



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

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Issue No. 307, 23 December 2003

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*Welcome to the CPC Outreach Journal. As part of USAF Counterproliferation Center's mission to counter weapons of mass destruction through education and research, we're providing our government and civilian community a source for timely counterproliferation information. This information includes articles, papers and other documents addressing issues pertinent to US military response options for dealing with nuclear, biological and chemical threats and attacks. It's our hope this information resource will help enhance your counterproliferation issue awareness.*

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# Classified Look at U.S. Biodefense Nearly Finished

By Ceci Connolly

Washington Post Staff Writer

Tuesday, December 16, 2003; Page A02

Senior White House officials are nearing completion of a classified "Biodefense End-to-End Assessment" that systematically catalogues the gaps in the nation's safeguards against biological attack and begins to develop strategies for filling them, say bioterrorism experts in and out of government.

The effort is being spearheaded by retired Gen. John Gordon, President Bush's homeland security adviser, who surveyed domestic security "from 30,000 feet," said one administration aide, with the intention of better prioritizing nearly \$6 billion in annual biodefense spending.

The White House timed completion of the assessment to the budget process, intending to shift more money to areas of weakness or projects that hold special promise of improving security. A few people said Bush may also tout the project in his State of the Union address next month.

In response to inquiries, Gordon released a statement yesterday confirming the effort, which had been so secret that even some of the individuals contributing to it were not aware of the scope of the project.

"This is the first time anybody tried to look at the whole bio problem across the board," said one participant. This person said biological warfare continues to be a top concern because of the ever-changing, increasingly sophisticated nature of science. Genetic engineering and technological advances mean a never-ending supply of new, unanticipated threats, he said.

"It's easy to hypothesize an infinite variety of science-fictionary threats," he said, "but we need to focus on what's realistic."

Researchers at Sandia National Laboratories in New Mexico, for instance, have been developing a foam that neutralizes anthrax spores. Pentagon officials continue work on detection systems for potentially lethal biological agents such as smallpox, anthrax or ebola. And several agencies within the Department of Health and Human Services are researching new antidotes and vaccines.

For some time, security experts have fretted that the nation's biological defense programs were spread out over too many agencies, often consumed by infighting over staff, money and prestige. Even with the formation of the Department of Homeland Security in early 2003, there was still a sense among some that no one in the administration had a complete picture of what has been done and what needs to be done to strengthen defenses against a biological attack.

A fresh iteration of those concerns was released yesterday by the homeland security commission chaired by former Virginia governor James S. Gilmore III. In its report, the commission warns that anti-terrorism "momentum appears to have waned" and efforts are often hampered by "the lack of a clear, articulated vision from the federal level."

George Foresman, a commission member and deputy director of Virginia's Office of Preparedness, said he would welcome a comprehensive review and recommendations by the White House. He worries that the Department of Homeland Security has focused too heavily on immediate crises and protecting physical assets -- "gates, guns and guards," as he put it.

"There needs to be an entity outside DHS at a high enough level that in the quiet of the moment can look ahead, whether it's six months or 10 years, and be sure our activities are correctly synchronized," Foresman said.

Military personnel and advisers to Vice President Cheney have been integrally involved in the assessment, though the project has stretched far beyond typical national security experts to include food safety staff in the Agriculture Department, scientists at the National Institutes of Health and officials from the Office of Management and Budget. A half dozen people involved with the assessment spoke on condition of anonymity.

"There are things going on in various pockets of the government that other agencies don't know about," said one outside consultant who has contributed ideas. "General Gordon's office is looking at this very holistically."

In his statement acknowledging the effort, Gordon said: "Working with all government agencies responsible for biodefense issues, the Homeland Security Council is leading and coordinating an assessment of U.S. preparedness, vulnerabilities, and capabilities for defending against bioterrorist attack. This assessment will enable us to evaluate the wide range of biodefense activities throughout the government and further improve our ability to protect the American people against this threat."

The assessment is divided into six main categories -- threat assessment and awareness, prevention, protection, surveillance and detection, response and recovery, and response to future threats. It places heavy emphasis on developing new "countermeasures" such as vaccines and antidotes to protect civilians from a host of existing and future biological agents, said one top official.

In many instances the report "redirects agencies and redirects priorities," said one author. Some gaps identified by Gordon's group, such as the need for more sensitive detection systems, will receive additional money, said one

adviser. Other problems, such as how to respond to mass casualty disasters, cannot be solved with cash, the source said.

"There is no silver bullet to that problem," the adviser said. "We need to encourage smart people who really know the problem to continue to explore the options."

Gordon, former administrator of the National Nuclear Security Administration and former deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency, took over the Homeland Security Council at the White House after Tom Ridge was elevated to the Cabinet.

Bush allies hope Gordon's assessment will quell some critics. One administration official said the average citizen would be "amazed" at the progress that has been made since Sept. 11, 2001. Among the accomplishments are: a vastly expanded pharmaceutical stockpile; modernizations at most state laboratories; the "Bio-Watch" network of sensors capable of detecting dangerous biological agents; and plans for handling quarantines.

"We've made significant progress on biodefense since 9/11 and the anthrax attacks of 2001," Gordon said. "These are important first steps, but we are constantly evaluating the threats we face and the new technologies and methods for addressing those threats."

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A3082-2003Dec15.html>

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(Editors Note: Hyperlinks for referenced report follows article. These links were also in Outreach Journal #306.)

## **U.S. Is Losing Focus on Terror Fight, Panel Says**

Associated Press

Tuesday, December 16, 2003; Page A35

The effort to protect Americans from terrorism "appears to have waned" since the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks as both the government and its citizens worry more about the latest disaster or health crisis, a federal commission said yesterday.

In calling for the government to refocus on anti-terrorism efforts, the advisory panel also backed an independent board to make sure that efforts to monitor suspected terrorists do not infringe on Americans' civil liberties. The commission is chaired by former Virginia governor and Republican Party chairman James S. Gilmore III.

The report was the last of five by the nonpartisan panel created by Congress in 1998. L. Paul Bremer was a member until he was named the U.S. Iraq administrator, as was Donald H. Rumsfeld until he became defense secretary. The commission, whose efforts were supported by the Rand Corp. think tank, is to go out of business early next year.

Events such as Hurricane Isabel in September and the current flu epidemic have diverted the government's attention from anti-terrorism efforts, said the commission, officially known as the Advisory Panel to Assess Domestic Response Capabilities for Terrorism Involving Weapons of Mass Destruction.

"Americans have very short-term memories," said commission vice chairman George Foresman, deputy director of Virginia's office of preparedness. "People are dealing with the reality of their lives today."

Commission members outlined several problems: The Homeland Security Department is trying to merge 22 agencies. Federal officials have not given clear directions to state and local governments on what they need to do in the anti-terrorism effort. And the private sector, which owns many power plants, the nation's commercial air fleet and other critical elements of the infrastructure, needs to be brought into the planning.

"The momentum appears to have waned as people, businesses and governments react to the uncertainties in combating terrorism and to the challenge of creating a unified enterprise," the report said.

Homeland Security Department spokesman Brian Roehrkasse said the effort to protect Americans has not faltered. Homeland security professionals, he said, "are more focused than ever on their task of reducing our vulnerabilities, building in new layers of protection and enhancing our capabilities to respond to terrorism."

The commission also said government should balance the need to prevent terrorism with the need to preserve civil liberties. The panel called for an independent, bipartisan board to make sure that techniques used to fight terrorism, such as using military satellites, allowing law enforcement authorities to monitor lawful protests and following suspects through computer databases and traffic cameras, are not also used to spy on Americans.

"We are expressing concern and a simple warning that this must be constantly thought about," Gilmore said. "We should not fall into the pattern of suggesting that the freedoms of the American people should be traded off for their security."

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A2976-2003Dec15.html>

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## THE ADVISORY PANEL TO ASSESS DOMESTIC RESPONSE CAPABILITIES FOR TERRORISM INVOLVING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

December 15, 2003

To Our Readers:

We deliver this *Annual Report*, our fifth and final, impelled by the urgency that America succeed in its efforts to secure the homeland and sustain our national values. In households and communities, State capitols and our nation's capitol, in the workrooms and boardrooms of businesses, and on the battlefield, America seeks its destiny in the post 9-11 era. . . .

[http://www.rand.org/nsrd/terrpanel/volume\\_v/volume\\_v.pdf](http://www.rand.org/nsrd/terrpanel/volume_v/volume_v.pdf) (Full Report)

[http://www.rand.org/nsrd/terrpanel/volume\\_v/volume\\_v\\_summary.pdf](http://www.rand.org/nsrd/terrpanel/volume_v/volume_v_summary.pdf) (Executive Summary and Key Recommendations)

[http://www.rand.org/nsrd/terrpanel/volume\\_v/volume\\_v\\_report\\_only.pdf](http://www.rand.org/nsrd/terrpanel/volume_v/volume_v_report_only.pdf) (Report Only)

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Dec 16, 2003

Washington Times

World Scene

**NORTH KOREA**

### **U.S., China delay nuclear-crisis talks**

WASHINGTON — The United States and China have decided not to resume six-party talks on North Korea's atomic-weapons program this year, but hope to restart them early in 2004, the Bush administration said yesterday. China delivered a plan to North Korea last week in which the United States, South Korea and Japan offered a blueprint for resolving the nuclear dispute. The other nation involved in the talks is Russia.

North Korea rejected the proposal yesterday and warned that Washington's "delaying tactics" would only prompt it to step up its nuclear program.

State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said the Chinese, who helped organize the first round of talks in Beijing in August, told the Americans it would be impossible to convene a meeting this week as they had been trying to do.

"So we're now looking at holding a round early in the new year," Mr. Boucher said.

North Korea wants a deal that would trade its nuclear-weapons program for security assurances and economic aid from the United States. Washington wants North Korea to give up its nuclear weapons first.

<http://www.washtimes.com/world/20031216-121830-2593r.htm>

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The Los Angeles Times

December 16, 2003

THE WORLD

### **For N. Korea's Kim, the Arrest of Hussein Sends an Ominous Signal**

Pyongyang may assume it's a U.S. target, but Bush continues to back talks on nuclear arms.

By Barbara Demick, Times Staff Writer

SEOUL — Hours after Saddam Hussein's capture became public, a Korean American political activist dashed off a congratulatory e-mail to President Bush offering advice.

"I must remind you that there is another evil dictator in North Korea who is much worse than Saddam Hussein. His name is Kim Jong Il.... He has to be tried and captured NOW!!" wrote Sin-U Nam, a prolific critic of the North Korean regime, in the letter later made public.

Bush has said that the United States has no plans to depose Kim. At his news conference Monday, Bush repeated that North Korea will be handled differently from Iraq because Hussein represented a unique threat the world had been unable to resolve for 12 years.

Saying he was reluctant to use force, Bush praised the ongoing diplomatic efforts to create a nuclear-free Korean peninsula.

"We're now co-participants in the process of convincing Kim Jong Il to change his ways," he said. "And that's

exactly where we are in the process, and I'm pleased with the progress we're making. And I hope, of course, he listens."

Yet Hussein's capture is certain to be viewed as an ominous development by the North Korean government. It will embolden U.S. hard-liners who want the administration to push for regime change in the communist country, where the Kim family has ruled for more than half a century. And the arrest will strengthen the U.S. position in six-party talks aimed at persuading North Korea to dismantle its nuclear weapons program.

"The image of Saddam Hussein hiding like a rat in a hole in the ground has got to have a powerful psychological effect on Kim Jong Il," said one American analyst, who asked not to be named.

A standoff over the country's atomic arms has been percolating for more than a year. North Korea has expelled United Nations weapons inspectors, cranked up an old nuclear reactor and begun extracting weapons-grade plutonium, while publicly challenging the United States. The regime in Pyongyang may have assumed that Washington was so beleaguered in Iraq it would be negotiating with a weak hand.

"The North Koreans must be really shocked," said Kim Tae Woo, a diplomatic analyst with the Korea Institute for Defense Analyses in Seoul. "This will make the U.S. much freer and stronger in its dealings with North Korea. And this will highlight the direct threat that the North Korean leadership feels from U.S. military power."

In Washington on Monday, State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said the U.S. and China had determined that the talks would not resume this year but hoped the next round would take place early in 2004.

He said the United States was still calling for the North Koreans to "drop their preconditions for talks."

North Korea has been described by Bush as part of an "axis of evil," along with Iraq and Iran.

"The North Koreans will be more convinced than ever that the Bush administration is out to get them," said Lee Chung Min, an international relations specialist with Yonsei University in Seoul.

