-greening circuit" in plants. That has prompted jokes from friends who tell her, "Estrogen could be a terrorist agent."

Other cutting-edge projects under way:

* At Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond, biologist Karen Kester has worked for two years to see whether insects can deliver information about hazardous or deadly agents in the soil, on the ground or in the air. Funded by a $1 million Pentagon grant, she uses black lights, sticky papers and traps to collect more than two dozen species of bugs. The bugs are "like little sponges or dust mops," Kester says. If officials suspected a toxin had been released in a building or a park, they could mobilize teams of emergency workers in protective suits to swab for samples. Or they could let the bugs crawl and fly around, picking up samples, and then collect them for tests. For routine monitoring, she says, bugs could be used as part of a "24/7 sampling scheme."

* In Menlo Park, Calif., speech-technology researchers at SRI International have their hearts set on a small, handheld computer that can act as an instant translator. The device would be able to understand almost anything and immediately translate it into another language. Now a prototype, it could be used by soldiers, border agents and airport security workers as "a tiny computer mediating communication between two human beings," says SRI's program director, Kristin Precoda.

* In Northbrook, Ill., a company called Nanosphere wants to invent an inexpensive device that would recognize the DNA from any infectious disease and diagnose it. If it works, emergency workers, doctors and hospitals could figure out fast whether a person, or a water or food supply, had been infected with a deadly or contagious biological agent. Today, in terms of bio-detection, "we're almost in the stone age," says Chad Mirkin, Nanosphere's co-founder. "If you go to a doctor's office, they have to take a sample of blood or urine, and you wait for three to five days biting your knuckles, waiting for some results."

The devices one day could be placed in post offices, at water treatment plants or anywhere a biohazard might be released. Mirkin says one day they could be in "every medicine cabinet" in the country.

**Protecting the homeland**

For decades, the Pentagon has relied on private industry to help it build better bombs, stealthier aircraft, impenetrable chemical suits, longer-range night-vision goggles and more.

Grants for such research come from an obscure federal agency called the Technical Support Working Group (TSWG), which will also fund projects for the Homeland Security department, as well as the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA). Those agencies are funding the research at Medford's lab and in Richmond, Menlo Park and Northbrook.

Now the Department of Homeland Security is setting up its own shop to fund similar projects. The department has already given TSWG $30 million, and another $100 million will become available this summer under the department's own new program, to be called the Homeland Security Advanced Research Projects Agency. Some of the projects the department funds will be classified so that would-be terrorists can't find out about the technologies and figure out how to subvert them. But other items on the wish list are public.

One is a device that could help border and airport-security workers identify people who are up to no good. When security agents are asked why they search certain cars or question certain airline passengers, they usually can't pinpoint what made them wary. So homeland-security officials want the private sector to devise technology that would mark suspicious people by their physiological responses to questions. Scientists know, for example, that blood rushes to the eye muscles of someone who is lying, and that there are other "thermal signatures" that indicate a person is under stress.

The trick is to ensure the device can differentiate between a fearful flier and a would-be bomber.

**The anti-terror wish list**

The department's initial wish list, now outlined on the Technical Support Working Group's Web site, also includes:

* Self-decontamination kits that could be given to victims of a chemical attack. The kits must be "easy to open without tools" and include a decontaminant that is "safe to use on skin, wounds and mucus membranes." Instructions should be easy to follow, the department says, and the kits should cost less than $10.

* Technology to protect commercial and private aircraft from shoulder-fired missiles during takeoffs and landings. It should be "practical" in terms of the cost of retrofitting airplanes and should warn both ground operators and pilots. Any system "must also consider the impact of collateral effects to areas surrounding commercial airports."
A sonar-based sea mine detection system that could search harbors, channels and rivers for mines or other "threat objects" have been placed under water. Hundreds of unsolicited proposals already have made their way to homeland-security officials in recent months from companies and universities eager to win grants and contracts. The department's Tasia Scolinos was at an event with Ridge a few months ago when "some guy walked up to me with a manila envelope and said, 'Can you just make sure this gets into the right hands?'' "

Charles McQueary, a former defense industry executive now serving as the department's undersecretary for science and technology, is assembling a team of experts, including a medical doctor, to evaluate proposals and approve grants.

Building a better mousetrap
It's not that the department lacks for high-tech gizmos and gadgets to fight terrorism. It already uses state-of-the-art technology for bomb detection, disease tracking and cybersecurity. But someone can always build a better mousetrap.

"This is not something where we're going to reach an end state and say, 'We have the perfect homeland-security protection,' " McQueary says.

Over time, any detection or prevention device is bound to become outdated as technology advances.
What's more, he warns: "The potential threats can also become more sophisticated."

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New York Times
May 28, 2003

Rumsfeld Echoes Notion That Iraq Destroyed Arms
By Eric Schmitt
Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld suggested publicly for the first time yesterday that Iraq might have destroyed chemical and biological weapons before the war there, a possibility that senior American officers in Iraq have raised in recent weeks.

Mr. Rumsfeld has repeatedly expressed optimism that it is just a matter of time, and of interviewing enough senior Iraqi scientists and former government officials, before military teams uncover the illicit arms that President Bush cited as a major reason for attacking Iraq and toppling Saddam Hussein's rule.

While Mr. Rumsfeld repeated that assertion yesterday, he added, "It is also possible that they decided that they would destroy them prior to a conflict." Maj. Gen. David H. Petraeus, commander of the Army's 101st Airborne Division, now in northern Iraq, mentioned the same possibility two weeks ago.

Senior defense aides insisted that Mr. Rumsfeld's response to a question after his speech to the Council on Foreign Relations in Manhattan yesterday broke no new ground, and that it was consistent with his past explanations. He said the speed of the campaign might have prevented Iraq from using unconventional weapons. He added that military investigators had been searching in earnest for only seven weeks, that Iraqi weapons might be buried in one of several hundred uninspected sites and that investigators' best leads might come from Iraqi officials who have only recently surrendered or been captured.

"I don't know the answer," Mr. Rumsfeld said. "I suspect we'll learn a lot more as we go along and keep interrogating people."

But the fact that Mr. Rumsfeld even raised the possibility that Iraq might have destroyed unconventional weapons before the war prompts new questions about the intelligence that President Bush and his senior advisers relied on to go to war, and about the credibility of the United States, defense analysts said yesterday.

"They don't have a good explanation, and therefore are trying to come up with as long a list as possible," said Joseph Cirincione, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington. "But it's impossible to destroy or hide the quantities the administration said they had without our noticing it."

Mr. Bush, in an interview last month with NBC News, acknowledged, "there's going to be skepticism until people find out there was, in fact, a weapons of mass destruction program."

In his prepared remarks, Mr. Rumsfeld made no reference yesterday to Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Instead, he sought to counter critics who have accused the administration of bungling the postwar phase of the military campaign in Iraq, and to appeal for patience for a reconstruction effort that will be difficult and bumpy at times.

"The transition to democracy will take time," Mr. Rumsfeld said. "Trial and error and experimentation will be a part of the process. The efforts will not be perfect. Course corrections will be needed. I'm sure they'll all be pointed to and viewed with alarm, but we'll survive that."
Mr. Rumsfeld's remarks seemed part of a public relations campaign of sorts. His speech echoed many of themes he outlined in an op-ed article published on Tuesday in The Wall Street Journal. Aides said he was to meet with The Journal's editorial board while in Manhattan. The priorities Mr. Rumsfeld described coincide with recent steps by the administration's new civilian administrator for Iraq, L. Paul Bremer III. These immediate goals include asserting the coalition's authority and providing security, steps Mr. Bremer has taken, along with increased military patrols in Baghdad to restore order and curb looting and lawlessness. "The coalition is hiring and training Iraqi police, and will be prepared to use force to impose order, as required, because without order, little else is possible in any country," Mr. Rumsfeld said. As fresh troops from the Army's First Armored Division take over for the war-weary Third Infantry Division in Baghdad, Mr. Rumsfeld said the coalition "will maintain as many security forces in Iraq as is necessary, and will keep them there for as long as is necessary." Restoring basic services such as electricity and running water has proved more difficult than American engineers anticipated, but Mr. Rumsfeld said that "the power situation in Baghdad is improving, albeit slowly." While Mr. Bremer has delayed establishing an interim civilian Iraqi authority, in part to provide better security and identify qualified representatives for the political body, Mr. Rumsfeld said the allies would move to install Iraqis who are not senior Baath Party members in ministry positions where possible. The allies will promote a market economy for Iraq, he said, one that will be more diversified than the country's former economy that relied heavily on oil. That effort received a boost yesterday when the Treasury Department said it was lifting most of the remaining economic sanctions against Iraq. "The Iraqi people have an historic opportunity to build a free and civil society," Mr. Rumsfeld said. "If Iraqis, the Iraqi people, can take hold of their country, develop the institutions of self-government and claim their place as responsible members of the international community," he said, "then the world could well have a new model for a successful transition from tyranny to self-reliance, and indeed, a new ally in the global war on terror."
Ambassador Gholamreza Shafei and expressed concern about the existence of "serious, unresolved questions in connection with Iran's nuclear research."

Iran has emerged near the top of the administration's foreign policy agenda after the Riyadh bombings. Administration officials have met periodically in Geneva with Iranian officials, but after the bombings in Riyadh the administration boycotted the next scheduled meeting in protest. Officials said Iran not only needed to arrest al Qaeda members, but also needed to turn them over to Saudi Arabia.

Asked whether the administration had suspended the talks with the Iranians, Secretary of State Colin L. Powell said yesterday, "We have contacts and they will continue." He did not make clear whether he was referring to the direct talks in Geneva or longtime indirect contacts through the Swiss and the British.

State Department spokesman Richard A. Boucher declined to say whether the Geneva talks will be restarted. "I can't say whether any particular means of communicating will be used again, and at what point it might be used again," he said. "But we have a variety of ways to make clear our views to Iran, and we'll continue to use all the ones that are appropriate."

When asked by reporters whether the administration was seeking to topple the Iranian government, Fleischer and Boucher referred to a statement last July in which President Bush praised large pro-democracy street demonstrations in Iran. "The people of Iran want the same freedoms, human rights and opportunities as people around the world. The government should listen to their hopes," Bush said.