At the beginning of the U.S.-led war in Iraq, Kim Jong Il vanished from public view for more than six weeks, prompting speculation that he was hiding in a bunker for fear of assassination. But the North Koreans have been more confident in recent months and have increased their demands, asking for humanitarian aid, the lifting of economic sanctions and energy assistance as preconditions for talks.

Diplomatic analysts are divided on whether the arrest of Hussein will make North Korea a more compliant negotiator. The North Koreans have said repeatedly that the lesson they learned from Iraq was to keep their nuclear weapons as a deterrent to U.S. aggression.

In a commentary published Monday in Rodong Shinmun, an official newspaper, Pyongyang threatened to strengthen its "nuclear deterrent force" if the United States didn't issue a written guarantee that it would not attack.

There was no official reaction to Hussein's capture.

<http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/world/la-fg-norkor16dec16.1.3044831.story>

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The Washington Post

## **Chemical, Nuclear Arms Still 'Major Threat,' Cheney Says**

Vice President Decries 'Cheap Shot' Journalism

*By Mike Allen*

Washington Post Staff Writer

Wednesday, December 17, 2003; Page A15

Vice President Cheney warned this week that "the major threat" facing the nation is the possibility that terrorists could detonate a biological or nuclear weapon in a U.S. city.

Cheney told commentator Armstrong Williams that the war on terrorism is "going to go on for a long time" and that U.S. soil remains vulnerable to al Qaeda, the network behind the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks. The vice president said one of his biggest worries is "the possibility of that group of terrorists acquiring deadlier weapons to use against us -- a biological weapon of some kind, or even a nuclear weapon."

"To contemplate the possibility of them unleashing that kind of capability -- of that kind of weapon, if you will, in the midst of one of our cities -- that's a scary proposition," he said. "It's one of the most important problems we face today, because I think that is the major threat."

Cheney also criticized what he considers a proliferation of "cheap shot journalism" about the administration. "People don't check the facts," he said.

Cheney's language about threats was similar to previous admonitions. He made the remarks in response to a question about what scares him as vice president. He said part of his job is "contemplating sort of worst-case scenarios for attacks on the United States."

Cheney said in the 35-minute interview, taped Monday and made available to The Washington Post yesterday, that he believes "we're winning now" in the war on terrorism.

"We've seen, just recently, of course, the wrap-up of Saddam Hussein, one of the worst offenders in the 20th century," Cheney said. "We've wrapped up a large part of the al Qaeda organization, but there are still a lot of folks out there." He cited an estimate that training camps in Afghanistan in the late 1990s produced at least 20,000 terrorists.

Cheney has often been the subject of critical news coverage, including his prewar allegations about the arsenal of unconventional weapons that Hussein might possess, his refusal to release records of his energy policy task force, and his connection to the Halliburton Co., which has been paid \$5 billion on government contracts for rebuilding Iraq and has been accused by a Pentagon audit of overbilling the Army by \$61 million for gasoline.

Cheney called the free press "a vital part of society," but added: "On occasion, it drives me nuts." When Williams asked what drives him nuts, Cheney said, "When I see stories that are fundamentally inaccurate."

"It's the hypocrisy that sometimes arises when some in the press portray themselves as objective observers of the passing scene, when they obviously are not objective," he said. "Cheap shot journalism. Not everybody is guilty of it, but it happens."

He said coverage has changed over the years, asserting that there is "such an emphasis now on getting there fast with a story that oftentimes accuracy goes out the window."

Cheney did not give examples. But he said many journalists have not tried to find out "the real facts" when writing about Halliburton, a Houston-based energy conglomerate of which he was chairman before becoming Bush's running mate.

"There are an awful lot of people in the press who don't understand the business community," Cheney said. "I think our political opponents have spent a lot of time hammering away on trying to find some allegation that Halliburton got favoritism on contracts, or trying to make some kind of connection they've never been able to make. There's no evidence to support anything like that, but if you repeat it often enough, it becomes sort of an article of faith."

Portions of the interview will air this week on television stations owned by Sinclair Broadcast Group. Locally, that includes WBFF, Channel 45, in Baltimore. The conversation will be shown later on Williams's cable show, "The Right Side," which is on Comcast Channel 6 in the District.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A6345-2003Dec16.html>

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The Washington Post

## Targeting Spread of Deadliest Arms

U.S. Proposes U.N. Resolution Curbing Transfer of Weapons

By Colum Lynch

Washington Post Staff Writer

Wednesday, December 17, 2003; Page A37

UNITED NATIONS, Dec. 16 -- The Bush administration launched its campaign to halt the spread of the world's deadliest weapons to terrorists, providing key U.N. Security Council members with a draft resolution Tuesday that would outlaw the transfer of biological, chemical and nuclear arms to individuals and groups instead of to countries. The move comes nearly three months after President Bush vowed, in a Sept. 23 speech to the U.N. General Assembly, to lead international efforts at the United Nations to curb the trafficking of such weapons. The draft resolution is designed to close gaps in a series of international treaties aimed at limiting the spread of weapons. Citing concerns that "these weapons could be used by terrorists to bring sudden disaster and suffering on a scale we can scarcely imagine," Bush urged the Security Council to adopt a resolution that could criminalize the proliferation of such weapons and compel governments to strengthen their export controls.

The U.S. initiative has been stalled for months by interagency quarrels in Washington over the extent of the Security Council's role in managing the anti-proliferation campaign. U.N. diplomats said it is unlikely that the resolution would be put to a vote before the end of the year.

The four-page draft resolution, which was presented Tuesday afternoon to the representatives of China, Russia, France and Britain, calls on U.N. members to criminalize the proliferation of weapons and to "refrain" from providing support to non-state entities attempting to "acquire, manufacture, possess, transport" chemical, biological or nuclear weapons. It would also require all governments to establish "domestic controls" for tightening their borders and curbing the export and financing of such weapons.

Although the U.S. text urges states to "combat by all means" the spread of such weapons, it contains no enforcement mechanism that would empower the council to impose sanctions against countries that fail to comply.

Britain and Russia had favored the inclusion of an enforcement provision, called Chapter Seven, to give the resolution more teeth, according to U.N. diplomats. But some administration officials were concerned that it would provide the Security Council too powerful a role in monitoring the illicit trade, the diplomats said. Instead, the

United States intends to cite the resolution to bolster its bilateral and regional efforts to curb the spread of the world's deadliest weapons.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A6417-2003Dec16.html>

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The Los Angeles Times

December 17, 2003

THE WORLD

## **Blix Doesn't Expect Capture to Yield Banned Weapons**

Hussein's regime no longer had any such arms, says the former chief U.N. inspector, who is now the head of an independent panel.

From Associated Press

STOCKHOLM — Former chief U.N. weapons inspector Hans Blix said Tuesday that it was becoming "increasingly clear" that Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq did not have any weapons of mass destruction.

Blix, who announced the members of a new Stockholm-based independent commission on banned weapons, said he didn't think Hussein's capture would result in the discovery of any such weapons in Iraq.

"My guess is that there are no weapons of mass destruction left," said Blix, who headed the team of U.N. inspectors that searched Iraq for more than three months before the war without making any significant discovery of chemical, biological or nuclear weapons programs.

Blix said he believed that most of Iraq's banned weapons were destroyed in 1991.

When his inspection teams found a crate of warheads in January, he said, they asked themselves "whether this was the tip of an iceberg, or was it just an ice floe floating around" as a remnant.

"I think it's getting safer and safer to say that it was just an ice floe," Blix said.

The international commission was established this year in Stockholm and aims to provide a new impetus for international efforts to curtail — or stop — the use of banned weapons.

Blix, who heads the panel, retired from the United Nations in June.

<http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/world/la-fg-blix17dec17,1,5294922.story>

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The Washington Post

## **Kay Plans to Leave Search for Iraqi Arms**

Members of Survey Group He Heads Being Diverted to Fight Against Insurgents

*By Dana Priest and Walter Pincus*

Washington Post Staff Writers

Thursday, December 18, 2003; Page A42

David Kay, the head of the U.S. effort to find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, has told administration officials he plans to leave before the Iraq Survey Group's work is completed and could depart before February, U.S. military and intelligence officials said.

The move comes as more of Kay's staff has been diverted from the weapons hunt to help search for Iraqi insurgents, and at a time when expectations remain low that any weaponry will be discovered.

Kay requested the change for personal and family reasons, officials said. When he accepted the job in June, they said, he expected to quickly find the expansive evidence that the administration had claimed as its primary reason for going to war. Rather, Kay's preliminary report in October said the group had so far discovered only that Iraq was working to acquire chemical and biological weapons, had missile programs under various stages of development and possessed only a rudimentary nuclear program.

Two officials confirmed that Kay is planning on leaving early, and said the question remaining is how soon. Kay, who is on holiday leave in the Washington area, could not be reached for comment.

"Kay is thinking of leaving before a final report and perhaps before the next interim report," which is due in February, a senior administration official said yesterday. The survey group is slated to submit its final report next fall. The official said there will be a meeting next week at CIA headquarters where "the next steps will be discussed."

U.S. government officials said Kay's departure will have little practical impact on the day-to-day work of 1,400-member Iraq Survey Group. More worrisome for the administration is that his departure may foster an impression --

incorrect in their view -- that the search is effectively over. His departure leaves the administration looking for a replacement at a time when it is dogged by questions about the failure to find weapons of mass destruction. In an interview Tuesday night with President Bush, ABC correspondent Diane Sawyer asked why the administration stated as a "hard fact" that Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein had such weapons when it appears now he only had the intent to acquire them.

"So what's the difference?" Bush responded. "The possibility that he could acquire weapons. If he were to acquire weapons, he would be the danger."

In recent weeks the U.S. search for weapons has been hampered by the insurgency in Iraq. The threat of attack has impeded the ISG's ability to move around easily. "You can't go where you want to go when you want to go," one senior administration official said.

The insurgency has forced the Pentagon to divert personnel from Kay's team to help commanders identify and question insurgents.

"They took away a lot of his folks, some critical people, the linguists and analysts," Rep. Jane Harman (Calif.), ranking Democrat on the House intelligence committee, said in an interview yesterday from Israel.

In mid-October, Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld agreed to a request by Gen. John Abizaid, head of U.S. Central Command, to make more ISG resources available to the hunt for insurgents, according to a defense official who has seen the order Rumsfeld signed.

The insurgency "now has the same priority as WMD," said another U.S. government official, who added that members of the ISG had interrogated the men who helped identify Hussein's location, for example.

Three intelligence officials said Kay may not return to Iraq from holiday leave, but said he firmly believes the search for weapons should continue.

"Our hope and belief and desire is that he will be going back," said CIA deputy director John McLaughlin said in a recent interview. "If he isn't, it will have to be his call, and we will work with him to choose" a successor.

Charles A. Duelfer, former deputy director of the U.N. weapons inspectors in the early 1990s, said Kay "signed up for six months and I don't think he was keen on staying the [length of] time he was there."

Kay publicized his expectations on Iraq in January, in a Washington Post article, before he was appointed: "When it comes to the U.N. weapons inspection in Iraq, looking for a smoking gun is a fool's mission. That was true 11 years ago when I led the inspections there. It is no less true today. . . . That's because the answer is already clear: Iraq is in breach of U.N. demands that it dismantle its weapons of mass destruction."

David Albright, president of the Institute for Science and International Security and who worked on Iraq inspections in the 1990s, said Kay went to Iraq "with preconceived notions that were so strong" that the weapons programs existed but were hidden. Albright, who recently was in Iraq talking with scientists, said it was important, however, that the ISG work be completed to make sure Iraqi weapons data or expertise is not overlooked "so that a terrorist group could in fact get help."

Harman said that Kay's departure would be "a big loss" because he has been "apolitical and thorough." But, she added, "I don't think it will set back the effort a lot; I'm not personally convinced there's anything there."

The ISG's staff continues to take soil samples, collect suspect equipment, interview Iraqi scientists and analyze hundreds of thousands of documents in a warehouse in Qatar. On Tuesday, for example, they interviewed a dozen Iraqi scientists in detention -- yet again. The interviews have not yielded information that has allowed U.S. authorities to pinpoint the location of weapons caches and related equipment.

The fact that no weapons have been found has become a sore point at the CIA, which is under scrutiny for its assessment by the House and Senate intelligence committees.

In a Nov. 20 memo to employees, CIA Director George J. Tenet defended the agency's analysis. "I continue to believe, as I have said all along, that the work of the intelligence community in assembling the Iraq WMD" National Intelligence Estimate "was solid and professionally done and that this will be borne out."

Responding to a USA Today article asserting that Tenet had ordered investigators to probe whether the agency missed telltale signs on WMD issues, Tenet said he had asked a former top CIA official, Richard J. Kerr, to review intelligence on Iraq and judge it next to what Kay ultimately finds.

The ordering of Kerr's review demonstrates open-mindedness and "confidence rather than implies any excessive concern about performance as the news story suggests," the Nov. 20 memo says.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A9823-2003Dec17.html>

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December 18, 2003

IN BRIEF / IRAN

## **Government to Sign Pact on Nuclear Checks**



From Times Wire Reports

Tehran said it would sign an agreement today giving the U.N. nuclear watchdog the right to conduct unannounced inspections across Iran.

Iran's promise to sign the so-called Additional Protocol to the 1968 Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty comes after the International Atomic Energy Agency criticized Tehran for hiding nuclear activities.

<http://adserver.trb.com/html.ng/site=latimes&adtype=popwindow&channel=popups&adplacement=text3>

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The Washington Post

## **Rumsfeld Visited Baghdad in 1984 to Reassure Iraqis, Documents Show**

Trip Followed Criticism Of Chemical Arms' Use

*By Dana Priest*

Washington Post Staff Writer

Friday, December 19, 2003; Page A42

Donald H. Rumsfeld went to Baghdad in March 1984 with instructions to deliver a private message about weapons of mass destruction: that the United States' public criticism of Iraq for using chemical weapons would not derail Washington's attempts to forge a better relationship, according to newly declassified documents.

Rumsfeld, then President Ronald Reagan's special Middle East envoy, was urged to tell Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz that the U.S. statement on chemical weapons, or CW, "was made strictly out of our strong opposition to the use of lethal and incapacitating CW, wherever it occurs," according to a cable to Rumsfeld from then-Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

The statement, the cable said, was not intended to imply a shift in policy, and the U.S. desire "to improve bilateral relations, at a pace of Iraq's choosing," remained "undiminished." "This message bears reinforcing during your discussions."

The documents, obtained under the Freedom of Information Act by the nonprofit National Security Archive, provide new, behind-the-scenes details of U.S. efforts to court Iraq as an ally even as it used chemical weapons in its war with Iran.

An earlier trip by Rumsfeld to Baghdad, in December 1983, has been widely reported as having helped persuade Iraq to resume diplomatic ties with the United States. An explicit purpose of Rumsfeld's return trip in March 1984, the once-secret documents reveal for the first time, was to ease the strain created by a U.S. condemnation of chemical weapons.

The documents do not show what Rumsfeld said in his meetings with Aziz, only what he was instructed to say. It would be highly unusual for a presidential envoy to have ignored direct instructions from Shultz.

When details of Rumsfeld's December trip came to light last year, the defense secretary told CNN that he had "cautioned" Saddam Hussein about the use of chemical weapons, an account that was at odds with the declassified State Department notes of his 90-minute meeting, which did not mention such a caution. Later, a Pentagon spokesman said Rumsfeld raised the issue not with Hussein, but with Aziz.

Pentagon spokesman Larry Di Rita said yesterday that "the secretary said what he said, and I would go with that. He has a recollection of how that meeting went, and I can't imagine that some additional cable is going to change how he recalls the meeting."

"I don't think it has to be inconsistent," Di Rita said. "You could make a strong condemnation of the use of chemical weapons, or any kind of lethal agents, and then say, with that in mind, 'Here's another set of issues' " to be discussed. Last year, the Bush administration cited its belief that Iraq had and would use weapons of mass destruction -- including chemical, biological and nuclear devices -- as the principal reason for going to war.

But throughout 1980s, while Iraq was fighting a prolonged war with Iran, the United States saw Hussein's government as an important ally and bulwark against the militant Shiite extremism seen in the 1979 revolution in Iran. Washington worried that the Iranian example threatened to destabilize friendly monarchies in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Jordan.

Publicly, the United States maintained neutrality during the eight-year Iran-Iraq war, which began in 1980. Privately, however, the administrations of Reagan and George H.W. Bush sold military goods to Iraq, including poisonous chemicals and deadly biological agents, worked to stop the flow of weapons to Iran, and undertook discreet diplomatic initiatives, such as the two Rumsfeld trips to Baghdad, to improve relations with Hussein. Tom Blanton, executive director of the National Security Archives, a Washington-based research center, said the secret support for Hussein offers a lesson for U.S. foreign relations in the post-Sept. 11 world.

"The dark corners of diplomacy deserve some scrutiny, and people working in places like Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Pakistan and Uzbekistan deserve this kind of scrutiny, too, because the relations we're having with dictators today will produce Saddams tomorrow."

Shultz, in his instructions to Rumsfeld, underscored the confusion that the conflicting U.S. signals were creating for Iraq.

"Iraqi officials have professed to be at a loss to explain our actions as measured against our stated objectives," he wrote. "As with our CW statement, their temptation is to give up rational analysis and retreat to the line that U.S. policies are basically anti-Arab and hostage to the desires of Israel."

The declassified documents also show the hope of another senior diplomat, the British ambassador to Iraq, in working constructively with Hussein.

Shortly after Hussein became deputy to the president in 1969, then-British Ambassador H.G. Balfour Paul cabled back his impressions after a first meeting: "I should judge him, young as he is, to be a formidable, single-minded and hard-headed member of the Ba'athist hierarchy, but one with whom, if only one could see more of him, it would be possible to do business."

"A presentable young man" with "an engaging smile," Paul wrote. "Initially regarded as a [Baath] Party extremist, but responsibility may mellow him."

*Staff writer Vernon Loeb contributed to this article.*

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A13558-2003Dec18.html>

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The Washington Post

## **U.S. to Hire Scientists in Iraq to Aid Rebuilding**

*By Robin Wright and Peter Slevin*

Washington Post Staff Writers

Friday, December 19, 2003; Page A43

The United States announced a new program yesterday to hire Iraqi scientists once involved in developing weapons of mass destruction, putting them to work on reconstruction projects as a way of preventing their defection to other countries.

The two-year project seeks to discourage hundreds of scientists, technicians and engineers who worked on nuclear, chemical and biological weapons as well as ballistic missiles from helping other countries secretly trying to build the world's deadliest arms.

"This program has two mutually reinforcing goals: to keep Iraqi scientists from providing their expertise to countries of concern and to enable them to serve in the economic and technological rebuilding of Iraq," State Department spokesman Richard A. Boucher said in a statement.

The project is modeled on a program to prevent Russian and other scientists from selling their talents to other nations after the Soviet Union's demise. That larger effort has had mixed results over the past dozen years, experts said.

The failure to find any weapons of mass destruction in Iraq does not diminish the importance of the new program there, arms experts said.

"This is an extremely valuable and long-overdue initiative. It's increasingly obvious that there are few if any weapons and little materiel in Iraq. The most precious resource remains the scientists and technicians who know how to make these weapons," said Joseph Cirincione, director of the Non-Proliferation Project at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

"It is essential to give them a source of income and a career path to prevent them from being tempted to sell their services to the highest bidder," he said.

Several scientists may already have left Iraq, according to U.S. officials. And money alone may not be enough to win pledges from Iraqi scientists, some of whom feel mistreated by the investigators with the U.S.-run Iraq Survey Group headed by David Kay.

The Bush administration has allocated \$2 million for the project, with the possibility of an additional \$20 million in the future -- significantly less, proportionately, than a comparable program in Russia, experts said.

The U.S. government has paid the salaries of more than 22,000 former Soviet scientists who worked with weapons of mass destruction. Payments to Russian scientists are part of the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction program, which has cost the United States \$400 million annually for 12 years, or nearly \$5 billion.

The Russian program succeeded at finding short-term employment but has not solved the basic problem. "We haven't been very successful in creating new industries that can employ the scientists and technicians long-term," Cirincione said.

As a first step, the United States plans to set up the Iraqi International Center for Science and Industry to identify scientific personnel and projects to foster long-term cooperation between the U.S. and Iraqi scientific communities. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A13663-2003Dec18.html>

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The Washington Post

## **U.S. Won't Offer Incentives at N. Korea Talks**

*By Glenn Kessler*

Washington Post Staff Writer

Friday, December 19, 2003; Page A45

The Bush administration is prepared to outline its "principles" for multilateral security assurances for North Korea if six-nation talks on the nuclear crisis convene next year, but the administration will not float possible economic or energy incentives at the session, a senior administration official said yesterday.

U.S. officials had hoped the meeting would take place this week in Beijing. But the parties did not reach agreement on the objectives for the talks, forcing a delay until January or later. The official, speaking in an interview arranged by the administration, said the "six-party process is alive and well," although it is "inherently difficult to get on the same page."

A key objective for the administration at the talks is to learn how the North Koreans propose to dismantle their nuclear programs, the official said. But he said it is unlikely the talks would dwell on the details of eliminating that nation's arsenal, particularly the scope of the inspection regime needed to verify that North Korea has given up its weapons.

North Korea said yesterday that it will never give up its nuclear weapons program unless the United States provides economic aid and security assurances. Pyongyang's official newspaper Rodong Sinmun said Pyongyang wants to trade its nuclear weapons for what it calls a "simultaneous package solution" to the nuclear dispute. North Korea's determination "to beef up its nuclear deterrent force will remain unchanged no matter what others may say, as long as the United States keeps pursuing a policy to threaten and stifle" it, Rodong said in a commentary.

The Bush administration has called for "coordinated steps" to resolve the crisis, which the official said can mean both sequential and in tandem.

North Korea's rejection of the talks, along with the Bush administration official's remarks, suggests that any progress in resolving the North Korean crisis will be incremental and difficult in the coming year. Another administration official said that "the factors and conditions for why we did not have talks in December have not changed."

Until this week, U.S. officials had gamely insisted that talks were still possible this month. But the effort ended last Friday when senior foreign policy officials, including Vice President Cheney, met and rejected the third proposed draft of a statement guiding the talks, submitted by China. The Chinese, the talks' host, had submitted the text saying quick acceptance would ensure the talks could still take place this week.

But the proposed text did not call for "irreversible" dismantling of North Korea's programs or mention "verification," two key issues for the Bush administration. At the meeting, Cheney in particular said those phrases were necessary, and so the effort to hold talks this month died, said an official familiar with the meeting.

China has frequently enticed North Korea to attend the talks by providing economic incentives. A meeting with North Korea, China and the United States was held in April, and the next session was expanded to include Japan, South Korea and Russia in August.

But the long delay between meetings had frustrated officials eager for a diplomatic solution. They hope to win agreement for a regular meeting schedule to avoid such protracted negotiations in the future.

Some Democratic presidential candidates, in particular Howard Dean, have criticized the administration for not being willing to sit down with North Korea and negotiate a direct agreement. The former governor of Vermont said he would offer the North Koreans economic aid, energy assistance and a "nonaggression pact" in exchange for dismantling its programs.

The senior official said the Bush administration was "certainly open" to direct talks during multilateral sessions. "But it cannot be an excuse for turning multilateral discussions into bilateral discussions," the official said.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A13370-2003Dec18.html>

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Dec 20, 2003

Washington Times

# Libya to dismantle its weapons

By James G. Lakely

## THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi has agreed to dismantle his country's clandestine weapons of mass destruction program and allow international weapons inspections, a move President Bush said was the result of "quiet diplomacy" that will make the world "more peaceful."

"Because Libya has a troubled history with America and Britain, we will be vigilant in ensuring its government lives up to all its responsibilities," Mr. Bush said. "Yet as we have found with other nations, old hostilities do not need to go on forever."

Mr. Bush in Washington and British Prime Minister Tony Blair in London announced the deal reached during nine months of secret negotiations in simultaneous news conferences yesterday.

Mr. Bush made it clear that he thinks that his efforts to first use diplomacy, then military might, to force Saddam Hussein to dismantle his weapons of mass destruction program sent a message to other leaders who would follow his path.

"Those weapons do not bring influence or prestige," Mr. Bush said. "They bring isolation and otherwise unwelcome consequences."

"And another message should be equally clear: Leaders who abandon the pursuit of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons, and the means to deliver them, will find an open path to better relations with the United States and other free nations. With [yesterday's] announcement by its leader, Libya has begun the process of rejoining the community of nations," Mr. Bush said.

Mr. Blair said Libya's decision is an example of how disarmament can occur with other nations.

"This courageous decision by Colonel Gadhafi is an historic one," Mr. Blair said. "I applaud it. It will make the region and the world more secure. It demonstrates that countries can abandon programs voluntarily and peacefully."

Libya reached out to the United States and Britain nine months ago, at about the same time that U.S. and British troops began their 21-day assault that led to the fall of Saddam's Ba'athist regime in Baghdad.

The Libyan news agency Jana Tripoli quoted Foreign Minister Abdel-Rahman Shalqam as saying Libyan experts had shown their U.S. and British counterparts "the substances, equipment and programs that could lead to production of internationally banned weapons." These included a "centrifuging machine and equipment to carry chemical substances."