Administration officials said at the time that they had given up hope of working with President Mohammad Khatami and his reformist allies in the Iranian government, and would concentrate on democracy supporters among the Iranian people. But some officials, especially in the State Department, had hoped that an opening could be seized with Iran in the wake of the Iraq war. Now the Pentagon appears to have pressed its advantage after the Saudi attacks.

Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld, saying he had discussed Iran yesterday with Powell and national security adviser Condoleezza Rice, said Iran "is being unhelpful today with respect to Iraq," a reference to his statements that Iran is encouraging Iraqi Shiites to form a theocracy. "Iran should be on notice that efforts to try to remake Iraq in their image will be aggressively put down," Rumsfeld said at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.


Washington Post
May 28, 2003
Pg. 16

China, Russia Urge Nuclear-Free Korea

MOSCOW -- Chinese President Hu Jintao and Russian President Vladimir Putin, meeting yesterday at the Kremlin, urged North Korea to relinquish its nuclear ambitions and keep the Korean Peninsula free of nuclear weapons.

Their joint declaration, which also pressed for a central U.N. role in rebuilding Iraq, came during Hu's first trip abroad as president of China, North Korea's main ally. "The parties stand for ensuring a nuclear-free status of the Korean Peninsula and observing the regime of nonproliferation of mass destruction weapons," the declaration said. The statement was the first time Moscow and Beijing joined to call on North Korea to abandon its nuclear weapons program. Russia has in the past urged North Korea to stop development of such weapons, as has China, which last month coaxed its reclusive neighbor into talks it hosted on the issue with the United States.

The two leaders also expressed support for the North's demand for security guarantees, and spoke of the need to create "favorable conditions" for its "socioeconomic development."

Associated Press

Washington Post
May 29, 2003
Pg. 1

U.S. Hedges On Finding Iraqi Weapons

Officials Cite the Possibility of Long or Fruitless Search for Banned Arms

By Karen DeYoung and Walter Pincus, Washington Post Staff Writers
Pressed in recent congressional hearings and public appearances to explain why the United States has been unable to find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, senior Bush administration officials have begun to lay the groundwork for the possibility that it may take a long time, if ever, before they are able to prove the expansive case they made to justify the war.

In the months leading up to the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, administration officials charged that Iraq's Saddam Hussein had spent billions of dollars developing chemical, biological and nuclear weapons, and was poised to hand them over to international terrorists or fire them at U.S. troops or neighboring countries. Nearly two months after the fall of Baghdad, officials continue to express confidence that the weapons will be found. "No one should expect this kind of deception effort to get penetrated overnight," Deputy Defense Secretary Paul D. Wolfowitz said in an interview yesterday. Wolfowitz said the administration's prewar emphasis on the existence of weapons of mass destruction stemmed from "one of the most widely-shared intelligence assessments that I know of. . . . We're a long way" from exhausting the search.

But in speeches and comments in recent weeks, senior administration officials have begun to lower expectations that weapons will be found anytime soon, if at all, and suggested they may have been destroyed, buried or spirited out of the country.

The U.S. invasion force moved so quickly into Iraq, Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld said Tuesday in response to questions at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, that the Iraqis "didn't have time to . . . use chemical weapons. . . . They may have had time to destroy them, and I don't know the answer."

Looking back at the spotlight the administration cast on the weapons issue in building its case for war, Wolfowitz said, "There was no oversell." But he acknowledged yesterday that there "had been a tendency to emphasize the WMD [weapons of mass destruction] issue" as the primary justification for war because of differences of opinion within the administration over the strength of other charges against the Iraqi government, including its alleged ties to al Qaeda.

"The issue of WMD has never been in controversy," Wolfowitz said, "where there's been a lot of arguing back and forth about whether the Iraqis were involved in terrorism."

In a briefing for reporters yesterday, senior intelligence officials released what they said was the "strongest evidence to date that Iraq was hiding a biological warfare program." After examining two tractor-trailers found last month in Iraq, the officials said they found no trace of biological agents but added they are "highly confident" the high-tech equipment built into them was intended to produce biological weapons.

In pressing for international approval of war, President Bush and his top aides said that Iraq possessed weapons that posed an immediate threat to its neighbors and to U.S. territory, and that U.N. inspectors were unlikely to find them in time. Since the Iraqi government collapsed April 9, U.S. military teams have been unsuccessful in finding any proscribed weapons. The teams are being replaced by a much larger weapons survey group that has yet to arrive in Iraq.

The Pentagon has rejected suggestions that U.N. inspectors who left Iraq before the war be allowed to reenter the country and resume their search, although agreement has been reached with the International Atomic Energy Agency to send its experts to secure the Tuwaitha Nuclear Research Center, a nuclear storage site 30 miles south of Baghdad that had been under IAEA seal for years. The site has been looted by Iraqis, and U.S. military teams found high levels of radiation there.

But the agreement restricts the IAEA to a small area within the facility, and specifically prohibits the agency's emergency teams from investigating reports that some of the material has been removed and may be causing radiation sickness in some local communities. "The U.S. has informed us that, as the occupying powers, they have the responsibility for the welfare of the Iraqi people, including the nuclear health and safety issues," an IAEA spokesman said.

Those mild words mask a dispute between the administration and the international agency, which first raised the danger posed by potential looting of the Tuwaitha site and others April 10.

Hearing the efforts of U.N. inspectors as insufficient before the war, the administration was not about to let them back in to look for weapons now, a senior administration official said, suggesting that the IAEA was looking for a pretext for a wider role in Iraq. "Make no mistake, the IAEA wanted to get back in and do its former inspection role," the official said. "And they were told, in no uncertain terms, no."

The administration has also rejected the readmission into Iraq of the U.N. Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC), which had responsibility for finding chemical and biological weapons, as well as production facilities. Before the war, U.S. officials expressed strong doubts the U.N. inspectors would be able to locate, among other things, the mobile biological laboratories that Secretary of State Colin L. Powell first described to the U.N. Security Council in February.
The two trailers cited by intelligence officials yesterday have been under examination since they were found in northern Iraq last month. The officials said that key equipment in the trailers -- fermenters needed to produce biological agents -- was manufactured in 2002 and 2003, indicating that the units were recently built. They said Iraqi employees at the al-Kindi Research, Testing, Development and Engineering facility where the fermenters were constructed told them they were used to produce hydrogen gas for weather balloons and other purposes. But an intelligence official called that "a cover story," and said it would be an "inefficient" use of the facilities. Instead, U.S. officials said the labs closely resembled the description of mobile biological trailers provided in 1999 by an Iraqi defector whose information was the basis for Powell's presentation.

David Albright, president of the Institute for Science and International Security and a former U.N. weapons inspector, said yesterday that "the government's finding is based on eliminating any possible alternative explanation for the trucks, which is a controversial methodology under any circumstances." In the absence of "conclusive evidence," Albright suggested that an independent, international investigation was needed, and that "the logical group to perform this investigation is UNMOVIC."

Beginning with Vice President Cheney last August, administration officials delivered a series of speeches expressing absolute certainty the Iraqi weapons existed. "Simply stated, there is no doubt that Saddam Hussein now has weapons of mass destruction," Cheney said in an Aug. 26 address to the Veterans of Foreign Wars. In October, Wolfowitz said, "Saddam Hussein is not going to easily give up the horrible weapons that he has worked so hard to obtain and paid such a high price to keep," using a phrase that he and Rumsfeld were to repeat often. "This is a man who has shown that he'll give up billions and billions of dollars every year," Rumsfeld said in November, "so that he can be free to develop those weapons and to have those weapons and to use those weapons to terrorize other countries."

In congressional testimony last week, Undersecretary of Defense Douglas J. Feith said he was "confident that we will eventually be able to piece together a fairly complete account of Iraq's WMD programs, but the process will take months, and perhaps years." In the interim, the House Select Committee on Intelligence has asked CIA Director George J. Tenet to review the intelligence underlying administration statements about Iraqi weapons. A similar request has come from the Senate committee, which has asked about specific claims regarding an Iraqi nuclear program.

"I think there are a whole lot of other questions about WMD which are very, very unclear," Sen. John D. Rockefeller IV (D-W.Va.) said Sunday on NBC's "Meet the Press." "They may have overestimated."


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The report called the discovery of the trailers "the strongest evidence to date that Iraq was hiding a biological warfare program." It also noted that Secretary of State Colin L. Powell, in his testimony before the United Nations on Feb. 5 to generate support for a war in Iraq, had detailed such charges.

Both the report and the briefing, a telephone conference call in which reporters asked questions, were careful and candid. Both had notable caveats, including the use of the words "probable" and "unlikely."

Both conceded that there were inconsistencies in the evidence and a lack of hard proof, like the presence of pathogens in trailer gear. The officials acknowledged that they had discovered neither biological agents nor evidence that the equipment had ever been used to make germ weapons.

Moreover, they said the trailer's hardware presented no direct evidence of weapons use. The best evidence of that, they said, was the trailers' close resemblance to prewar descriptions of mobile germ plants given by Iraqi sources.

A technical assessment alone "would not lead you intuitively and logically to biological warfare," an official said of the trailers.

Their gear was rusty, officials said, perhaps from sitting in the rain. And the mobile factories were poorly designed. For instance, one official noted, Iraqi biologists running the plants would have had a hard time getting raw materials into the production gear and removing multiplied colonies of deadly germs.

"Relatively inefficient but ingenious" is how one analyst described the mobile factories.

Their inefficiency, he added, was probably rooted in a decision to design the plants with enough technical ambiguity so they could be disclaimed as germ factories if discovered. Iraqi scientists have said the units were used to produce hydrogen for weather balloons. But the intelligence officials dismissed that explanation as a cover story even while conceding that the equipment could, in fact, have been used occasionally to make hydrogen.

With unusual frankness, the report listed four Iraqi sources it said had given the West its insights into the alleged mobile germ factories: a chemical engineer who managed a plant; a civil engineer who reported on a plant at an ammunition depot in Iraq; a third source who told of an animal feed cover story; and a defector from the Iraq Intelligence Service who told how Baghdad was making mobile plants.

While the trailers had many similarities to the prewar descriptions, the officials and the report said, the units also bore notable differences. For instance, the original plants were said to be mounted on flatbed trailers with reinforced floors. But the discovered plants were on heavy transporters intended for tanks, "obviating the need for reinforced floors," the paper said. In addition, the discovered trailers have a cooling unit not included in the original plant design — probably, the report said, to solve overheating problems that a source had described.