Libya would rid itself of all that "with its own free will," the news agency quoted the foreign minister as saying in a statement monitored by the BBC.

For decades, the United States has considered Libya a rogue nation that supports terrorism and has long suspected it of trying to obtain or develop chemical, biological and nuclear weapons — accusations Libya had always denied. In 1986, President Reagan bombed Libya in retaliation for a bombing of a West Berlin nightclub by Libyan-sponsored terrorists that killed two American soldiers.

Libya also took responsibility for downing a Pan Am jet over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988 and agreed earlier this year to pay \$2.7 billion in damages to the families of the bombing's 270 victims.

Since then, the African desert country has reached out to the United States and Britain to improve relations, and Col. Gadhafi was one of the first Arab leaders to condemn the September 11 attacks.

One senior Bush administration official, who spoke yesterday on the condition of anonymity, said Libya's nuclear weapons program was more advanced than British and U.S. intelligence agencies first suspected.

"I think we were not surprised on the chemical side," the official said. "On the nuclear side ... my understanding is that they did have a much further advanced program."

That program included previously unknown centrifuges that could be used to enrich weapons-grade uranium. It is not clear whether Libya had produced or purchased any uranium, but the full inspections cooperation pledged by Col. Gadhafi, the official said, should clear that up.

Libya admitted to producing mustard gas and exploiting its agricultural program to develop other chemicals that could be used as weapons. The country said it had been cooperating with North Korea to improve its weapons programs and the range of its missile arsenal.

Getting Libya to admit to these programs and dismantle them without the use of force, the administration officials said, is the result of Mr. Bush's "broad and active strategy to address the challenge of proliferation."

"I think this is an intelligence victory; it's a diplomatic victory and it's a victory for allied cooperation," the official said. "The president's policies on non- and counter-proliferation have achieved a major victory."

Sen. Pat Roberts, Kansas Republican and chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, called the announcement a "historic milestone" and said Mr. Bush deserves the credit.

"I have no doubt that the president's bold leadership since September 11, 2001, in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the global war on terror will continue to pay dividends as was clearly demonstrated with today's announcement," Mr. Roberts

said.

Most of the slate of nine Democratic candidates vying to run against Mr. Bush in next year's presidential election had no immediate reaction to Libya's admission yesterday.

The Democratic presidential hopefuls have charged that Mr. Bush needs to work with international organizations to disarm nations of their weapons of mass destruction.

While calling Libya's announcement "good news," Sen. John Edwards of North Carolina, one of the nine Democrats seeking the party's presidential nomination, said the fact Libya was able to advance its nuclear program so far shows the international rules aren't working.

"President Bush now should pursue a comprehensive strategy to keep the world's worst weapons out of the worst hands, including a new global nuclear compact," Mr. Edwards said.

House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi, California Democrat, called the development "welcome news."

"Libya has taken steps over the last few years to improve its international standing, including taking responsibility for the 1988 bombing of a Pan Am passenger jet over Lockerbie, Scotland," Mrs. Pelosi said. "If Libya follows through on its commitment to dismantle its weapons programs and rejects terrorism, it would be on its way to joining the circle of civilized nations."

Mr. Bush hinted that he would like to see Libya continue "internal reform" so that it might "regain a secure and respected place among the nations."

"The Libyan people are heirs to an ancient and respected culture, and their country lies at the center of a vital region," Mr. Bush said. "As Libya becomes a more peaceful nation, it can be a source of stability in Africa and the Middle East."

The senior administration official said that "we're prepared to talk" about lifting economic sanctions that the United States has had on Libya for 17 years. The U.N. Security Council ended sanctions against Libya on Sept. 12, after Col. Gadhafi's government took responsibility for the Pan Am bombing.

*Stephen Dinan contributed to this story, which is based in part on wire service reports.*

<http://www.washtimes.com/national/20031219-111904-3479r.htm>

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

The Washington Post

## **Bioterrorism Drill's Lessons**

Communications Problems Among Responders Revealed

*By Matthew Daly*

Associated Press

Saturday, December 20, 2003; Page A06

The government's largest bioterrorism drill since the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks revealed widespread communications problems and confusion among emergency personnel, according to a federal summary released yesterday.

The drill this May was overseen by the Department of Homeland Security, which wanted to assess the readiness to deal with multiple terrorist attacks. It began in Seattle with the simulated detonation of a radioactive "dirty bomb" and ended four days later in Chicago with a raid on the fictional terrorist group responsible for the chaos.

A detailed report on the drill is classified, but Homeland Security officials released a 15-page summary. In it, they noted that emergency crews in Seattle had trouble determining where the radiological contamination had spread, which would be key to evacuating and treating people in a real emergency.

Chicago's drill centered on responding to a release of deadly plague bacteria. The exercise exposed a serious shortage of medical supplies and hospital rooms.

Still, the report called the drill a success, saying it "provided a tremendous learning experience" for the Homeland Security Department and hundreds of state and local agencies that work with it.

Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge hailed the results. The exercise posed a huge logistical challenge for an agency that was then only a few months old, he said.

The report said uncertainty reigned during much of the drill, as officials weighed whether to raise the threat level of a specific area, declare an emergency or reopen public transportation systems. "To the extent there were problems in those areas, communications issues were the likely cause," the report said.

Seattle Deputy Police Chief Clark Kimerer acknowledged the confusion, but said it was "not crippling, by any stretch."

The goal of the "dirty bomb" exercise was to get a precise reading on the fictional plume, Kimerer said, but that proved difficult as officials waited for computer models to develop. "On the other side of that, it didn't hamper decision-making in the field," he said.

Incident commanders made quick decisions -- in most cases assuming the plume area was larger than it ultimately was, Kimerer said. "We'd rather do that than guess wrong and expose people to some risk," he said. Chicago officials had a similar view. A total of 64 hospitals in Illinois participated in the drill, making it one of the largest mass casualty exercises ever undertaken.

The report said it was apparent there was a "lack of a robust and efficient emergency communications infrastructure," with the biggest problem centered on the unexpectedly large volume of calls. Still, Cortez Trotter, director of Chicago's Office of Emergency Operations, called the exercise a success.

The exercise, a follow-up to a drill three years ago in Denver and New Hampshire, cost about \$16 million and involved more than 8,500 people from 100 federal, state and local agencies, the American Red Cross and the Canadian government.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A16292-2003Dec19.html>

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## **Top Officials (TOPOFF) Exercise Series:**

### **TOPOFF 2**

#### **After Action Summary Report**

For Public Release

December 19, 2003

<http://www.dhs.gov/dhspublic/display?content=2693>

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Dec 21, 2003

Washington Times

## **Test reveals wide failures in terror response abilities**

By Shaun Waterman

### **UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL**

An anti-terrorism exercise earlier this year revealed "humbling" failures in the nation's ability to respond to large-scale terrorist attacks, the Department of Homeland Security said Friday.

An assessment released by the department listed seven problem areas identified during the exercise. Officials said much has been done since then to address the failures.

"The results were somewhat humbling," said a private-sector analyst involved in planning the drill. "But that's what it was for. You want to learn where you need to make improvements. If the results are too good, you haven't challenged yourself enough."

The simulation, dubbed TOPOFF 2, for top officials, was staged May 12-16. Twenty-five federal, state and local agencies took part in a mock terrorist attack involving a dirty bomb explosion in Seattle, and a biological attack with pneumonic plague in several locations in the Chicago area.

The report said that the color-coded national threat alert system, which was raised to its highest level — "red" or "severe" — for the first time ever during the exercise, needed "refinement."

Simply put, many first-responders and other state and local officials just did not know what they were supposed to do when the level was raised.

"There was ... uncertainty regarding specific protective actions to be taken by specific agencies under an HSAS [Homeland Security Advisory System] severe threat code red," the report said. It went on to propose the development of a "comprehensive operational framework that jurisdictions at all levels could use to help define their response plans at each HSAS threat condition."

Another problem identified by the report was poor communication infrastructures, especially in the public health sector in the Chicago area, where 64 hospitals took part in the exercise.

"The lack of a robust and efficient emergency communications infrastructure was apparent," said the report, pointing out that with hospitals relying on telephones and faxes for communications, some quickly found their lines overwhelmed.

The report is a short public summary of a classified document. Interviews with a number of participants painted a picture of an often chaotic, sometimes uncontrolled situation.

David Heyman of the Center for Strategic and International Studies — a think tank that has been involved in a number of similar exercises — said that the biggest question raised by the exercise was the issue of preparedness.

"How do we know when we're prepared?" he asked. "Where's the bar?"

He said exercises like TOPOFF 2 identified areas where first-responders or other local agencies were less able to cope, but there was no absolute standard against which their readiness could be measured.

"There's no mechanism in place to tell us when we're ready," he said. "It's a big gap."

White House spokesman Trent Duffy told UPI that a presidential directive published Wednesday was designed to close that gap.

The directive instructs Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge to draw up a "national preparedness goal," which would "establish measurable readiness priorities and targets."

<http://www.washtimes.com/national/20031220-113217-8149r.htm>

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The New York Times

## **Libya to Give Up Arms Programs, Bush Announces**

By **DAVID E. SANGER** and **JUDITH MILLER**

Published: December 20, 2003

WASHINGTON, Dec. 19 — Libya's leader, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, has admitted that his country had been trying to develop a broad arsenal of unconventional weapons, and he promised to dismantle them up and submit to international inspections, President Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain said Friday.

Mr. Bush said that if Col. Qaddafi followed through, Libya could "regain a secure and respected place" among nations.

Libya's actions came after nine months of secret diplomacy, beginning with an overture from Colonel Qaddafi to London and Washington just as the invasion of Iraq was beginning.

Mr. Bush's aides, clearly seeking to build on the capture of Saddam Hussein last Saturday, described the Libyan action as directly linked to the Iraq war, suggesting that Colonel Qaddafi had decided to give up his weapons aspirations rather than face off against the United States and its allies.

Speaking to reporters in a hastily called session in the White House press room, Mr. Bush praised Colonel Qaddafi's agreement to open his country to full inspections.

This is the first time Colonel Qaddafi has admitted to having such unconventional weapons or programs to produce them, government and independent experts say.

But the details given by the White House indicated that for more than two decades, Libya had deceived international nuclear inspectors who have visited the country.

Like Iran, it hid facilities to produce nuclear fuel, though it did not appear that the Libyans actually succeeded in making the kind of fissile material needed to produce a bomb.

"Because Libya has a troubled history with America and Britain, we will be vigilant in ensuring its government lives up to all its responsibilities," Mr. Bush said.

His announcement came just two days before the 15th anniversary of the bombing of Pan Am 103, an act of terrorism for which a Libyan agent was convicted two years ago.

In a clear reference to North Korea and Iran, two other countries that are suspected of pursuing programs to develop unconventional weapons, Mr. Bush added that "I hope other leaders will find an example" in Libya's action.

In two trips to Libya, including one earlier this month, American and British intelligence and weapons experts were given a tour of the country's arsenal, reportedly including mustard gas, a World War I-vintage chemical weapon, and materials for making nerve gas and missiles, the latter from North Korea.

None of these discoveries surprised the experts.

But one senior Administration official told reporters on Friday evening that the Libyans had gotten "much further" in their nuclear program than the United States had suspected, showing the Western visitors centrifuges that could be used to produce highly enriched uranium.

The officials declined to say what kind of centrifuges had been found, or what nations appeared to have helped Libya. Both North Korea and Iran have similar programs under way, though the administration official said that in Libya's case, Colonel Qaddafi's government had not declared that it had actually produced any weapons-grade uranium.

"That is something we will be pursuing," the official said. He added that the United States had learned a considerable amount about North Korea's missile trading business in the course of the talks with Libya.

A British official said the Libyans had shown visitors 10 nuclear-related sites, adding that while the country had not manufactured a nuclear weapon, "it was close to producing one."

Inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency will be sent to assess how close, and to monitor the dismantling of the facilities, British and American officials said.

Not surprisingly, the White House described the surprise announcement as a victory for Mr. Bush in facing down rogue states developing such weapons. They also touted the Libyan move as vindication for the decision to go to war against Iraq — where no unconventional weapons have been found — because of the message it sent.

"In word and action, we have clarified the choices left to potential adversaries," Mr. Bush told reporters. "And when leaders make the wise and responsible choice, when they renounce terror and weapons of mass destruction, as Colonel Qaddafi has now done, they serve the interest of their own people and they add to the security of all nations."

The Libyan government, in a statement, said it had made the decision of its own "free will."

The White House said that despite Libya's apparent renunciation of unconventional weapons, Mr. Bush was not yet ready to lift American sanctions; United Nations sanctions were removed on Sept. 12 after a settlement involving the Pan Am 103 bombing over Lockerbie, Scotland, which killed 269 people.

In London, Mr. Blair said the Libyan overture on disarmament was a direct outgrowth of the talks that led to the settlements over the bombing. Under that agreement, Libya agreed to pay at least \$5 million to the relatives of each victim.

In January 2001, a Libyan military intelligence official was convicted in the bombing, while an executive with the country's airline was acquitted. Mr. Blair said Libya wanted "to see if it could resolve its weapons of mass destruction issue in a similarly cooperative manner."

Libya's latest actions complicate the debate over the Iraq war for the Democrats, particularly for Howard Dean, the apparent front-runner in the primaries, who has opposed the war and said recently that the capture of Mr. Hussein had not made Americans any safer.

On Friday evening, though, many Democrats were calling Libya's renunciation of its weapons systems significant. Ashton B. Carter, an assistant secretary of defense under President Clinton who is now co-director of the Harvard-Stanford Preventive Defense Project, agreed that Iraq was a turning point in convincing Colonel Qaddafi to give up his weapons.

"One certainly hopes that what we did in Iraq put countries like Libya on notice that we're really serious about countering proliferation," said Mr. Carter, who has been advising Dr. Dean.

Some families of those killed on the Pan Am flight, now preparing to mark the grim anniversary, were clearly taken by surprise by Mr. Bush's suggestion that relations with Libya could markedly improve.

"I am in a state of horror and sickened shock," said Susan Cohen, whose only child, Theodora, 20, was on the plane. "Everyone was surprised by this."

"This was strictly a political, commercial decision," she said in a telephone interview. "I'm not a fool. I know it's oil and money interests. At the end of World War II, if Adolf Hitler could have been brought back in the fold, would we have done it? And this isn't even the end of the war."

Although Libya signed the international treaty banning nuclear weapons in 1975 and a similar international ban on biological weapons in 1982, independent weapons experts said Colonel Qaddafi had been trying to obtain unconventional weapons for decades.

Writing in *The Nonproliferation Review* in 1997, Joshua Sinai, then a senior analyst at the Library of Congress, concluded that Libya had in fact developed a "rudimentary capability to produce such weapons," particularly chemical weapons, by the late 1980's.

Libya is one of the few nations that have refused to sign the treaty banning chemical weapons. In a 1987 conflict with Chad, it became one of a handful of states to use such weapons in war, when it fired off Iranian-supplied mustard-gas bombs.

Washington has long accused Libya of producing blister and nerve agents at secret plants in Tarhuna, 50 miles southwest of Tripoli, and at the Pharma complex in Rabta, 75 miles southwest of Tripoli. Most of the chemical weapons seen by the visiting inspectors were at Rabta, one senior official said Friday.

Though Libya signed the treaty banning germ weapons in 1982, questions have remained as to whether it was complying with the agreement.

Intelligence agencies have alleged, for instance, that Colonel Qaddafi attempted to recruit South African scientists to help him develop biological weapons. And American intelligence agents concluded earlier this year that Nizar Hindawi, a senior scientist who once led Iraq's germ weapons program, had tried to emigrate to Libya in the mid-1990's, officials said.

But many analysts continued to say that if Libya had a weapons program at all, the effort was very primitive, and years from producing biological weapons.

*Matthew L. Wald contributed reporting for this article.*

<http://www.nytimes.com/2003/12/20/international/middleeast/20LIBY.html>

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Dec 21, 2003  
Washington Times

## **Gadhafi dispatches team to U.N. atomic agency**

From combined dispatches

TRIPOLI, Libya — Libya moved quickly yesterday to prove its commitment to the world, sending a delegation to the U.N. nuclear watchdog in Vienna, Austria, to draw up plans to eliminate its weapons of mass destruction. The head of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Mohamed ElBaradei, met a senior Libyan official for a hastily arranged meeting in Vienna.

"Dr. ElBaradei met with Libya's secretary of the National Board of Scientific Research to discuss the Libyan government's desire to eliminate its weapons of mass destruction program," IAEA spokesman Mark Gwozdecky said.

Libya said on Friday it was ready to accept strict IAEA nuclear safeguards and to work with teams of international specialists to destroy other deadly weapons, its ability to make them and to give up missiles capable of delivering them.

Libya's move came ahead of today's anniversary of the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Scotland that killed 270 persons. British relatives of the victims welcomed the news that dialogue had brought disarmament, Tripoli's second dramatic step this year to rejoin the international community.

In Washington, U.S. officials offered further details of the secret negotiations that led to Libya's announcement Friday and praise from President Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair.

Senior intelligence officials, including one on the inspection team that went to Libya, briefed reporters yesterday on the chain of events that led to the announcement. They spoke on condition they not be identified.

Most significant among the discoveries was that Libya had built a working centrifuge for uranium enrichment. To make weapons-grade uranium, a raw form of the substance can be passed through a series of centrifuges that slowly create a product capable of nuclear fission.

The intelligence officials refused to say how Libya obtained centrifuge technology. Both Iran and North Korea are thought to have the technology, as are a number of companies and U.S. allies.

So far, the United States has learned that Libya had:

- Tens of tons of mustard agent, a World War I-era chemical weapon, produced about 10 years ago.
- Aircraft bombs capable of dispersing the mustard agent in combat.
- A supply of Scud-C ballistic missiles made in North Korea. The weapons can hit targets 500 miles away.

Much of this information reinforced the CIA's assumptions, intelligence officials said, although some expressed surprise at how far the Libyans' nuclear program had advanced.

Early in the year, before contacts began, Libyan officials approached the British government to open discussions. Washington was later included in negotiations that took place at an undisclosed location in Europe.

After some initial visits to Tripoli, a team of CIA and British intelligence personnel went to Libya in October to inspect weapons sites. The team included technical specialists on weapons programs.

At some point, the CIA presented the Libyans with its intelligence about the programs. The Libyans were surprised at how much the agency knew, the officials said, then provided much more information.

The second inspection visit, in December, was more fruitful, the officials said.

During the visits, the team went to 10 sites related to Libya's nuclear effort, chemical stockpile and missile program.

Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi also agreed to get rid of missiles with ranges longer than 186 miles, which would include the North Korean Scud-Cs but not Scud-Bs, which have the 186-mile range.

The United States has a 17-year embargo in place against Libya and continues to list Libya among nations that sponsor terrorism. Britain's foreign secretary indicated that Washington may lift the embargo.

<http://www.washtimes.com/world/20031220-101754-7919r.htm>

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The New York Times

## **Secret Diplomacy Won Libyan Pledge on Arms**

By PATRICK E. TYLER

Published: December 21, 2003

LONDON, Dec. 20 — Libya's surprise declaration giving up its nuclear, biological and chemical weapons was the culmination of a week of intense negotiations that followed months of secret diplomacy, officials in London and Washington said Saturday.

Since an opening gambit by Libya in March, they said, there were a series of clandestine meetings in Tripoli between the Libyan leader, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, and experts from the C.I.A., as well as visits to at least 10 sites in Libya by British and American weapons experts.

Colonel Qaddafi personally drove his own subordinates to cooperate with the C.I.A.'s review of Libya's illicit weapons programs, United States intelligence officials said.

"During meetings with Colonel Qaddafi, he was consistent throughout with his desire to proceed with the admissions and elimination of his weapons program," one intelligence official said. "He knew what he wanted to do, and he had a message to pass back to both Washington and London. Our meetings were usually late at night, but in each case he had done his homework, and was quite generous with his time."

The negotiations hit high speed in the last week. Prime Minister Tony Blair had his first ever telephone conversation with Colonel Qaddafi on Thursday, an aide said. Sir Nigel Sheinwald, Mr. Blair's national security adviser, and Condoleezza Rice, Mr. Bush's national security adviser, spoke with Libyan officials throughout the week, British and American officials said. Secretary of State Colin L. Powell was on the phone with the British foreign secretary, Jack Straw, from Mr. Powell's hospital bed at Walter Reed Army Medical Center, where he was recovering from prostate surgery, a State Department official said.

The effort's roots lay in the final phase of the five years of talks over the United Nations sanctions against Libya imposed after the bombing in 1988 of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, British and American officials said. The United Nations lifted its sanctions after Libya acknowledged responsibility for the bombing and offered about \$10 million in compensation for each of the 270 victims. But Libya said full payment would come only after all international sanctions were lifted.

Congress and the Bush administration, however, said sanctions would be maintained until Libya gave up its illicit weapons programs and links to terrorist organizations. That position, American and British officials said, forced Libya, economically crippled and desperate for the return of foreign oil companies, to consider the new concessions. A State Department official said Libya felt an urgency to act because of the American stances on Iran and North Korea and the war in Iraq. An intelligence official said Colonel Qaddafi was also concerned about the threat to his government from militant elements in the country.

British and American officials said Friday that the initial approach was made by Libya in March, just before the war. A spokesman for Mr. Blair said Saturday that Libya's chief of intelligence, Musa Kussa, contacted the British government.

Mr. Kussa has spent several years seeking diplomatic pathways to break the United States economic embargo. He and other Libyan officials carried on secret discussions with British and American intelligence that at times have involved the former South African president Nelson Mandela; Prince Bandar bin Sultan, the Saudi ambassador to the United States; and other Arab diplomats. The negotiations hinged on how strong a commitment to breaking with Libya's past Colonel Qaddafi was willing to make in a public statement, given the criticism it would probably arouse in parts of the Arab world, officials in London said.

A strong declaration was crucial, said a British official who briefed reporters here said Saturday, after discoveries by teams of American and British experts who spent three weeks inspecting dozens of Libyan laboratories and military factories in October and early December. They found that Libyan scientists were "developing a nuclear fuel cycle intended to support nuclear weapons development," a British official said. "Libya had not acquired a nuclear weapons capability, though it was close to developing one."

For the teams of C.I.A. experts, the ability to walk through the chemical and nuclear weapons facilities was a stunning experience.

"It wasn't the individual things we were shown that we were blown away by," said one official involved in the review, but "the extent to which we were given access." The C.I.A. teams visited dozens of sites, including the 10 involved in the nuclear program, and interviewed Libyan scientists.

"One of our most senior analysts said this was the most extraordinary disclosure in his 30 years of doing this," one official said.

Though the country's uranium-enrichment capabilities were further along than expected, the intelligence officials said that much of what the C.I.A. saw confirmed its analysts' projections, which they hailed as a vindication of the agency's ability to monitor weapons programs around the world. That ability has been called into question by the failure of the American hunt for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq.

Intelligence officials said that after the October visit, the Libyans became convinced that much was known about the weapons programs. As a result, they said, the December visit was even more productive because the Libyans were more open.

Libya revealed chemical weapon stockpiles, the existence of precursor materials used to develop other nerve agents, and a fledgling nuclear weapons program, complete with centrifuges to enrich uranium for weapons fuel. The discoveries raised the question of what nations had supplied components like centrifuges, which intelligence

officials said have not been assembled in the "cascade" necessary to begin weapons-grade fuel production. The officials said Libya has obtained long-range Scud C-type missiles, with a range of 500 miles, from North Korea. The experts found tens of tons of mustard gas, a chemical weapon first used in World War I, that had been produced about a decade ago, American officials said. The gas was accompanied by hundreds of aerial bombs that could be used to deliver it.

Libyan Meets Nuclear Regulator

VIENNA, Dec. 20 (Reuters) — The director of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Dr. Mohamed ElBaradei, met a senior Libyan official on Saturday in Vienna to discuss the elimination of Tripoli's unconventional weapons program. "Dr. ElBaradei met with Libya's secretary of the National Board of Scientific Research to discuss the Libyan government's desire to eliminate its weapons of mass destruction program," said an agency spokesman.

*Patrick E. Tyler reported from London for this article and James Risen from Washington.*

<http://www.nytimes.com/2003/12/21/international/middleeast/21LIBY.html>

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The Washington Post

## **Nuclear Program in Iran Tied To Pakistan**

Complex Network Acquired Technology and Blueprints

*By Joby Warrick*

Washington Post Staff Writer

Sunday, December 21, 2003; Page A01

VIENNA -- Evidence discovered in a probe of Iran's secret nuclear program points overwhelmingly to Pakistan as the source of crucial technology that put Iran on a fast track toward becoming a nuclear weapons power, according to U.S. and European officials familiar with the investigation.

The serious nature of the discoveries prompted a decision by Pakistan two weeks ago to detain three of its top nuclear scientists for several days of questioning, with U.S. intelligence experts allowed to assist, the officials said.

The scientists have not been charged with any crime, and Pakistan continues to insist that it never wittingly provided nuclear assistance to Iran or anyone else.