"It's possible," one official added, that the two trailers, made in 2002 and 2003, were part of a new, more advanced generation of mobile gear "never used to manufacture agent."

The report also made brief mention of a mobile laboratory found by American forces that intelligence officials said could have had civilian and military uses.

The report took issue with an editorial in The New York Times on May 13 that cited experts who had suggested that the trailers might have been meant to produce biopesticides or to refurbish missile fuel. Those explanations, it said, made no sense.

American-led forces in Iraq are still hunting for other plants and their support vehicles, especially older models that might better match the descriptions of Iraqi sources.

A skeptical view of the evidence presented yesterday came from Matthew S. Meselson, a Harvard expert on biological weapons who has advised the Central Intelligence Agency. He said the C.I.A. had made technical errors in the past and called on the government to turn over its Iraqi evidence to an independent panel.

"The C.I.A. is under great political pressure," he said in an interview. "The evidence has to be given to an unimpeachable outside group of scientists, and they should be allowed any tests or measurements they want. They shouldn't be spoon-fed the data."

Dr. Meselson suggested that an appropriate group might be the National Academy of Sciences, a prestigious organization in Washington that often advises the government.

http://www.nytimes.com/2003/05/29/international/worldspecial/29LABS.html

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New York Times
May 29, 2003

Bush Administration Examines Steps To A Revamped Arsenal
WASHINGTON, May 28 — Backed by Congressional sentiment favoring a new approach to nuclear weapons, the Bush administration is taking steps that could lead to revamping the nation's cold-war-era atomic arsenal to meet what officials describe as more imminent modern threats.

The House and Senate last week approved a series of provisions sought by the White House and the Pentagon that could open the door to development of new nuclear weapons. Administration officials say the changes, which include relaxing a ban on research into smaller nuclear weapons, would not violate any existing arms treaties, though that is disputed by others.

These initiatives have alarmed arms control advocates and Democrats in Congress who say that the administration is determined to create a new generation of nuclear weapons, potentially touching off an arms race as other nations try to match American capability.

Critics of Bush administration nuclear policy were already deeply concerned about the administration's opposition to ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty as well as indications from officials that new testing might be needed to maintain the safety and reliability of the nuclear stockpile. A secret nuclear policy document issued last year also suggested that new weapons might be needed.

Taken together, these actions foreshadow potentially significant changes in the nation's nuclear weapons policy. Administration officials say that they have made no decision to produce the first new nuclear weapons since the 1980's and that further Congressional debate and approval would be needed to do so. But they say an enormous nuclear capability to deter a rival superpower fortified with its own intercontinental missiles could be an outdated concept in the current world environment.

Instead, they say, a new generation of nuclear weapons may be needed to destroy facilities that could be constructed underground where biological and chemical weapons are being developed or stored.

"It is a return to looking at the defense of the nation in the face of a changing threat," Fred S. Celec, deputy assistant to the secretary of defense for nuclear matters, said of the push for authority to pursue a new nuclear program. "How do you deter and dissuade potential enemies of the United States from doing us harm? I don't know that we ought to eliminate any tools in our inventory."

Mr. Celec and other officials said that existing, congressionally imposed restrictions on research were chilling potential progress in the field of nuclear weapons science.

Linton Brooks, chief of the National Nuclear Security Administration, said: "We want to look at advanced concepts, not because we want to do anything in the near term, but so that we can look at future options. But now we can't do any sort of research without getting the lawyers involved."

Opponents are not reassured by promises by the administration that its sole aim is the study of nuclear potential. They point to position papers, testimony by officials and other declarations of the need for new nuclear thinking. "It is unrealistic to think we are going to go ahead and even test but not use these nuclear weapons, particularly with the expressions and statements that have been made by the administration," Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, said.

Mr. Kennedy and his allies, who in a series of votes last week were unable to block the provisions that opened the door to new nuclear research, say the push for new nuclear capacity is reckless and ill-conceived, given the White House demand that other nations disavow nuclear force. In a floor speech, Senator Dianne Feinstein, Democrat of California, called the juxtaposition diabolical.

As it adopted a larger defense measure last week, the House eased a 10-year-old ban on research into smaller nuclear weapons while the Senate lifted it entirely. Lawmakers also rejected proposals to block spending on turning existing nuclear warheads into weapons capable of piercing underground bunkers.

And they backed initiatives cutting the lead time for conducting nuclear tests to 18 months from 3 years. That could pave the way toward resumption of underground nuclear testing that was suspended more than a decade ago, the critics say. The administration says it has no plans for such tests.

The sums involved are tiny by the standards of the $400 billion Pentagon measure: $15 million for a feasibility study on weapons conversion already taking place at national nuclear laboratories and $6 million for research into "advanced concepts" like a weapon of five kilotons or less.

The legislation also includes $22.8 million to study the environmental impact of manufacturing plutonium pits, which are core elements of nuclear bombs. Though the final shape of the bills has yet to be worked out, it is clear that the administration will get much of what it wants.

There is also little doubt that senior officials in the Pentagon and the White House believe that the nation's nuclear arsenal is ill-equipped to deal with the post-Soviet world. Those officials have made it equally clear in a variety of writings, public statements and internal reports issued over recent years that the arsenal needs upgrading, perhaps with new kinds of weapons.
The existing stockpile mainly consists of immensely powerful weapons intended to deter a large power like the Soviet Union, but not small ones like North Korea or Iran. And it is not adequately outfitted to incinerate chemical or biological weapons facilities safely, or to destroy deeply buried targets, officials say.

Those concerns are clearly spelled out in a classified Pentagon document known as the Nuclear Posture Review, which was provided to Congress last year and has been obtained by The New York Times. While administration officials insist that not everything in the document has been made policy, it provides a comprehensive blueprint that reflects the thinking of many of the administration's national security policy makers.

"Today's nuclear arsenal continues to reflect its cold war origin," the report said, calling for a new approach known as "the new triad."

"New capabilities must be developed to defeat emerging threats such as hard and deeply buried targets, to find and attack mobile and relocatable targets, to defeat chemical or biological agents and to improve accuracy and limit collateral damage," it said.

Classified Pentagon studies have concluded that more than 70 countries now have underground facilities and that at least 1,100 of those sites are suspected of being strategic command centers or weapons bases. Conventional weapons do not have the blast force and cannot burrow deeply enough into the ground to destroy such sites, Pentagon officials say. While large nuclear weapons might render such sites unusable, they would also cause immense damage to surrounding communities.

For that reason, the Pentagon has requested money to study sheathing nuclear weapons in harder cases so they can penetrate deeper into the earth before exploding. Many military planners also say they believe that nuclear weapons smaller than five kilotons would be good for hitting buried targets because they would cause less harm to nearby civilians.

Administration officials have also begun arguing that low-yield weapons might be more effective in deterring smaller countries from using or even developing unconventional weapons. Under this theory, those countries may now believe that the stigma of using a large nuclear weapon against them is so great that the United States would never do so.

But a less devastating weapon might seem more threatening to those countries precisely because the United States might appear more willing to use it, Pentagon officials say. The Nuclear Posture Review lists Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea and Syria as countries that pose new kinds of threats to the United States.

Democrats and arms control advocates say conventional weapons can be modified to destroy deeply buried targets as effectively as nuclear weapons. They say even low-yield nuclear weapons will release large amounts of radioactive debris.

And they argue that any moves by the United States to develop new nuclear weapons will encourage similar behavior in other countries.

"Arguments that low-yield weapons serve U.S. interests because they produce less collateral damage and are therefore more usable than high-yield weapons are shortsighted," a group of eight prominent nuclear scientists wrote in a letter sent to senators recently. Democrats said they would press their resistance when opportunities present themselves.

"I remember how people lived in this country in fear of the nuclear bomb," said Ms. Feinstein, who added that the nuclear questions before Congress merited close attention. "I think the American people have to weigh in on whether they want this nation to open that door and begin a new generation of nuclear weapons."


Al Qaeda Warns Of Threat To Water Supply

By Shaun Waterman, United Press International

A spokesman for al Qaeda has told an Arabic-language newsmagazine that the terror group will try to use poisons to attack the United States, specifically threatening to contaminate the nation's water supply.

Abu Mohammed al-Ablaj told the London-based al-Majallah magazine that "al Qaeda [does not rule out] using sarin gas and poisoning drinking water in U.S. and Western cities."
"We will talk about [these weapons] then and the infidels will know what harms them. They spared no effort in their war on us in Afghanistan. ... They should not therefore rule out the possibility that we will present them with our capabilities," the magazine quotes al-Ablaj as saying in an e-mail interview last week.

The interview was published in the latest edition of al-Majallah, dated Sunday.

Some U.S. officials play down the threat, but terrorism analysts point out that al-Ablaj had communicated with the magazine before the suicide attacks earlier this month in Saudi Arabia, warning that al Qaeda was about to stage a major offensive in the kingdom.

"The consensus seems to be — and I concur — that [al-Ablaj] is credible and does have a connection with al Qaeda," Ben Venzke, a counterterrorism analyst who consults with U.S. government agencies, told United Press International.

"The statements he makes should be taken seriously, especially in light of his apparent prior knowledge of the Riyadh bombings," Mr. Venzke said.

A U.S. intelligence official, who would not comment on al-Ablaj's credibility, played down the threat to U.S. water supplies in an interview with UPI.

"It is very difficult to covertly poison a reservoir," the official said on the condition of anonymity. "It would take many truckloads of poison, which would make it difficult to do secretly. That is not really a viable threat."

Al-Ablaj, who describes himself as the commander of al Qaeda's "mujahideen training center," first contacted al-Majallah in March, the magazine said.

A U.S. intelligence translation of a recent article says that al-Ablaj sent the magazine an e-mail April 7, declaring that Osama bin Laden's terrorists "had completed their preparations to carry out a massive action targeting the [Saudi] regime ... and that this action would be implemented within one month or less."

The magazine "opted not to publish its contents in order to check its validity," the translation continues.

On May 10, two days before the series of coordinated suicide attacks in Riyadh killed 34 persons, including eight Americans, he e-mailed the magazine again. In the interim, Saudi authorities had broken up a cell of 19 al Qaeda suspects.