Documents provided by Iran to U.N. nuclear inspectors since early November have exposed the outlines of a vast, secret procurement network that successfully acquired thousands of sensitive parts and tools from numerous countries over a 17-year period. While Iran has not directly identified Pakistan as a supplier, Pakistani individuals and companies are strongly implicated as sources of key blueprints, technical guidance and equipment for a pilot uranium-enrichment plant that was first exposed by Iranian dissidents 18 months ago, government officials and independent weapons experts said.

While American presidents since Ronald Reagan worried that Iran might seek nuclear weapons, U.S. and allied intelligence agencies were unable to halt Iran's most significant nuclear acquisitions, or even to spot a major nuclear facility under construction until it was essentially completed.

Although the alleged transfers occurred years ago, suggestions of Pakistani aid to Iran's nuclear program have further complicated the relationship between the United States and Pakistan, a key ally in the war against terrorism.

In documents and interviews with investigators of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Iranian officials have offered detailed accounts of how they obtained sensitive equipment from European, Asian and North American companies. Much of the equipment was routed through a transshipment hub in the Persian Gulf port city of Dubai to conceal the actual destination, according to officials familiar with Iran's disclosures.

The disclosures offer a striking illustration of the difficulties faced by U.S. officials in trying to detect and interdict shipments of contraband useful in making weapons of mass destruction. Iran appears to have obtained the equipment by exploiting a gray zone of porous borders, middlemen, front companies and weak law enforcement where the components of such weapons are bought and sold.

Iran's pilot facility, which is now functional, and a much larger uranium-enrichment plant under construction next door are designed to produce enough fissile material to make at least two dozen nuclear bombs each year.

China and Russia also made significant contributions to the Iranian program in the past, IAEA documents show.

Both countries were the focus of a long-running U.S. campaign to cut off nuclear assistance to Iran.

In a new finding, sophisticated laboratory tests by the IAEA detected traces of Soviet-made highly enriched uranium at Iran's Kalaye nuclear facility, a former testing center for uranium-enrichment equipment, knowledgeable officials said. Several distinct types of enriched uranium have been found at the site, the officials added. Although there are other possible explanations, the finding could indicate that Iran obtained some fissile material from a former Soviet state to use in testing its equipment, the officials said.

By far the most valuable assistance to Iran came from still-unnamed individuals who provided top-secret designs and key components for uranium-processing machines known as gas centrifuges, the officials said. Centrifuges are technologically complex machines that spin at supersonic speeds to extract the small amounts of fissile material present in natural uranium. Uranium that has been enriched at lower levels is typically used as fuel in nuclear power plants, while a more concentrated product known as highly enriched uranium is used in nuclear submarines, research reactors and nuclear weapons.

The blueprints, which the IAEA has reviewed, depict a type of centrifuge that is nearly identical to a machine used by Pakistan in the early years of its nuclear program, according to U.S. officials and weapons experts familiar with the designs. The plans and components, which were acquired over several installments from the late 1980s to the mid-1990s, allowed Iran to leapfrog over several major technological hurdles to make its own enriched uranium, a necessary ingredient in commercial nuclear fuel and nuclear weapons.

"Acquiring the drawings and a few components was a tremendous boost to Iran's centrifuge efforts," said David Albright, a former IAEA inspector in Iraq and president of the Institute for Science and International Security, a Washington research group that tracked Iran's nuclear procurements for more than a decade. "The possession of detailed designs could allow Iran to skip many difficult research steps."

### **Surprising Disclosures**

It is unclear exactly why the United States and its allies failed to detect and halt Iran's most significant nuclear acquisitions.

One possible reason, according to some former government officials and outside experts, is that U.S. agencies were looking in the wrong place. American administrations since the late 1980s viewed the Soviet Union and then Russia as the most likely source of nuclear aid to Iran, launching intensive efforts to persuade Moscow to sever or scale back technological links to the Islamic republic.

"For too long we were running our Iran policy through Moscow," said Jon Wolfsthal, a nonproliferation expert at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "We saw Russia as Iran's main source of technology, and if shut off, the flow to Iran's program would freeze in its tracks. That was shortsighted."

Former top U.S. proliferation officials contend that the attention paid to Russia was hardly misplaced. The United States foiled several efforts by Iran to obtain sensitive technology from Russia in the 1990s. But some officials acknowledged that they were stunned to learn of the progress Iran had made with the help of partners closer to home.

"While the U.S. was heavily focused on Russian assistance, the Iranians were getting help elsewhere on the centrifuge program and making major headway -- and the U.S. was essentially in the dark on that," said Robert Einhorn, the State Department's former assistant secretary for nonproliferation. "It took information from an Iranian dissident group to expose how far Iran had gotten."

Iran denies seeking nuclear weapons, insisting that it is only exercising its right to develop a civilian nuclear power industry, including its own indigenous supply of nuclear fuel. Russia is helping Iran build a nuclear power plant in the port city of Bushehr that both countries insist is a civilian nuclear project.

Last month, in the face of mounting international pressure, Iran's leaders agreed to open the country's nuclear facilities to surprise inspections and to turn over hundreds of pages of documents to the IAEA. The agency has not commented publicly on the contents of the documents, but several U.S. officials and diplomatic sources familiar with Iran's disclosures agreed to discuss them on the condition they not be identified by name. Some of the revelations about Iran's nuclear procurement program also are described in a draft of a new report by Albright's research group. A copy of the draft study was made available to The Washington Post.

The disclosures do not provide a definitive answer to the question of whether Iran was actively seeking to build nuclear weapons. But they do show that Iran was intent on keeping its nuclear acquisitions secret, and that it sought a range of technologies far beyond those typically found in countries with commercial nuclear power programs.

An IAEA report made public in November revealed that Iran had secretly manufactured small amounts of uranium and plutonium, a violation of Iran's agreements under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. That report also documented Iran's efforts to enrich uranium using a variety of methods, including gas centrifuges and lasers. Iran's biggest success, the construction of a pilot gas centrifuge plant for enriching uranium, was a well-guarded secret until it was exposed last August by the National Council for Resistance in Iran, an umbrella group representing opponents of Iran's Islamic government.

When IAEA inspectors discovered 160 working centrifuges during their first visit to the Natanz plant in February, Iran initially claimed to have designed and built them alone. But Iran's story began to unravel when the inspectors found traces of highly enriched uranium at Natanz and at a second, now-defunct pilot plant in Kalaye.

Iran, which insists it has never made highly enriched uranium, admitted receiving substantial foreign help, including numerous secondhand centrifuge components that were imported from an unnamed country.

Officially, Iran's leaders maintain that they bought the components on the black market, and they still don't know where the parts came from. But to the inspectors and independent experts on centrifuge design, the machines offer abundant clues.

The draft report by Albright's group, based on experts familiar with the Iranian machine, describes it as a modified version of a centrifuge built decades ago by Urenco, a consortium of the British, Dutch and German governments. The machine is about six feet high and is made of aluminum and a special type of high-strength steel. The design is one of several known to have been stolen in the 1970s by a Pakistani nuclear scientist, Abdul Qadeer Khan, who later became known as the father of the Pakistani bomb.

Pakistan modified the Urenco design and manufactured a number of the machines before abandoning the centrifuge for a sturdier model, said Albright, co-author of the study. The blueprints obtained by Iran show "distinctive" modifications similar to the ones made by Pakistan, Albright said.

Traces of highly enriched uranium on centrifuge components in Iran indicated they had been used before. Most of the contaminants are of a type of highly enriched uranium believed to be "consistent with material produced in Pakistan," Albright said.

The evidence collectively supports a view widely held among nuclear experts and nonproliferation officials that Iran obtained castoff parts and designs from a centrifuge that was no longer needed by Pakistan, said Gary Samore, a former adviser on nonproliferation on the Clinton administration's National Security Council.

"The particular machine that Iran is using is not the mainstay of the Pakistani program," said Samore, now the director of studies at the Institute for International Strategic Studies in London. "Pakistan had these used aluminum-rotor machines that it no longer needed. The most plausible explanation for what happened is that Pakistan sold its surplus centrifuges, which have now turned up in Iran."

Much of Iran's basic nuclear infrastructure -- from research reactors to lasers used to manipulate uranium atoms -- was supplied by U.S. companies before Islamic revolutionaries deposed the shah in 1979. U.S. officials later discovered that the shah, a staunch U.S. ally, was conducting his own secret nuclear weapons research before he was overthrown.

Iran's revolutionary leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, canceled the shah's contracts with a German company to build nuclear power reactors in Bushehr. But by 1985, during a war with Iraq, Iran reversed course, reopened its nuclear labs and began exploring its options for making enriched uranium and plutonium. It also began looking for new business partners to complete the Bushehr reactor, which had remained frozen since 1979.

Iran's explanation -- that it was only interested in developing nuclear power for electricity -- was greeted with skepticism then and now because Iran sits atop vast reserves of oil and natural gas.

### **A Big Break**

U.S. intelligence officials began detecting attempts by Iran to acquire nuclear-related technology beginning in the mid-1980s. Much of the activity, as U.S. officials understood it at the time, involved Iranian efforts to acquire sensitive technology through legitimate deals with Russian, Chinese and East European companies. The United States sought to use a variety of diplomatic and commercial incentives and punishments to persuade Iran's potential trade partners to abandon projects, ranging from a proposed centrifuge plant to a Russian agreement to complete Iran's nuclear reactors in Bushehr.

"We were very concerned about Russian support of Iran's nuclear activity," said Robert Gallucci, a special envoy on nonproliferation during the Clinton administration and now dean of Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. "At the same time, we were hearing about other activities involving the entire nuclear fuel cycle."

Iran's first big break came in 1987, when it obtained the complete set of designs and parts for gas centrifuges.

Around the same time, Iran began receiving technical guidance from foreign experts who steered the country toward some of the same suppliers that had assisted Pakistan's nuclear program years earlier, said Albright, citing information obtained in the IAEA investigation.

"Armed with component specifications and drawings, Iran would be able to design and implement a strategy to develop a reliable centrifuge and create a manufacturing infrastructure to make thousands of centrifuges," Albright wrote in the report. "It would be able to find companies to make centrifuge components, often unwittingly."

Beginning around 1993, Iran launched a broader effort to acquire parts for hundreds of centrifuges, as well as machines and tools to create its own manufacturing center. According to officials familiar with Iran's disclosures to the IAEA, the effort relied on a small group of middlemen from European and Middle Eastern countries who put together orders, made purchases and arranged the shipping.

Iran provided names of a handful of agents to the IAEA, which has since sought to locate and interview them.

According to Iran, the middlemen secured a long list of sensitive items, ranging from electronic beam welders and vacuum pumps to shipments of high-strength aluminum and steel that became the raw products for centrifuges.

Some of the shipments were intercepted by U.S. and European intelligence agencies and customs officials. But by the late 1990s, Iran had acquired all the parts it needed for a pilot centrifuge and was preparing to cross another important threshold.

"Iran appears to have secretly achieved self-sufficiency in centrifuge manufacturing," Albright said.

### **Questions Linger**

In early December, there were reports in Pakistan about the disappearance of nuclear scientist Farooq Mohammed, a colleague of Kahn's in the creation of Pakistan's atomic bomb.

First thought to be missing, government officials later confirmed he had been detained by Pakistani security officials for extended questioning. Two subordinates were also picked up, according to a Western official knowledgeable about the incident.

A CIA spokesman denied that any Americans were involved in rounding up the scientists, but other officials, speaking on the condition of anonymity, said the U.S. government was aware of the incident and had been allowed to participate in the questioning. The episode followed what one official described as high-level requests by both the IAEA and the U.S. government for Islamabad to respond to new evidence suggesting that Pakistan's nuclear secrets had been passed to Iran.

Some experts see the detention of the scientists as a hopeful sign, suggesting that Pakistan is preparing to increase its cooperation with IAEA investigators.

"The Pakistanis know the Iranians have fingered them," said Samore, the former adviser on nonproliferation for the Clinton administration. "They know the IAEA is asking questions. This could be the beginning of what Richard Nixon used to call a 'limited hangout' operation."

But other experts see only more obstacles in an already difficult quest for the truth. Doubts are already being voiced regarding whether the IAEA, or anyone, will be able provide definitive answers about Iran's nuclear history and future intentions, said Henry D. Sokolski, a former Defense Department adviser on nonproliferation.

"What is most worrying is not what the Iranians did in the past, but, rather, what they're going to do," said Sokolski, who now directs the Nonproliferation Policy Education Center, a Washington research organization. "What does our past experience with Iran tell us about the prospects of catching them in a lie in the future?"