The plan "was not affected by the Saudi security services' success," the magazine reported him as saying.

"He said the plan is proceeding," the magazine said in a report published less than 24 hours after the attacks, "without any significant changes and [he] pointed out that the time is getting closer day by day to prove the validity of what he is saying."

Mr. Venzke said that "beyond his communications to al-Majallah, al-Ablaj is an unknown quantity. But his blip on the radar screen got a lot bigger after that."

"The threat and the tone is consistent with other messages from al Qaeda, and we believe that the communication channel is credible," he added.

The U.S. intelligence official also played down threats to even a single building.

"It's more feasible if they try to poison a specific building," the official said. "But even then, the volume of water already going through the system would dilute whatever was introduced. It would be very difficult to kill anyone. What would happen would be that people would get sick, which would cause panic."

An FBI bulletin early last year, cited in Mr. Venzke's book, "The al-Qaeda Threat" stated that "U.S. law enforcement and intelligence agencies have learned that al Qaeda members ... specifically sought information on water supply and wastewater management practices in the United States and abroad."

http://www.washtimes.com/national/20030528-102548-4938r.htm

New York Times
May 29, 2003

**Russia: Nuclear Treaty Clears Last Hurdle**

The upper house of Parliament approved the treaty in which Russia and the United States pledged to reduce their arsenals of strategic nuclear weapons by two-thirds — to fewer than 2,200 each — over the next decade. Two weeks after the lower house approved it, the Federation Council voted overwhelmingly — 140 to 5, with two abstentions — to adopt the treaty, signed by President Vladimir V. Putin and President Bush last May. Russia's foreign minister, Igor S. Ivanov, told the Interfax news agency that the vote would allow the two leaders to formally adopt the treaty when they meet in St. Petersburg this weekend.

*Steven Lee Myers (NYT)*
Tests Differ On Anthrax Contamination At Pond

By Marilyn W. Thompson and Allan Lengel, Washington Post Staff Writers

FBI investigators who have tested a plastic box and other equipment recovered this winter from a pond near Frederick have received two conflicting assessments of whether the items are contaminated with anthrax bacteria, the deadly microbes used in the 2001 attacks that killed five people and sickened 13 others, according to government sources.

One test result was positive for anthrax bacteria, but a second laboratory reported finding no trace of the deadly spores, according to investigators close to the case. The conflicting results have touched off debate within the FBI in recent weeks about whether the bureau should move to drain the one-acre pond in a further search for possible evidence.

Some FBI investigators believe the device, described as a plastic or plexiglass box with holes cut into it that would allow someone wearing gloves to manipulate material inside, could have allowed the attacker to fill envelopes with anthrax bacteria using water as a means of protection.

An enduring mystery of the case is how the killer prepared the envelopes for mailing without inhaling anthrax spores and becoming ill himself. Authorities are also puzzled about why they have found no anthrax contamination in the many locations they have searched.

The FBI developed plans in early April to drain the pond in the hope of finding anthrax contamination or additional equipment the attacker might have used to prepare the envelopes, which were mailed to news media and government offices.

Tests are continuing. It is not unusual to get conflicting lab results, or false positive results, in tests for anthrax spores. Experts who work with scientific equipment point out that testing in this case would be especially difficult because the material could have been submerged for some time.

But the contradictory findings in two separate laboratory tests of material pulled from the pond led to the internal debate over the wisdom of draining the spring-fed pond in Frederick Municipal Forest, according to sources close to the investigation. Other equipment pulled from the pond includes glass vials and gloves wrapped in plastic.

Some agents fear that draining the pond, estimated to cost $250,000, could prove useless and embarrassing. Others argue that promising initial findings in the pond -- including the discovery of the box -- left the FBI little choice but to explore the water more thoroughly, the sources said.

Maryland state and local officials say they are awaiting word from the FBI about the operation, which had been expected to begin by June 1. The FBI sent divers into the pond's icy waters in late December and early January, then kept the secluded area under surveillance while officials consulted with contractors about draining the pond once a thick blanket of ice had melted.

The FBI first focused on the pond, part of an area known as the Frederick watershed, after a business acquaintance of Steven Hatfill -- described as a "person of interest" in the investigation by Attorney General John D. Ashcroft -- revealed that Hatfill once described how he might dispose of equipment contaminated with deadly bacteria, according to the sources.

Hatfill, who lived a few miles from the pond in an apartment complex outside Fort Detrick, worked as a researcher at the U.S. Army Medical Research Institute for Infectious Diseases in the late 1990s.

Hatfill has repeatedly said he had nothing to do with the anthrax attacks, and contends that he is being harassed by the FBI, which has had him under 24-hour surveillance for months. He is unemployed and lives with his girlfriend near Georgetown.

Pat Clawson, a spokesman for Hatfill, said yesterday that "the bottom line is the FBI can keep draining all the ponds in the world, but they're never going to find any evidence that Steve Hatfill was the anthrax killer because he was not the anthrax killer. They can drain the Pacific Ocean if they want; Steve Hatfill is not the anthrax killer, period."

The business acquaintance's tip offered a clue to how the bioterrorism crimes could have been carried out, and has led to the FBI's novel theory that the criminal could have waded into the water to manipulate anthrax spores or remove stuffed envelopes from a protective container. Water would help suppress the movement of finely ground spores. The anthrax spores used in the letters addressed to Sens. Thomas A. Daschle (D-S.D.) and Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.) were highly refined and considered dangerous to handle even with a mask and other laboratory protections.
While water provides some degree of protection from anthrax spores, according to experts, some question whether it would be possible to work with refined powder while standing in water. They suggest that it would be more likely for a criminal to simply fill the envelopes on land and dispose of the equipment in a pond to avoid detection. The 19-month-old anthrax case -- code named Amerithrax -- has stretched the FBI's scientific capabilities and generated criticism of the investigation's pace and the agency's tactics in trying to draw information from possible witnesses.

Following the tip, a team of FBI agents last December converged on the 7,000-acre municipal forest, blocking off roads in the area, which is about 10 miles from the Frederick city limits and Fort Detrick. The diving team cut through thick ice and plunged into several small man-made ponds. The FBI has refused to reveal what equipment the divers found.

In early January, about eight members of the elite FBI diving team attended Florida State University to take special classes in gathering forensic evidence underwater, part of a new law enforcement training program funded by the Defense Threat Reduction Agency. Instructor Thomas Kelley said the divers mentioned nothing about the Frederick operation but took classes that included special instructions in diving at sites that could be contaminated with biological or chemical agents.

In early April, the FBI alerted officials at the Maryland Department of the Environment that the agency wanted to drain the pond. Department spokesman Jim Pettit said the agency concluded that the FBI would not have to go through a formal review process.

He said the agency sent environmental investigators into the area to make sure that no plant or wildlife would be harmed, particularly the endangered Eastern Diamondback rattlesnake, Allegheny woodrat and several species of orchids that grow in the area.

State officials also consulted with Frederick city officials about the safety of the city's water supply. "We checked with the city, which is the owner of the drinking water system, and they had no concerns," Pettit said. "Given the volume of water and the distance from the intake, there's no chance of contamination."

Pettit said the agency offered the FBI advice "on how to carry out the drainage of the pond in an environmentally sensitive manner," such as removing the water slowly to avoid a surge in nearby creeks. He said the FBI plans to hire a contractor to drain the pond, and state officials will supervise the project.

In recent weeks, Frederick Mayor Jennifer P. Dougherty (D) has tried to dispel concern that anthrax bacteria might have contaminated the city's drinking water supply. At several news conferences, the mayor said that while the ponds in question do ultimately feed into the city's water supply, they are far enough away from the city's prime water sources, and the water is treated thoroughly enough that the spores would pose no danger.

Marc Stachowski, the city's water chief, said the city routinely tests for 10 to 12 toxic compounds in the water supply. Although the city does not look for anthrax spores, Stachowski and other city officials said they were confident that the combination of filtration and treatment with chlorine gas would kill any spores that made it into the city's water supply.

Staff writers Lori Montgomery and David Snyder contributed to this report.


Anthrax Investigators Tail Scientist '24/7'

By Toni Locy, USA Today

WASHINGTON -- For 10 months, Steven Hatfill hasn't been able to go to the store, take a walk or be interviewed for a job without being tailed by the FBI.

Hatfill, 48, the only person identified publicly by the Justice Department as a "person of interest" in the investigation into the anthrax attacks two years ago, has been kept under "24/7" surveillance by FBI agents who haven't been subtle. They routinely follow Hatfill in several cars and trucks, and they take pictures of him wherever he goes.

Earlier this month, Hatfill and his watchers clashed on a street in Washington's Georgetown section. Hatfill says an FBI employee, driving one of the tail vehicles, ran over his foot. Washington police gave Hatfill a ticket for "walking to create a hazard."

The FBI's tactics appear to be designed to put pressure on Hatfill, a former researcher at the U.S. Army Medical Research Institute of Infectious Diseases at Fort Detrick in Frederick, Md. But four law enforcement sources
familiar with the anthrax probe say the real reason for the round-the-clock surveillance is rooted in the FBI's new mission of preventing terrorism. FBI officials believe they can't risk the embarrassment of losing track of Hatfill, even for a few hours, and then being confronted with more anthrax attacks.

He has not been charged, so the FBI has no basis to seize his passport -- another reason why agents continue to tail him.

The sources, who requested anonymity because the anthrax probe is active, say the focus on Hatfill stems from the belief by many investigators -- but not all of them -- that he was behind the mail attacks that killed five people, sickened 17 others and forced thousands to take antibiotics. But two of the sources say evidence gathered against Hatfill by nearly 80 FBI and Postal Inspection Service agents is largely circumstantial.

The FBI used similar surveillance tactics in 1996, when agents tailed former security guard Richard Jewell for 88 days after the bombing at the Olympics in Atlanta, says Lin Wood, Jewell's attorney. "This gives the public the appearance that the FBI has some information that points to Dr. Hatfill that is sufficient to justify this incredible expenditure of resources," Wood says. "But it could be designed for nothing more than appearances, for (public relations) for the FBI."

Jewell was cleared, marking one of the most humbling chapters in FBI history.

"It's an investigative approach that is doomed to fail 99 out of 100 cases," says Wood, the attorney.

The Olympics bomber has not been found.

Hatfill's name surfaced in the anthrax probe last summer, when FBI agents searched his former apartment in Frederick and Attorney General John Ashcroft called him "a person of interest" in the probe. The designation has no legal significance.

Hatfill's lawyer, Tom Connolly, declined to comment. Hatfill has said he wasn't involved in the attacks, and he has complained about the FBI's tactics.

His friends say no one will hire him as long as he is linked, however vaguely, with the investigation into the nation's first biological attacks. Last fall, the attention cost him a job at Louisiana State University. "Charge him or clear him," says Pat Clawson, a Hatfill friend and spokesman. "It's that simple."

But the four law enforcement sources say that nothing about the anthrax probe is simple. They say investigators have not been able to prove Hatfill did it, or rule him out.

The FBI's suspicions center on what investigators say is Hatfill's penchant for exaggerating his credentials on resumes and in statements to other scientists.

Hatfill is among dozens of scientists who have taken polygraphs at the FBI's request. An FBI analysis suggested he was "evasive" when asked a question about the attacks, a fifth source close to the investigation says. Most states ban polygraph results from court because the tests are considered unreliable.

At various times, Hatfill has claimed he was a member of special operations troops in the U.S. military. He wasn't. He has claimed to be an expert at conducting underwater medicine. He's actually trained to treat people with "the bends," a condition that develops after prolonged exposure to pressure.

In February 1999, Hatfill and another scientist commissioned a study of a hypothetical anthrax attack as part of their work for a defense contractor.

Beyond that, one of the four law enforcement sources says, "there's just nothing to hang our hats on."

Investigators have been unable to rebut Hatfill's claims that he has never been to Trenton or Princeton, N.J., where the anthrax letters were mailed. Nor have they found any traces of anthrax in Hatfill's apartment, his girlfriend's home, his cars, a Dumpster near his home, or several places he visited.

Some investigators thought they had a break in the case when divers searched a pond in Frederick, near Hatfill's former home, in December and January.

The divers found an airtight plastic box and a rope, among other things. Initial tests showed traces of anthrax on the rope, leading some investigators to speculate that the attacker might have put the box in the water and then loaded anthrax powder into the five envelopes that were sent to the media and two U.S. senators. The rope, some investigators thought, could have been used to anchor the box in the pond.

But the initial tests on the rope soon proved to be wrong, which one of the law enforcement sources blamed on poor lab work. The rope, box and other equipment found in the pond are undergoing more sophisticated tests, the four sources say. Depending on the results, they say, the FBI will decide whether to drain the pond to seek more evidence.

Since Oct. 4, 2001, when Florida photo editor Bob Stevens was diagnosed with the inhalation anthrax that would kill him, the FBI and many top U.S. scientists have worked together to try to solve the case. The FBI is relying on microbiologists and others to invent techniques for identifying anthrax that could be used to present evidence in court.
It's an uneasy alliance because investigators wonder whether the killer could be one of the scientists working on the probe. Hatfill was one of 30 to 40 U.S. scientists the FBI believes had access to anthrax and the expertise to work with it.

One of the law enforcement sources says investigators sometimes wonder whether they focused on Hatfill too soon, and ignored someone who deserved more attention.

So much has gone into investigating Hatfill, the source says, that abandoning the focus on him "would be like starting all over."

**Chain of events in ongoing inquiry**

Sept. 18, 2001: Anthrax-tainted letters postmarked in Trenton, N.J., are sent to the New York Post and NBC anchor Tom Brokaw.

Oct. 5: Bob Stevens, a photo editor at American Media Inc. in Boca Raton, Fla., dies of inhalation anthrax.

Oct. 9: Anthrax-laden letters to U.S. Sens. Tom Daschle and Patrick Leahy are postmarked in Trenton.

Oct. 15-20: Daschle letter tests positive. Congress shuts down two days for testing. The Hart Senate Office Building is closed.


Oct. 31: Kathy Nguyen, a New York City hospital worker, dies of inhalation anthrax.

Nov. 16: FBI recovers Leahy letter before it is opened. Contamination is similar to the Daschle letter.

Nov. 21: Ottilie Lundgren, 94, dies of inhalation anthrax in Oxford, Conn.


June 25: FBI searches apartment of Steven Hatfill, a former researcher at the U.S. Army Medical Research Institute of Infectious Diseases in Frederick, Md.

Aug. 6: Attorney General John Ashcroft calls Hatfill "a person of interest" in the investigation.

Aug. 11: Hatfill denies involvement in the attacks.

Sept. 3: Louisiana State University terminates Hatfill's job as associate director of its National Center for Biomedical Research and Training.

December 2002-January 2003: Divers find an airtight plastic box, rope and other equipment in a pond near Hatfill's former home in Frederick. Initial tests incorrectly indicate traces of anthrax on the rope.

May: More tests are being done on the items from the pond.

*Source: USA TODAY research*

(See to Contents)

Newsweek

June 9, 2003

**Where Are Iraq's WMDs?**

*The message was plain: Saddam’s weapons of mass destruction made war unavoidable. So where are they? Inside the administration’s civil war over intel*

By Evan Thomas, Richard Wolffe and Michael Isikoff

George Tenet, the director of Central Intelligence, was frustrated. For four days and nights last winter, some of the most astute intelligence analysts in the U.S. government sat around Tenet’s conference-room table in his wood-paneled office in Langley, Va., trying to prove that Saddam Hussein posed an imminent threat to America. The spooks were not having an easy time of it.

On Feb. 5, Secretary of State Colin Powell was scheduled to go to the United Nations and make the case that Saddam possessed an arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. But the evidence was thin—sketchy and speculative, or uncorroborated, or just not credible. Finally, according to a government official who was there, Tenet leaned back in his chair and said, “Everyone thinks we’re Tom Cruise. We’re not. We can’t look into every bedroom and listen to every conversation. Hell, we can’t even listen to the new cell phones some of the terrorists are using.”

Tenet was being truthful. Spying can help win wars (think of the Allies’ cracking the Axis codes in World War II), but intelligence is more often an incomplete puzzle (think of Pearl Harbor). Honest spies appreciate their own limitations. Their political masters, however, often prefer the Hollywood version. They want certainty and omniscience, not hedges and ambiguity. Bush administration officials wanted to be able to say, for certain, that Saddam Hussein possessed stockpiles of chem-bio weapons; that he could make a nuclear bomb inside a year; that he was conspiring with Al Qaeda to attack America.
And that is, by and large, what they did say. On close examination, some of the statements about Saddam and his WMD made by President George W. Bush and his top lieutenants in the months leading up to the Iraq war included qualifiers or nuances. But the effect—and the intent—was to convince most Americans that Saddam presented a clear and present danger and had to be removed by going to war.

SOUNDING DEFENSIVE

No wonder, then, that many people are perplexed (or vexed) that U.S. forces in Iraq have been unable to find any WMD. Administration officials insist that eventually they will be able to prove that Saddam was working on a dangerous weapons program. They say that two trailers found in northern Iraq are in fact mobile bioweapon labs, capable of brewing up enough anthrax in a weekend to snuff out a city. But some of Bush’s top men are beginning to sound a little defensive or unsure, and congressional critics are starting to circle. Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz caused a flap by telling Vanity Fair magazine that removing Saddam’s WMD was a “bureaucratic” justification for going to war (Wolfowitz says that he was quoted out of context). A recently retired State Department intelligence analyst directly involved in assessing the Iraqi threat, Greg Thielmann, flatly told NEWSWEEK that inside the government, “there is a lot of sorrow and anger at the way intelligence was misused. You get a strong impression that the administration didn’t think the public would be enthusiastic about the idea of war if you attached all those qualifiers.”

The prospect of a serious inquiry hung uneasily over a small dinner party of top intelligence officials, including Tenet, in Washington last week. The guests “were stressed and grumpy,” reports a former CIA official who was present. “There was a lot of rolling of eyes and groans” about a coming wave of investigations. Tenet tried to reassure his dinner partners that the second-guessing was premature. “We’ll be fine,” he said. In an unusual move, the DCI two days later put out a public statement defending the CIA’s “integrity and objectivity.” The job of the CIA director is, as the former agency official puts it, “to speak truth to power.” The CIA is supposed to be an independent agency that doesn’t blow in the political wind.

It is doubtful that congressional investigators or reporters will turn up evidence that anyone at the CIA or any other intelligence agency flat-out lied or invented evidence. More likely, interviews with some of the main players suggest, the facts will show that the agency was unable to tell the Bush administration what it wanted to hear. Tenet might have tried harder to keep the Bushies from leaping to unwarranted conclusions. In fact, in one case, he aggressively pushed evidence about an Iraqi nuclear program that was strongly challenged by nuclear-weapons experts elsewhere in the government. But the agency’s failure was more elemental: the CIA was unable to penetrate Saddam’s closed world and learn, with any real precision, his real capabilities and intentions. That is truly disturbing news for the war on terror. If America has entered a new age of pre-emption—when it must strike first because it cannot afford to find out later if terrorists possess nuclear or biological weapons—exact intelligence is critical. How will the United States take out a mad despot or a nuclear bomb hidden in a cave if the CIA can’t say for sure where they are? And how will Bush be able to maintain support at home and abroad? The story of how U.S. intelligence tracked Iraq’s WMD capability, pieced together by NEWSWEEK from interviews with top administration and intelligence officials, is not encouraging.

WAS HE JUST BLUFFING?

The case that Saddam possessed WMD was based, in large part, on assumptions, not hard evidence. If Saddam did not possess a forbidden arsenal, the reasoning went, why, then, would he put his country through the agony of becoming an international pariah and ultimately risk his regime? Was he just bluffing in some fundamentally stupid way? Earlier U.N. weapons inspectors projected that Saddam kept stores of anthrax and VX, but they had no proof. In recent years, the CIA detected some signs of Saddam’s moving money around, building additions to suspected WMD sites, and buying chemicals and equipment abroad that could be used to make chem-bio weapons. But the spooks lacked any reliable spies, or HUMINT (human intelligence), inside Iraq.