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A18170-2003Dec20.html>

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The Washington Post

## **Libya Made Progress in Nuclear Goal**

*By Peter Slevin and Walter Pincus*

Washington Post Staff Writers

Sunday, December 21, 2003; Page A01

U.S. and British specialists invited into Libya's weapons laboratories and warehouses this fall found an unexpectedly advanced nuclear program and an intensive effort to build more powerful missiles, said senior U.S. officials who had been logging evidence that Libyan leader Moammar Gaddafi was trying to upgrade his arsenal.

The nuclear discoveries proved most surprising to intelligence officials, who said Libya had made substantial progress in acquiring the sophisticated equipment needed to produce weapons-grade uranium. Officials noted the existence of centrifuges and thousands of essential parts, calling the program nascent but active.

Although Libya's ambition to acquire weapons of mass destruction had never been questioned, officials said its abilities do not approach the sophistication and scope of weapons programs in North Korea and Iran. Its efforts have been limited by lack of home-grown expertise and by international trade sanctions.

Libya also possesses an aging but potent stockpile of mustard gas and had conducted experiments on the nerve agents sarin and soman, U.S. officials said yesterday.

On Friday, Gaddafi announced he will abandon unconventional weapons, freeze his nuclear program and allow international inspectors to test his word.

The extraordinary change of course by Gaddafi, who intervened personally to speed secret negotiations with the United States and Britain, has given the Bush administration hope for what one official yesterday called a "huge intelligence opportunity" -- the chance to learn which countries and companies helped Libya's illicit weapons effort. Gaddafi dispatched a top government official yesterday to Vienna to meet with Mohamed ElBaradei, director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency. After years of denying the existence of weapons programs, Gaddafi's government has promised to provide full details and permit surprise inspections in an attempt to end two decades of crippling U.S. economic sanctions.

A monitoring structure has not been established, but the Bush administration will look to several international organizations. The IAEA, which the White House has openly criticized, is expected to handle nuclear questions,

while chemical-weapons programs will be evaluated by the relatively untested Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons.

Intelligence officials said they have been struck by Libya's apparent openness, described by one senior analyst as the most remarkable disclosure he had seen in 30 years of work in the field.

The U.S. officials praised the assistance given by Gaddafi himself during late-night meetings in Tripoli between Libyan scientists and American and British proliferation specialists. One official said the Libyan leader, whose government still appears on the State Department's list of terrorism sponsors, was a "driver and motivator." Still, officials said it would take time to know whether Gaddafi will prove trustworthy in this new relationship.

U.S. authorities believe Gaddafi hopes not only to open Libya and its oil industry to badly needed American investment, but to burnish his own legacy and smooth the succession path for his sons. One son, Saif Islam Gaddafi, told CNN yesterday that the government sees "no need anymore for acquiring nuclear weapons."

On the nuclear front, he said Libya had aimed to develop a nuclear capability for civilian purposes, "but also we know that it is easy to be transferred into a military project."

U.S. and British specialists invited to Libya said they found few surprises in Libya's chemical weapons program and found no concrete evidence of an existing biological weapons effort. They questioned the Libyans about equipment and research that could be applied to the production of germ warfare, but the Libyans denied that such a program had ever existed.

Libya controls dozens of tons of mustard gas, a World War I-era chemical weapon produced more than a decade ago by Libyan scientists, according to U.S. officials. The Libyans had also acquired valuable components capable of producing chemical weapons and more peaceable substances alike, despite years of international sanctions.

Interviews with Libyan scientists provided a "living example of how dual-use items could be used," said a U.S. intelligence official who traveled to Libya as part of the U.S.-British team.

The nuclear field was one place where the Libyans were "substantially further along than had been publicly disclosed," an intelligence analyst said yesterday. Officials who toured 10 sites said they had seen centrifuges for enriching uranium and countless valuable parts.

The Libyans, he said, "denied any actual enrichment had taken place." The visiting team did not see a "cascade" -- the array of centrifuges needed to begin the enrichment process. An intelligence official described it as an active but "nascent nuclear program" that was being carried out at 10 sites. One administration source estimated that Libya was still likely years from being able to build a reliable atomic weapon.

Although the existence of the mustard gas and 250-pound bombs for delivering it was widely known, weapons specialists have long questioned Libya's ability to produce effective unconventional weapons. Compared with states such as Iran and North Korea, Libya's weapons program never got much respect.

One senior Bush administration official, in a recent interview, said Libya's bumbling attempts at mastering the science of advanced weapons earned it a reputation as the "clown prince of weapons of mass destruction."

Years of isolation, and rampant corruption and nepotism, left Libya's weapons laboratories weak, inefficient and demoralized. But Libya and its mercurial leader, whose agents exploded a bomb at Berlin's La Belle disco in 1986 and blew apart Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988, could not be counted out. One reason was international backing.

"It is believed that all of Libya's programs have been heavily dependent on foreign supply," said Gary Samore, a weapons specialist at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London.

Indeed, intelligence officials had become increasingly worried about Libyan efforts to obtain weapons-usable parts and equipment from other countries after international embargoes against the country were eased in the late 1990s. North Korea helped Libya to develop a missile that could travel 500 miles, a U.S. official said.

Libya also is believed to have been the intended recipient of a large shipment of missile-related technology aboard the North Korean-flagged freighter *Kuwolsan*, boarded by Indian customs officers in June 1999 in the port city of Kandla. The ship carried hundreds of missile components, machine tools, and detailed blueprints for variants of the Scud-B and Scud-C missiles.

One former U.S. official called it a "full production kit for missiles."

In January 2000, 32 crates of missile parts disguised as automotive spare parts were discovered at London's Gatwick Airport on a British Airways flight bound for Tripoli via Malta. Paperwork seized with the equipment indicated other consignments had already reached Libya through Britain.

The Bush administration has embarked on an ambitious strategy to curtail the spread of weapons of mass destruction, as well as the technology and equipment needed to produce them.

A key element of that strategy is identifying producers and traders, and interrupting their trade.

U.S. officials who have briefed reporters since Friday's announcement noted North Korea's connection to Libya's missile program, but have declined to name companies or other countries that helped Gaddafi. They indicated that

they know more than they are telling: On the issue of the centrifuges, believed to be well beyond Libyan manufacturing capability, a senior official said, "I don't want to get into that."

*Staff writer Joby Warrick contributed to this report.*

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A18171-2003Dec20.html>

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The Washington Post

## 'A Long Slog' Led to Libya's Decision

British Negotiators Spent Months Persuading Gaddafi to End Arms Program

*By Glenn Frankel*

Washington Post Foreign Service

Sunday, December 21, 2003; Page A28

LONDON, Dec. 20 -- In a wood-paneled private room at the exclusive Travelers Club on Pall Mall, four British officials and three Libyan counterparts met Tuesday to put in writing Libya's commitment to dismantle its weapons of mass destruction and end the North African country's isolation from the international community.

It took six hours to close the deal, British officials recalled Saturday. The British team -- two senior Foreign Office diplomats and two officials from the MI6 intelligence agency -- was looking for a clear statement that, contrary to its previous claims, Libya had indeed been pursuing nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and was now prepared to go through a verifiable process in destroying those it had. The Libyans, led by intelligence chief Musa Kusa, sought to ensure that the statement would be clear and accurate but not humiliating.

"It was a long slog," one official recalled. But the result was an agreement that officials here hailed as a triumph for diplomacy and a possible precedent for future dealings with states such as Iran and North Korea.

"This is as a result of painstaking diplomacy over many months," British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw said. "We have said all the way along that we would prefer to see the world made more peaceful by a removal of illegal proliferation regimes to be done in an entirely peaceful way."

British officials are usually tight-lipped about their work behind closed doors. But their pride in this achievement was apparent in their willingness to disclose key details of the nine-month effort that resulted in the deal, which was announced in a carefully choreographed sequence of statements Friday evening by Libyan Foreign Minister Abdel-Rahman Shalqam in Tripoli, Prime Minister Tony Blair in London and President Bush in Washington.

According to the British account, Kusa, who is one of Libyan leader Moammar Gaddafi's most trusted aides, approached MI6 officials in March to say his government wanted to initiate talks with Britain and the United States about its weapons of mass destruction program. Kusa and his team -- the Libyan ambassadors to Rome and London, Abdel Ati Obeidi and Mohammed al-Zu'ai, respectively -- were the same group that successfully negotiated a compensation agreement with British officials for the victims of the 1988 Lockerbie bombing.

Britain restored diplomatic relations with Libya in 1999 after a 15-year break. It cosponsored the U.N. Security Council resolution that ended U.N. sanctions against Gaddafi's government last September.

British officials said the level of personal trust built during its recent negotiations and contacts with Kusa and his team carried over into talks about the weapons programs. "They knew each other, and they knew they could trust each other," an official said.

He said Britain immediately informed the Bush administration of Libya's request and Bush and Blair discussed the matter when they met at Camp David in March, just after U.S. and British forces invaded Iraq. Condoleezza Rice, the national security adviser, and Nigel Sheinwald, Blair's new chief foreign policy adviser, helped coordinate the sessions.

British-American teams held secret sessions with the Libyans in Britain through the summer and visited Libya for three weeks in October and early December, trips that British officials said resulted in "significant disclosures of nuclear, chemical, biological and missile-related activities." They said their experts concluded that Libya "was close to developing" a nuclear weapons capability.

Given Gaddafi's long-standing reputation as a sponsor of international terrorism, officials said it was crucial that the Libyans commit publicly to dismantling their weapons programs in a way that the Americans and British would find convincing. "We needed clarity," one official said. "We knew we had to build the trust of our publics in this process."

After the six-hour meeting Tuesday, the British said they were satisfied. Officials arranged for Blair and Gaddafi to hold a half-hour phone call Thursday morning -- the first time the two leaders had spoken.

The call went well, but the Libyan public statement, first due to be broadcast by Shalqam, the foreign minister, on Friday afternoon, was delayed by last-minute wording changes and by a national soccer game on television. It was



not delivered until 9 p.m. British officials waited further, until Gaddafi released a statement endorsing Shalqam's remarks. Shortly afterward, Blair and then Bush went on the air. Foreign Secretary Straw praised Gaddafi for showing "huge statesmanship" and courage in committing to scrap Libya's arms programs. "This is an initiative taken by Colonel Gaddafi, and he needs to be applauded in unqualified terms," Straw told the BBC. "You judge people on their conduct. This was his decision. He wanted to break with the past."

Straw said the example of peaceful diplomacy should also apply with Iran, noting that earlier this week the Iranians signed a new protocol with the International Atomic Energy Agency pledging to allow more rigorous inspections of their nuclear facilities. The Bush administration has expressed deep skepticism about the effort by Straw and his German and French counterparts to negotiate compliance by the Iranians with international nonproliferation safeguards.

"I've had huge amounts of contacts, good relationships with the Iranian government," Straw said. "I believe that they are operating and acting genuinely, and they are keeping to their commitments. Of course, there is always a health warning, that the only proof is to be found on the record and as a result of verification."

Straw would not speculate on why Gaddafi initiated discussions just days before the military campaign against Iraq began. "What people forget in the West is that the Saddam regime posed a threat to governments and peoples in the Middle East, and the removal of Saddam unquestionably helped to eliminate that threat and helped to produce a greater climate of security. Whether it motivated him in any other way is for Colonel Gaddafi to say," Straw said. Shalqam told al-Jazeera television that Libya had acted because its weapons program did not benefit its people. "We want to have ties with America and Britain because this is in the interest of our people," he said.

In Washington, Bush administration officials said they believed that an impetus for Gaddafi's move was the brewing confrontation with Iraq, as well as mounting international pressure.

Officials said they believed that another significant factor was that Libya knew U.S. and British intelligence had developed direct, verifiable knowledge of Libyan weapons materials.

U.S. officials said their leverage in the negotiations was bolstered by a previously undisclosed interdiction under the Proliferation Security Initiative, a U.S.-led agreement with allies allowing searches of planes and ships suspected of carrying banned weapons or missile technologies.

*Staff writer Mike Allen in Washington contributed to this report.*

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A18003-2003Dec20.html>

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The Los Angeles Times

2:49 PM PST, December 22, 2003

## **Pentagon Suspends Anthrax Innoculations**

Decision follows judge's ruling that the mandatory vaccination program started in 1998 is in violation of law prohibiting the use of certain experimental drugs on troops.

By Esther Schrader, Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — The Pentagon will order a suspension of its program to inoculate military personnel against anthrax after a federal judge ruled today that the military is treating troops like "guinea pigs" in forcing them to be vaccinated against the disease.

The judge found that the mandatory vaccination program started in 1998 is in violation of law prohibiting the use of certain experimental drugs on troops without consent or unless the president waives a consent requirement.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice, which represents the military in the case, said the Pentagon "will follow the judge's injunction" and would instruct medical personnel at U.S. military hospitals around the world to temporarily halt the vaccinations while it reviews the order.