Then came the defectors. Former Iraqi officials fleeing the regime told of underground bunkers and labs hiding vast stores of chemical and biological weapons and nuclear materials. The CIA, at first, was skeptical. Defectors in search of safe haven sometimes stretch or invent the facts. The true believers in the Bush administration, on the other hand, embraced the defectors and credited their stories. Many of the defectors were sent to the Americans by Ahmed Chalabi, the politically ambitious and controversial Iraqi exile. Chalabi’s chief patron is Richard Perle, the former Reagan Defense Department official and charter member of the so-called neocons, the hard-liners who occupy many top jobs in the Bush national-security establishment. The CIA was especially wary of Chalabi, whom they regarded as a con man (Chalabi has been convicted of bank fraud in Jordan; he denies the charges). But rather than accept the CIA’s doubts, top officials in the Bush Defense Department set up their own team of intelligence analysts, a small but powerful shop now called the Office of Special Plans—and, half-jokingly, by its members, “the Cabal.”
The Cabal was eager to find a link between Saddam and Al Qaeda, especially proof that Saddam played a role in the 9-11 attacks. The hard-liners at Defense seized on a report that Muhammad Atta, the chief hijacker, met in Prague in early April 2001 with an Iraqi intelligence official. Only one problem with that story, the FBI pointed out. Atta was traveling at the time between Florida and Virginia Beach, Va. (The bureau had his rental car and hotel receipts.)

**SEARCHING FOR NUKEs**

No matter. The Iraq hawks at Defense and in the office of Vice President Dick Cheney continued to push the idea that Saddam had both stockpiles of WMD and links to terrorists who could deliver those weapons to American cities. Speeches and statements by Cheney, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and Bush himself repeated these claims throughout the fall of 2002 and the winter of 2003. One persistent theme: that Saddam was intent on building a nuke. On Oct. 7, for instance, Bush predicted in a speech in Cincinnati that Saddam could have “a nuclear weapon in less than a year.”

The evidence sometimes cited to support Saddam’s nuclear program was shaky, however. On the morning after Bush’s State of the Union address in January, Greg Thielmann, who had recently resigned from the State Department’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR)—whose duties included tracking Iraq’s WMD program—read the text in the newspaper. Bush had cited British intelligence reports that Saddam was trying to purchase “significant quantities of uranium from Africa.”

Thielmann was floored. “When I saw that, it really blew me away,” Thielmann told NEWSWEEK. Thielmann knew about the source of the allegation. The CIA had come up with some documents purporting to show Saddam had attempted to buy up to 500 tons of uranium oxide from the African country of Niger. INR had concluded that the purchases were implausible—and made that point clear to Powell’s office. As Thielmann read that the president had relied on these documents to report to the nation, he thought, “Not that stupid piece of garbage. My thought was, how did that get into the speech?” It later turned out that the documents were a forgery, and a crude one at that, peddled to the Italians by an entrepreneurial African diplomat. The Niger minister of Foreign Affairs whose name was on the letterhead had been out of office for more than 10 years. The most cursory checks would have exposed the fraud.

The strongest evidence that Saddam was building a nuke was the fact that he was secretly importing aluminum tubes that could be used to help make enriched uranium. At least it seemed that way. In early September, just before Bush was scheduled to speak to the United Nations about the Iraqi threat, the story was leaked to Judith Miller and Michael Gordon of The New York Times, which put it on page one. That same Sunday (Sept. 8), Cheney and national-security adviser Condoleezza Rice went on the talk shows to confirm the story.

**NOT-SO-SECRET WEAPONS**

At the CIA, Tenet seems to have latched on to the tubes as a kind of smoking gun. He brought one of the tubes to a closed Senate hearing that same month. But from the beginning, other intelligence experts in the government had their doubts. After canvassing experts at the nation’s nuclear labs, the Department of Energy concluded that the tubes were the wrong specification to be used in a centrifuge, the equipment used to enrich uranium. The State Department’s INR concluded that the tubes were meant to be used for a multiple-rocket-launching system. (And Saddam was not secretly buying them; the purchase order was posted on the Internet.) In two reports to Powell, INR concluded there was no reliable evidence that Iraq had restarted a nuclear program at all. “These were not weaselly worded,” said Thielmann. “They were as definitive as these things go.” These dissents were duly recorded in a classified intelligence estimate. But they were largely dropped from the declassified version made available to the public. U.N. inspectors say they have found solid proof that Iraq bought the tubes to build small rockets, not nukes.

The real test of the government’s case against Saddam came in the testimony by Secretary of State Powell delivered to the United Nations on Feb. 5. Powell, the administration’s in-house moderate, was very wary of being set up for a fall by the administration hawks. Presented with a “script” by the White House national-security staff, Powell suspected that the hawks had been “cherry-picking,” looking for any intel that supported their position and ignoring anything to the contrary.

Powell ordered his aides to check out every fact. And to make sure he would not be left hanging if the intel case against Saddam somehow proved to be full of holes, he gently but firmly informed Tenet that the DCI should come up to New York—and take his place behind the secretary of State at the U.N. General Assembly. (“I don’t think George looked too comfortable sitting there,” said a former top official, chuckling, in 41’s administration.)

For four days and nights, Powell and Tenet, top aides and top analysts and, from time to time, Rice, pored over the evidence—and discarded much of it. Out went suggestions linking Saddam to 9-11. The bogus Niger documents were dumped. Powell did keep a hedged endorsement of the aluminum tubes and contended that Saddam “harbored” Al Qaeda operatives. His most compelling offering to the United Nations was tape recordings (picked up by spy satellites) of Iraqi officials who appeared intent on hiding something from the U.N. arms inspectors. Just what they were hiding was never quite clear.
The almost round-the-clock vetting process in Tenet’s conference room at the CIA was tense and difficult, according to several participants. The debate over whether to include the purported links between Al Qaeda and Saddam went on right up to the eve of Powell’s speech.

CENTCOM VERSUS CIA

Powell’s presentation did not persuade the U.N. Security Council, but it did help convince many Americans that Saddam was a real threat. As the military began to gear up for an invasion, top planners at Central Command tried to get a fix from the CIA on WMD sites they could take out with bombs and missiles. After much badgering, says an informed military source, the CIA allowed the CENTCOM planners to see what the agency had on WMD sites. “It was crap,” said a CENTCOM planner. The sites were “mostly old friends,” buildings bombed by the military back in the 1991 gulf war, another source said. The CIA had satellite photos of the buildings. “What was inside the structures was another matter,” says the source. “We asked, ‘Well, what agents are in these buildings? Because we need to know.’ And the answer was, ‘We don’t know’,” the CENTCOM planner recalled.

When the military visited these sites after the war, they found nothing but rubble. No traces of WMD. Nor did Special Forces find any of the 20 or so Scud missiles, possibly tipped with chem-bio warheads, that were said by the CIA to be lurking somewhere in the Western Desert. The search is not over. While CENTCOM is pulling out its initial teams of WMD hunters, the Pentagon has created a whole new program to search sites, looking for the elusive WMD. It is disheartening that the military was unable to secure Saddam’s large nuclear-material storage site at Al Tuwaitha before the looters got there. Materials for a “dirty bomb” could have found their way by now into the hands of terrorists.

And so the searching—and guessing—goes on. So do the bureaucratic wars: last week one of the founders in the Cabal had his security clearance pulled—by enemies in the intelligence community, his associates suspected. The CIA has done a reasonably good job of tracking down Al Qaeda chieftains, capturing about half of them so far. Despite some reports of low morale (mostly from retired analysts), the agency is well funded and well aware of its central role in the war on terror. The spooks for the most part know the imprecise nature of their business. It would be healthier if politicians and policymakers did, too. A little realism would be a good thing, especially in an age of sneak attacks by both sides, when the margin for error is just about zero.

With Mark Hosenball and John Barry in Washington and Tamara Lipper in St. Petersburg


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Time
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Pg. 28

Weapons Of Mass Disappearance

The war in Iraq was based largely on intelligence about banned arms that still haven't been found. Was America’s spy craft wrong — or manipulated?

By Michael Duffy

How do take your country to war when it doesn't really want to go? You could subcontract with another nation, fight on the sly and hope no one notices. But if you need a lot of troops to prevail and you would like to remind everyone in the neighborhood who's boss anyway, then what you need most is a good reason — something to stir up the folks back home.

As the U.S. prepared to go to war in Iraq last winter, the most compelling reason advanced by George W. Bush to justify a new kind of pre-emptive war was that Saddam Hussein possessed nuclear, chemical and biological arms — weapons of mass destruction (WMD). "There's no doubt in my mind but that they currently have chemical and biological weapons," said Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld in January. "We believe he has, in fact, reconstituted nuclear weapons," said Vice President Dick Cheney in March. That Iraq might have WMD was never the only reason the Bush Administration wanted to topple Saddam. But it was the big reason, the casus belli, the public rationale peddled over and over to persuade a skeptical nation, suspicious allies and a hostile United Nations to get behind the controversial invasion. And while that sales pitch fell flat overseas, it worked better than expected at home: by late March, 77% of the public felt that invading U.S. troops would find WMD.

But eight weeks after the war's end, most of that confident intelligence has yet to pan out, and a growing number of experts think it never will. Current and former U.S. officials have begun to question whether the weapons will ever be found in anything like the quantities the U.S. suggested before the war — if found at all — and whether the U.S. gamed the intelligence to justify the invasion.
For now, WMD seems to stand for weapons of mass disappearance. Smarting from the accusations that they had cooked the books, top U.S. officials fanned out late last week to say the hunt would go on and the weapons would eventually be found. CIA officials told TIME that they would produce a round of fresh evidence for increasingly wary lawmakers as early as next week. After dispatching dozens of G.I. patrols to some 300 suspected WMD sites in Iraq over the past two months, only to come up empty-handed, the Pentagon announced last week that it will shift from hunting for banned weapons to hunting for documents and people who might be able to say where banned weapons are — or were. But it is clear that the U.S. is running out of good leads. "We've been to virtually every ammunition supply point between the Kuwaiti border and Baghdad," Lt. General James T. Conway, commander of the 1st Marine Expeditionary Force, said last week. "But they're simply not there."

Wherever they are, the missing weapons are beginning to cause trouble elsewhere. Overseas, British Prime Minister Tony Blair is under fire from critics for overstating the case for war. The accusations came at an awkward moment for Bush, as he began a seven-day diplomatic trip to smooth over relations in Europe and seek peace in the Middle East. Moreover, mistrust about the Iraqi intelligence was growing just as the Administration began to make a similar case against Iran. In order to defend the credibility of his agency, CIA Director George Tenet took the unusual step of issuing a statement last Friday dismissing suggestions that the CIA politicized its intelligence. "Our role is to call it like we see it, to tell policymakers what we know, what we don't know, what we think and what we base it on. That's the code we live by." Asked to translate, an intelligence official explained that if there was a breakdown on the Bush team, it wasn't at the agency. "There's one issue in terms of collecting and analyzing intelligence," he said. "Another issue is what policymakers do with that information. That's their prerogative."

One of the oldest secrets of the secret world is that intelligence work involves as much art as science. While it is difficult, dangerous and expensive to snoop on our enemies with satellite cameras, hidden bugs and old-fashioned dead drops, knowing what all that information really means is the true skill of intelligence work. The information is often so disparate and scattershot that it amounts to little without interpretation. And interpretation has long been the speciality of the hard-liners who fill so many key foreign-policy posts in the Bush Administration. Unlike his father, who ran the CIA briefly in the mid-'70s and prided himself on revitalizing an embattled spy corps, George W. Bush dotted his foreign-policy team with people who have waged a private war with the CIA for years, men who are disdainful of the way the agency gathers secrets — and what it makes of them. Working mainly out of the Pentagon, the hard-liners have long believed that America's spy agency was a complacent captive of the two parties' internationalist wings, too wary and risk averse, too reliant on gadgets and too slow to see enemies poised to strike.

Two Bush aides in particular, Rumsfeld and his Pentagon deputy, Paul Wolfowitz, have a long record of questioning the assumptions, methods and conclusions of the CIA. Wolfowitz was a member of the famous B Team, created in the mid-'70s by the CIA, then headed by Bush's father, to double-check the work of the CIA's line analysts about the military strength of the Soviet Union. Filled with many hard-liners who now work in the younger Bush's Administration, the B Team was spoiling back then for bigger defense budgets and a more aggressive foreign policy. It found many of the CIA's conclusions about the Soviet Union softheaded and naive. Its final report helped launch the Reagan-era defense buildup of the 1980s. Rumsfeld also chaired a bipartisan commission in 1998 set up by Congress to assess the pace of rogue states' missile efforts, which concluded that the CIA wouldn't be able to gather intelligence quickly enough to meet the unseen threats posed by Iran, Iraq and North Korea. That dire prediction — reinforced by a North Korean missile launch a month later — turbocharged the nation's push to build a $100 billion missile shield, now under construction.

The hard-liners' staunch beliefs were powerfully bolstered after 9/11; they quickly concluded that the CIA failed to anticipate the attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center. And they were not reassured by the CIA's performance after 9/11 either. By last fall, Rumsfeld had grown so impatient with the CIA's equivocal explanations of the Iraq problem that he set up his own mini-CIA at the Pentagon called the Office of Special Plans. It was hatched and designed, as a former U.S. official puts it, to get "the intelligence he wanted."

Several current and former military officers who saw all the relevant data through this spring charge that the Pentagon took the raw data from the CIA and consistently overinterpreted the threat posed by Iraq's stockpiles. "There was a predisposition in this Administration to assume the worst about Saddam," a senior military officer told TIME. This official, recently retired, was deeply involved in planning the war with Iraq but left the service after concluding that the U.S. was going to war based on bum intelligence. "They were inclined to see and interpret evidence a particular way to support a very deeply held conviction," the officer says. "I just think they felt there needed to be some sort of rallying point for the American people. I think they said it sincerely, but I also think that at the end of the day, we'll find out their interpretations of the intelligence were wrong." Another official, an Army intelligence officer, singled out Rumsfeld for massaging the facts. "Rumsfeld was deeply, almost pathologically distorting the intelligence," says the officer. Rumsfeld told a radio audience last week that the "war was not waged
under any false pretense." And an aide flat-out rejects the idea that intelligence was hyped to support the invasion. "We'd disagree very strongly with that," said Victoria Clarke, the chief Pentagon spokeswoman.

Over the past two weeks, TIME has interviewed several dozen current and former intelligence officials and experts at the Pentagon and CIA and on Capitol Hill to try to understand how the public version of the intelligence got so far ahead of the evidence. The reporting suggests that from the start the process was more deductive than empirical. According to these officials, three factors were at work:

**Treating the worst-case scenario as fact.** One official said the process often went this way: the agency would send to the Pentagon three ways to interpret one piece of information, such as a new satellite photo or telephone intercept, and the Pentagon would always opt for the most dire explanation. This inclination accounts in part for the controversial conclusion by the Defense Department that Iraq's aluminum tubes were for the production of uranium for nuclear weapons. Seasoned experts at the Energy Department's Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in California disagreed, but their view — the most expert government interpretation available — was either ignored or overruled. "They made a decision to turn a blind eye to other explanations," says David Albright, a former International Atomic Energy Agency arms inspector who now heads the Institute for Science and International Security in Washington. "If the Pentagon said the worst-case assessment is that within a short period of time Iraq could build nuclear weapons, we'd agree with that. But we have trouble when they start portraying the worst-case scenario as fact. And I think that's the case here."

**Glossing over ambiguities.** Before the war, one of the little-stated but central realities of U.S. intelligence gathering in Iraq was that it was never great in the first place. It often depended on defectors with personal agendas and tall tales that some U.S. officials were eager to believe. Saddam went to extreme lengths to hide and deceive, and while those habits can help make an argument for invasion, they made for poor intelligence on all kinds of weapons programs. That was one reason it took the U.S. so long to unveil its data in the first place: it was fuzzy and subjective. A civilian intelligence official who continues to see all the intelligence said, "It was always, on its face, ambiguous. There were lots of indications of WMD and some signs of deceptions and efforts to hide. But when you probed and asked tough questions, the body language and attitude of the analysts was always, 'We're not sure. We think, but we're not sure.' Now if you want to conclude that Saddam is a big problem, then you don't necessarily probe and ask all the tough questions."

**Fudging mistakes.** One of the most dramatic charges came from Bush in his State of the Union speech this year when he said Saddam had sought to buy uranium from an African nation, later identified as Niger. It wasn't long before the claim, lifted from a British intelligence report, was revealed to be bogus. The documents on which the charge was based were discovered to be forged and faked. But rather than withdraw the charge, the White House claimed instead that Bush omitted any reference to Niger because reports that Saddam had sought uranium had come, an official explained, "from more than one country and more than one source." The other nation, if it exists, has yet to be named. But the mystery has led the Senate Intelligence Committee to ask the CIA for an investigation. But if the Bush team overreached, one nagging question is, Why? A defense expert who has spent 20 years watching Republicans argue about foreign policy from the inside believes the hard-liners' agenda isn't about Iraq or even oil. It's simply that the most zealous defenders of America's role in the world are congenitally disposed to overreact to every threat — which leads them to read too much into the intelligence. "They came in with a world view, and they looked for things to fit into it," says Lawrence Korb, who served in the Reagan Pentagon and now works at the Council on Foreign Relations. "If you hadn't had 9/11, they would be doing the same things to China."

The U.S. does appear to have one solid argument on its side: those mysterious mobile biowarfare labs. The CIA shared its findings with reporters last week about two tractor-trailer trucks seized in Iraq that it claims were designed for the production of biological weapons. The agency published a nine-page white paper on its website about the mobile labs — allegations that are very similar to charges made by Secretary of State Colin Powell in his U.N. speech on Feb. 5. President Bush pointed to the trucks last week as the best evidence yet that the intelligence wasn't overheated. And en route to Europe, Powell ventured to the back of Air Force One and explained to reporters a bit more about how the U.S. learned of the vans' purpose. "We didn't just make them up one night. Those were eyewitness accounts of people who had worked in the program and knew it was going on, multiple accounts."

Powell sarcastically dismissed alternative explanations: "Oh, it was a hydrogen-making thing for balloons. No. There's no question in my mind what it was designed for." But even Powell acknowledged that there were no signs of pathogens in the trucks.

Top U.S. officials believe the missing weapons are so well hidden that it will take months or perhaps years to find them — an explanation that has the added virtue of giving them a lot more time. G.I.s have searched only about a third of the 900 suspected sites across the Iraqi countryside. Even the Administration's positions are in flux. Saddam, according to Rumsfeld, could have destroyed the weapons right before the war or even moved them out of the
country. "I don't know the answer," Rumsfeld said last week, "and I suspect we'll find out a lot more information as we go along and keep interrogating people."

After a war, the victors always write the history, and that means they can rewrite the war's causes. Even without WMD, the mass graves discovered in Iraq prove that Saddam was a despot worthy of toppling. For many — including some in the Administration — that did not seem a sufficient reason to launch the last war. But until the missing weapons are found, it could be a long time before an American President will be able to rely on his interpretation of intelligence data to launch another war.

Reported by Perry Bacon Jr., Timothy J. Burger, James Carney, John F. Dickerson and Mark Thompson/Washington and J.F.O. McAllister/London

http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1101030609-455828,00.html

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Iraqi Scientist Links Weapons to 'Dual Use' Facilities, White House Says

By Walter Pincus, Washington Post Staff Writer

The Bush administration says it has been told by an Iraqi scientist that Saddam Hussein in past years decentralized the chemical and biological weapons programs by putting production equipment within commercial facilities so that it would not be discovered but could be used when needed to produce deadly agents.

The scientist, in a May 7 White House document made available to The Washington Post, describes Iraq as having "carefully embedded its [weapons of mass destruction] infrastructure in dual-use facilities" with chemical weapons production "on demand" or "just in time."

The document noted that "facilities for making deadly nerve agents were also producing legitimate products like pesticides," but "such sites also could employ 'just in time' manufacturing and delivery systems to reduce the need for stockpiles." It said the Iraqi tractor-trailer seized in northern Iraq in April and outfitted with equipment that could be used to manufacture biological agents represented "physical evidence of such an approach."

Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld, who recently said it was possible Hussein destroyed his chemical and biological weapons, referred to this approach Friday, saying there was "speculation" Iraq had arranged the weapons programs so that it "could do what in business you would call 'just-in-time delivery.' " Rumsfeld, during an Infinity radio town hall meeting, said Iraq then would not have to maintain "large stocks [of chemical or biological agents] which are dangerous and can be a problem, but in fact have things like this mobile laboratory which can produce things in a rapid way and have them when you need them."