Millions of shots have been administered. Hundreds of service members have been punished for refusing the vaccinations, which are classified by the Food and Drug Administration as experimental.

Questions about the vaccine's effectiveness and its possible side effects have swirled around it since the Pentagon first began requiring the shots.

To date, evidence that the vaccine is linked to possible health risks, ranging from sterility to cardiac arrest to immune disorders, has been scanty. But the FDA has acknowledged that at least five service members have become sick after receiving the vaccine.

In the preliminary injunction, Judge Emmet G. Sullivan of the United States District Court in Washington ruled that the anthrax vaccinations violate a law passed by Congress after concerns were raised that the use of such drugs may have led to the unexplained illnesses among veterans of the 1991 Persian Gulf War that have come to be known as Gulf War Syndrome.

"The women and men of our armed forces put their lives on the line every day to preserve and safeguard the freedoms that all Americans cherish and enjoy," Sullivan wrote in the injunction order.

"Absent an informed consent or presidential waiver, the United States cannot demand that members of the armed forces also serve as guinea pigs for experimental drugs."

[http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/nation/la-122203anthrax\\_lat.1.5198350.story?coll=la-home-headlines](http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/nation/la-122203anthrax_lat.1.5198350.story?coll=la-home-headlines)

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The New York Times

## **Arms Inspector Set to Go to Libya**

By **CRAIG S. SMITH**

Published: December 23, 2003

PARIS, Dec. 22 — The head of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Dr. Mohamed ElBaradei, said Monday that he will go to Libya next week to "kick start" inspections of Libya's nuclear weapons program.

Dr. ElBaradei's plans follow Libya's sudden admission of its past nuclear weapons ambitions and its agreement with the United States and Britain to dismantle all its unconventional weapons programs and submit to international inspections. The moves are part of a broader initiative by the Libyan leader, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, to rehabilitate his country's standing in the international community.

The United Nations recently lifted sanctions after Libya acknowledged responsibility for the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland. But the United States has tied the lifting of other sanctions to the eradication of Libya's unconventional weapons programs. Libya has agreed to pay as much as \$10 million in compensation for each of the 270 victims of the bombing, once all international sanctions are lifted.

"The purpose of my visit will be to initiate an in-depth process of verification of all of Libya's past and present nuclear activities," Dr. ElBaradei told reporters in Vienna. He said the inspections would help define what actions would be needed to eliminate any nuclear weapons program.

Dr. ElBaradei said that senior Libyan government officials confirmed to him over the weekend that Libya had been developing uranium enrichment technology to enable it to build nuclear bombs. The program included buying uranium from abroad, as well as centrifuge and conversion equipment that was used to build a small, now dismantled enrichment plant.

Libya joined the International Atomic Energy Agency in 1963 and signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in 1975. The country has agreed to sign an additional protocol that will give inspectors broader, more intrusive inspection rights. On Thursday, Iran signed the protocol that allows the agency's inspectors to carry out unannounced visits at all of the country's nuclear facilities.

"We agree to the commitment that we are taking from the International Atomic Energy Agency and we are willing to abide by its rules and honor our commitments," Libya's prime minister, Shukri Ghanem, told the British Broadcasting Corporation in remarks on its Web site on Monday.

American and British experts have already spent weeks inspecting dozens of Libyan laboratories and military factories and have determined that while Libya did not yet have a nuclear weapons capability, it was close to developing one.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2003/12/23/international/middleeast/23LIBY.html>

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The New York Times

## **Inquiry Suggests Pakistanis Sold Nuclear Secrets**

By **WILLIAM J. BROAD, DAVID ROHDE and DAVID E. SANGER**

Published: December 22, 2003

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21 — A lengthy investigation of the father of Pakistan's atomic bomb, Abdul Qadeer Khan, by American and European intelligence agencies and international nuclear inspectors has forced Pakistani officials to question his aides and openly confront evidence that the country was the source of crucial technology to enrich uranium for Iran, North Korea and possibly other nations.

Until the past few weeks, Pakistani officials had denied evidence that the A. Q. Khan Research Laboratories, named for the man considered a national hero, had ever been a source of weapons technology to countries aspiring to acquire fissile material. Now they are backing away from those denials, while insisting that there has been no transfer of nuclear technology since President Pervez Musharraf took power four years ago.

Dr. Khan, a metallurgist who was charged with stealing European designs for enriching uranium a quarter century ago, has not yet been questioned. American and European officials say he is the centerpiece of their investigation, but that General Musharraf's government has been reluctant to take him on because of his status and deep ties to the country's military and intelligence services. A senior Pakistani official said in an interview that "any individual who is found associated with anything suspicious would be under investigation," and promised a sweeping inquiry. Pakistan's role in providing centrifuge designs to Iran, and the possible involvement of Dr. Khan in such a transfer, was reported Sunday by The Washington Post. Other suspected nuclear links between Pakistan and Iran have been reported in previous weeks by other news organizations.

An investigation conducted by The New York Times during the past two months, in Washington, Europe and Pakistan, showed that American and European investigators are interested in what they describe as Iran's purchase of nuclear centrifuge designs from Pakistan 16 years ago, largely to force the Pakistani government to face up to a pattern of clandestine sales by its nuclear engineers and to investigate much more recent transfers.

Those include shipments in the late 1990's to facilities in North Korea that American intelligence agencies are still trying to locate, in hopes of gaining access to them.

New questions about Pakistan's role have also been raised by Libya's decision on Friday to reveal and dismantle its unconventional weapons, including centrifuges and thousands of centrifuge parts. A senior American official said this weekend that Libya had shown visiting American and British intelligence officials "a relatively sophisticated model of centrifuge," which can be used to enrich uranium for bomb fuel.

A senior European diplomat with access to detailed intelligence said Sunday that the Libyan program had "certain common elements" with the Iranian program and with the pattern of technology leakage from Pakistan to Iran. The C.I.A. declined to say over the weekend what country appeared to be Libya's primary source. "It looks like an indirect transfer," said one official. "It will take a while to trace it back."

There are also investigations under way to determine if Pakistani technology has spread elsewhere in the Middle East and Asia, but so far the evidence involves largely the exchange of scientists with countries including Myanmar. There have been no confirmed reports of additional technology transfers, intelligence officials say.

The Pakistani action to question Dr. Khan's associates was prompted by information Iran turned over two months ago to the International Atomic Energy Agency, under pressure to reveal the details of a long-hidden nuclear program. But even before Iran listed its suppliers to the I.A.E.A. — five individuals and a number of companies from around the world — a British expert who accompanied agency inspectors into Iran earlier this year identified Iranian centrifuges as being identical to the early models that the Khan laboratories had modified from European designs. "They were Pak-1's," said one senior official who later joined the investigation, saying that they were transferred to Iran in 1987.

Pakistani officials said the sales to Iran might have occurred in the 1980's during the rule of the last American-backed military ruler, Gen. Mohammad Zia ul-Haq. They acknowledge questioning three scientists: Mohammed Farooq, Yasin Chohan and a man believed to be named Sayeed Ahmad, all close aides to Dr. Khan.

A senior Pakistani intelligence official said Mr. Farooq was in charge of dealing with foreign suppliers at the Khan laboratory, run by Dr. Khan until he was forced into retirement — partly at American insistence — in the spring of 2001. At the laboratory, where much of the work was done that led to Pakistan's successful nuclear tests in 1998 and its deployment of dozens of nuclear weapons, Mr. Chohan was in charge of metallurgical research, according to senior Pakistani officials.

Contacted by telephone last week, relatives of Mr. Farooq said he was still being questioned. Mr. Chohan's family said Sunday that Mr. Chohan had been released and was at home.

Pakistani officials have insisted in that if their scientists and engineers had done anything wrong, it was without government approval. They said their bank accounts and real estate holdings were also being investigated. A senior Bush administration official, while declining to comment on what was learned when Pakistani officials questioned the men, said that all three had been "well known to our intelligence folks." Another official said the United States had steered Pakistani officials to the three, in hopes it would further pressure Dr. Khan.

Dr. Khan declined several requests in November for an interview, routed through his secretary and his official biographer, Zahid Malik. However, Mr. Malik relayed a statement from Dr. Khan that he had never traveled to Iran. "He said, 'I have never been there in my life.'" A European confidante of Dr. Khan's, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, said the Pakistani scientist put the blame for transfers on a Middle Eastern businessman who he said was supplying Pakistan with centrifuge parts and, on his own, double-ordered the same components to sell to Iran. "There is evidence he is innocent," the confidante said of Dr. Khan in an interview. "I don't think he is lying, but not perhaps telling the whole truth."

Iran has insisted that all of its centrifuges were built purely for peaceful purposes, and last week it signed an agreement to allow deeper inspections.

But for 18 years Iran hid the centrifuge operations from the agency's inspectors.

In Pakistan, the disclosure of the investigation is already complicating the political position of General Musharraf, who narrowly escaped an assassination attempt a week ago. An alliance of hard-line Islamic political parties has already assailed him for questioning the scientists, saying the inquiry shows he is a puppet of the United States. Any attack on Dr. Khan, hailed as the creator of the first "Islamic bomb," is likely to be seized by the Islamist parties as a major political issue. Many Pakistanis opposed the American-led invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as what is seen as the United States' one-sided support of Israel. Many also perceive the United States as trying to dominate the Muslim world — and through pressure on the nuclear scientists, to contain its power.

While General Musharraf was responsible for sidelining Dr. Khan nearly three years ago, he has also praised him. When the nuclear and military establishments of Pakistan gathered for a formal dinner early in 2001 to honor Dr. Khan's retirement, General Musharraf described him this way, according to a transcript of his speech in a Pakistani archive: "Dr. Khan and his team toiled and sweated, day and night, against all odds and obstacles, against international sanctions and sting operations, to create, literally out of nothing, with their bare hands, the pride of Pakistan's nuclear capability."

European and American officials have a different view of Dr. Khan, from his work from 1972 to 1975 in the Netherlands at a centrifuge plant, Urenco.

At the plant, Dr. Khan gained access to centrifuge designs that were extremely sensitive, records from a later investigation show. Suddenly, around 1976, Dr. Khan quit and returned to Pakistan. Not long after, Western investigators say, Pakistan started an atom bomb program that eventually began to enrich uranium with centrifuges based on a stolen Dutch design.

Investigators in the Netherlands found a letter he wrote in the summer of 1976, after having returned to Pakistan, to Frits Veerman, a technician friend at the plant. "I ask you in great confidence to help us," Dr. Khan wrote, according to an article by David Albright, a nuclear expert, in *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. "This is absolutely urgent."

Dr. Khan asked for help on how to etch special grooves on a Dutch centrifuge's bottom bearing, a critical part. The grooves were to aid the flow of lubricants. He also asked if Mr. Veerman might like to vacation in Pakistan "and earn some money at the same time?"

Suspicious, Mr. Veerman gave the letter to officials at Urenco. It was eventually used against Dr. Khan when he was put on trial in absentia in the Netherlands. In 1983, he was sentenced to four years in prison for stealing nuclear secrets. The conviction was later overturned, however, on a legal technicality.

By 1986, American intelligence had concluded that Pakistan was making weapons-grade uranium. And Dr. Khan was making no secret of his expertise: he published two articles that advertised his knowledge. He did so, he wrote, "because most of the work is shrouded in the clouds of the so-called secrecy" controlled by Western nuclear powers. At around the same time, Iran made its secret deal and obtained basic centrifuge designs, the ones that now bear Pakistan's technological signature.

But it was in the mid- to late 1990's, as American sanctions tightened, that Pakistan made its biggest deal — with North Korea, American intelligence officials have said. Though Pakistan continues to deny any role, the laboratories are believed to have been the centerpiece of a barter arrangement of nuclear technology for missiles. South Korean intelligence agents discovered the transactions in 2002 and passed the information to the C.I.A. In the summer of that year, American spy satellites recorded a Pakistani C-130 loading North Korean missile parts in North Korea. Earlier this year the State Department barred American transactions with the Khan laboratory because of the missile deal.

Pakistani officials say that since Dr. Khan's retirement, he has no longer been officially affiliated with the laboratory that bears his name. Still, one former Pakistani military official described him as a proud nationalist who saw himself as a Robin Hood-like character outwitting rich nations and aiding poor ones. Dr. Khan, he said, "was not that sort that would think it was a bad thing" to share nuclear weapons technology. "In fact, he would think it was a good thing."

*David Rohde reported from Pakistan and Boston. William J. Broad and David E. Sanger reported from Vienna, New York and Washington.*

<http://www.nytimes.com/2003/12/22/international/asia/22STAN.html?pagewanted=1>

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