This new assumption is the latest in the Bush administration's evolving search of justifications for its prewar claims that Hussein posed an unacceptable threat because of his weapons of mass destruction programs. Like other administration assessments that Iraq had dispersed its stocks of chemical and biological weapons to loyal troops, hidden them, buried them, destroyed them just before the war or transferred them to another country, this one may or may not pan out.

Yesterday, after CIA Director George J. Tenet's unusual public defense Friday of his analysts' prewar presentation of Iraq's weapons programs, Republican and Democratic senators called for congressional hearings to explore whether failure to discover actual weapons or biological or chemical agents meant intelligence was exaggerated or politicized.

The CIA has since February had its own internal study underway, and the House and Senate intelligence committees said last week they would launch inquiries. Yesterday, Sen. John W. Warner (R-Va.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said he might join the intelligence panel's investigation. Warner, a strong supporter of the war in Iraq, said on CNN's "Late Edition," "The fact that we're just investigating it, should not in any way indicate that we're putting any credibility doubt against" the CIA or the Bush administration.

Warner said Tenet is sending Congress a compilation of "all the statements made by the administration on weapons of mass destruction and the underlying intelligence that supported those statements."

Rep. Jane Harmon (D-Calif.), ranking minority member of the House intelligence panel, said she is not just concerned about justifying previous intelligence. She said on CNN that if weapons of mass destruction were buried
somewhere, "someone knows where that is, Saddam Hussein and his sons may still be alive, and the major moral underpinning of our war, to prevent him from using [weapons of mass destruction] against American interests and Iraqi citizens, may still be out there."

Sen. Bob Graham (D-Fla.), the former chairman of the Senate intelligence panel and a presidential candidate, said, "If we don't find these weapons of mass destruction, it will represent a serious intelligence failure or the manipulation of that intelligence to keep the American people in the dark." Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Del.), the ranking Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that to believe Iraq had some chemical and biological weapons was reasonable, based on what United Nations inspectors said had been unaccounted for from Baghdad's 1991 disclosure of its stocks.

But Biden, appearing on CBS's "Face the Nation," said the administration "hyped" the "prospect of [Hussein] having nuclear capability," "the connection to al Qaeda" and "their absolute certainty that they had some sense that they knew where these weapons were." The danger of losing credibility because of such hyping, Biden said, could have future implications "because now you're already seeing the case being made about Iran's nuclear weapons and biological weapons."

However, Sens. John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Christopher J. Dodd (D-Conn.) said they were convinced Iraq had weapons based on intelligence they had seen. McCain added during an appearance on ABC's "This Week" that based on the mass graves uncovered, "I believe that our liberation of Iraq was fully vindicated."


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Pg. 1

Analysis Of Iraqi Weapons 'Wrong'

The predicted use of banned agents did not occur, a Marine commander says. The CIA chief defends his staff's assessments.

By Greg Miller, Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — The top Marine commander in Iraq said Friday that U.S. intelligence was "simply wrong" in its assessment that Saddam Hussein intended to unleash chemical or biological weapons against U.S. forces during the war, but he stopped short of saying there was an overall intelligence failure.

Lt. Gen. James Conway, commander of the 1st Marine Expeditionary Force, also said he had fully expected U.S. forces to find evidence of weapons of mass destruction after the war ended.

"It was a surprise to me then, it remains a surprise to me now, that we have not uncovered weapons," Conway said from Baghdad in a teleconference call with reporters in Washington.

"It's not for lack of trying," he said. "We've been to virtually every ammunition supply point between the Kuwaii border and Baghdad, but they're simply not there."

The subject of the search for banned weapons is becoming an increasingly uncomfortable one for the Bush administration, with several influential lawmakers this week saying they believe the White House hyped the Iraq threat or was misled by the intelligence community. Other critics have alleged that the Pentagon pressured the intelligence community to skew its analyses.

Amid the mounting criticism, CIA Director George J. Tenet took the unusual step of issuing a statement Friday denying that the agency's assessments on Iraq were politicized.

"Our role is to call it like we see it — to tell policymakers what we know, what we don't know, what we think, and what we base it on," Tenet said. "That is exactly what was done and continues to be done on intelligence issues related to Iraq."

He added that he was proud of the work done by the agency's analysts, saying, "The integrity of our process was maintained throughout."

Conway, the Marine commander, acknowledged that "intelligence failure" is "too strong a word to use at this point."

But he said: "What the regime was intending to do in terms of its use of the weapons, we thought we understood — or we certainly had our best guess, our most dangerous, our most likely courses of action that the intelligence folks were giving us. We were simply wrong."

"But whether or not we're wrong at the national level, I think, still very much remains to be seen."

Conway, who said he still believes it is possible that weapons of mass destruction will be found, spoke as the Pentagon disclosed details of its plans to send a new team of more than 1,000 experts to search for evidence of

In a separate news briefing Friday, Dayton suggested that it is possible that Iraq deliberately misled U.S. intelligence agencies, making them think that weapons were being produced and deployed even as they were secretly being destroyed.

"We may find out three months from now that there was an elaborate deception program and the stuff was destroyed," Dayton said. Asked whether he believes the new search teams would uncover evidence of illicit munitions, Dayton offered a cautious reply.

"Do I think we're going to find something? Yeah, I kind of do," he said, adding that he still believes Washington's sources of intelligence on Iraq before the war were credible.

Secretary of State Colin L. Powell, who was largely responsible for arguing the administration's case for the war on Iraq to a skeptical international community, told reporters Friday that all of the evidence he presented at a prewar U.N. Security Council meeting was solid.

"Everything I presented on the 5th of February, I can tell you, there was good sourcing for, was not politicized. It was solid information," Powell said. "Let people look into it, let people examine it." Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld also defended the administration's actions in the months before the Iraq campaign, saying in a radio interview Thursday, "This war was not waged under any false pretext."

And Deputy Defense Secretary Paul D. Wolfowitz, in an interview with Vanity Fair magazine, sought to minimize the importance of weapons of mass destruction in the administration's calculus for war.

"For bureaucratic reasons, we settled on one issue, weapons of mass destruction, because it was the one reason everyone could agree on," Wolfowitz said in comments released Wednesday.

Even as senior administration officials sought to deflect criticism, the issue appeared to gain momentum in Washington.

Rep. Jane Harman (D-Venice), the ranking Democrat on the House Intelligence Committee, said she and others based their votes for supporting the war in Iraq on White House claims that Baghdad posed a direct and growing threat to the United States.

"If it turns out that the intelligence was flawed, that will undercut the administration's credibility in making its case for this war and any future war," Harman said. Were the White House to press for confronting Iran or another country now, she said, "there would be a clamor against it until these questions [on Iraq] are answered." Harman stressed that she believes that Iraq possessed banned weapons in the 1990s but may have destroyed or moved them before the war. She and Rep. Porter J. Goss (R-Fla.), chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, sent a letter to Tenet recently asking for a report by July 1 reconciling prewar intelligence with what has been found on the ground in Iraq.

The CIA has already launched an extensive review of its intelligence. The post-mortem, reported in The Times on April 19, was planned before the war and is described by agency officials as a "lessons learned" exercise. The agency is also coming under some criticism from former analysts. A group of retirees, calling itself Veteran Intelligence Professionals for Sanity, recently sent a letter to the White House calling the assessments on Iraq an "intelligence fiasco of monumental proportions." The letter was first reported in Friday's New York Times.

A U.S. intelligence official brushed aside the criticism, saying that most of the members of the group "left the agency years ago and they simply are not in a position to comment knowledgeably on current analytic work." The group could not be reached for comment.

Pentagon officials said Friday that U.S. teams had visited about 300 of the more than 900 suspected weapons sites identified before the war. So far, no chemical or biological agents, or even precursor materials, have been recovered. The U.S. seized two vehicles in northern Iraq last month that the CIA believes were mobile biological weapons production facilities, although officials acknowledge there is no evidence the trailers were ever used to produce any illegal agents.

On Friday, President Bush told a reporter for Polish television that the trailers were evidence of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction.

"We found biological laboratories They're illegal. They're against the United Nations resolutions, and we've so far discovered two. And we'll find more weapons as time goes on," said the president, who flew Friday to Poland, the first leg of a several-nation tour. "But for those who say we haven't found the banned manufacturing devices or banned weapons, they're wrong, we found them."

The Pentagon is in the midst of a major overhaul of its weapons hunt. Dayton said there will be a "decreased emphasis on fixed sites" and a greater focus on combing captured documents and questioning Iraqis for information on weapons programs.
"We're not going to mechanically go down the list and check off locations," he said. He could not say how many of the remaining, unvisited sites had been secured by U.S. forces.

Dayton is scheduled to leave Monday for Baghdad to lead what is being called the Iraq Survey Group, a team of experts, analysts and other workers taking over the mission from existing Army units.

Only 200 to 300 members will be actively involved in the search for banned weapons on a day-to-day basis, Dayton said, a slight increase over the size of existing search teams. The group's job will also include looking for evidence of links between Hussein and Al Qaeda — another allegation the administration has so far been unable to prove — as well as collecting evidence of war crimes.

Stephen A. Cambone, the undersecretary of defense for intelligence, said it has not been decided whether U.N. teams will be invited to participate in the search for chemical or biological arms, although he suggested it was possible.

Cambone also insisted that he remains convinced that prewar intelligence suggesting the presence of illicit arms was accurate.

"I do not believe the administration is backing away from that position," he said. "Nothing that has happened over the last month has changed my view or, as far as I know, the view of others on the subject."

Earlier in the day, the Marines' Conway had discussed in some detail theater commanders' expectations that they would probably encounter chemical weapons as they pushed rapidly toward Baghdad. The 1st Marine Expeditionary Force was responsible for a main thrust of the campaign along the Euphrates and Tigris rivers.

Conway said U.S. commanders had anticipated four "triggers" that would prompt Iraq to fire chemical weapons, including crossings of the two rivers.

"There were times where everybody was sleeping with their boots on and with their gas masks pretty close," he said. "We truly thought that [chemical weapons] were distributed" among Iraqi units.

*Times staff writer Maura Reynolds in Krakow, Poland, contributed to this report.*