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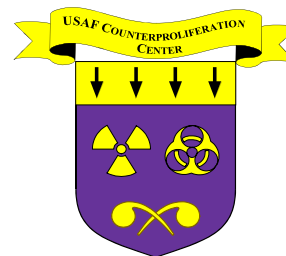
USAF COUNTERPROLIFERATION CENTER

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# Bush Tells United Nations It Must Stand Up To Hussein, Or U.S. Will

## *Top Advisers Press Body for Council Vote*

By Karen DeYoung, Washington Post Staff Writer

UNITED NATIONS, Sept. 12 -- President Bush challenged the United Nations today to stand up to Saddam Hussein, warning the world body that the United States is prepared to act alone if the Iraqi president fails to comply with U.N. resolutions demanding an end to his weapons development program.

The United States, Bush told representatives of nearly 200 nations gathered for the annual U.N. General Assembly, is ready to work with them "to meet our common challenge" of ending Iraq's defiance of 10 years of U.N. demands. "But the purposes of the United States should not be doubted," Bush told hushed delegates in the cavernous assembly hall. Resolutions ordering Iraqi disarmament and other U.N. demands "will be enforced -- or action will be unavoidable," he said. "And a regime that has lost its legitimacy will also lose its power."

In delivering one of the most anticipated speeches of his presidency, Bush issued his most forceful case yet on the threat posed by Hussein and the need to confront him. Although he offered little new evidence to back up his assertions, the president outlined a litany of complaints against the Iraqi government, including human rights abuses, links to terror, and an ambitious program to develop nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

Bush's remarks were aimed at audiences abroad and at home. While seeking to address concerns by governments around the world that he was poised to launch a unilateral military campaign to topple Hussein, Bush also tried to shore up support in Congress for a resolution backing the use of force against Iraq.

His address set in motion what could be an accelerated timetable for action. With administration officials pressing for a vote in Congress by November, senior Bush advisers today began negotiations on a new U.N. Security Council resolution on Iraq, possibly as early as next week.

Iraq immediately denounced Bush's address as "lies" and said it was a pretext for invasion. But the overwhelming reaction among delegates who immediately broke into conversation as Bush left the hall, whether they agreed with Bush's assessment of Hussein, was a sense of relief that the president had reaffirmed the legitimacy of the international body and that, for however brief a moment, the possibility of unilateral U.S. military action was off the table.

On Capitol Hill, reaction was largely favorable, and leaders of both parties said the president had helped bolster his case for a congressional resolution.

Although Bush briefly reiterated his commitment to a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and said the United States would rejoin UNESCO, the U.N. organization it left 18 years ago, he spent most of his 20-minute address on Iraq, including a recitation of list of past U.N. resolutions ordering Baghdad to end its weapons programs, stop repressing its own people and to end threats against its neighbors and all support for terrorists. After a "decade of defiance," Bush said, the world was deceiving itself if it thought Hussein would suddenly decide on his own to comply.

"All the world now faces a test, and the United Nations a difficult and defining moment," he said. "Are Security Council resolutions to be honored and enforced, or cast aside without consequence? Will the United Nations serve the purpose of its founding, or will it be irrelevant?"

In sweeping rhetoric and occasionally harsh tones, Bush reminded the General Assembly that the United Nations was founded after World War II to ensure that the world would "never again be destroyed by the will and wickedness of any man."

The danger posed by Hussein's pursuit of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons, and the possibility he could supply them to terrorists such as those responsible for the Sept. 11 attacks, Bush said, was "exactly the kind of aggressive threat the United Nations was born to confront."

Bush set no deadline for what he described as the Security Council's "urgent duty." But top administration officials outlined a rapid timetable for negotiations, beginning with a meeting that Secretary of State Colin L. Powell will hold Friday with his counterparts from Britain, Russia, France and China -- the five permanent members of the Security Council -- and Secretary General Kofi Annan.

Powell said in an interview after the speech that the administration expects one or more resolutions to be agreed to within "weeks and days," rather than months.

In agreeing to work through the Security Council, Powell said, Bush had given the international community "what it has been asking for" and expected a quick response. "We start discussions tomorrow and they'll take the weekend to report back to their capitals," Powell said. "Next week, we'll talk about specific language. . . . This is not something we want to see protracted, bogged down. We want to move quickly."

Although Powell and other officials said the administration was eager to hear all proposals and willing to seriously negotiate its own views, they expressed a clear preference for a single new resolution that would remind Iraq of its obligations under international law, spell out with great specificity how they will now be enforced, and at least indirectly authorize the immediate use of force if it does not comply.

French President Jacques Chirac proposed last week that the Security Council begin with one resolution setting a deadline for Hussein to readmit U.N. weapons inspectors, to be followed, if he does not comply, by subsequent discussion and a second resolution authorizing a response that could include multinational military action. Powell said "my inclination is to get as much as we can in this one set of deliberations. That will be what I will go in trying to do. We want to try to get as much as we can," he said, although the administration recognizes that "there are other people who will have their points of view."

Many governments and outside experts believe that U.N. inspectors operating in Iraq between 1991 and 1998 uncovered and dismantled most of Iraqi's weapons of mass destruction capability, despite Hussein's efforts to thwart them.

But the administration has long maintained that no inspections regime, no matter how harsh, would be effective in finding previously missed or new facilities or stored weapons. Asked whether its new willingness to consider proposals for a more rigorous system of inspections before deciding on military action meant it believed any inspections regime would work, a senior official said, "No."

Powell and other officials said they thought agreement on a new resolution could be reached as soon as the end of next week, although British diplomats and others sympathetic to the U.S. position said they believed it would take a number of weeks at a minimum. Most of those discussions, Powell said, would be held in New York. While Bush continues to make his case to world leaders, including a visit to Camp David this weekend by Italian President Silvio Berlusconi, Powell is expected to handle the bulk of the direct negotiations.

Remaining at the United Nations through Friday, Powell will return to Washington over the weekend and, along with White House national security adviser Condoleezza Rice, appear on Sunday television talk shows for the second week in a row to lay out the administration's views on Iraq. He is to return here Monday.

Top administration officials appeared confident that Bush's speech would squelch Capitol Hill calls to delay debate on Iraq until after the Nov. 5 elections. Bush has said he wants congressional authorization for action against Hussein before Congress leaves town early next month.

British Prime Minister Tony Blair has been Bush's strongest backer for tough action against Iraq, while counseling working through the United Nations. British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw described Bush's speech as "powerful -- very effective."

A number of others echoed the words of Norwegian Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik in expressing more enthusiasm for the fact that Bush had come to the United Nations to make the case than necessarily agreeing with all of what the president said or any specific course of future action.

"What was positive in his speech is that future action is rooted in the United Nations," Bondevik said. "I felt his speech today was multilateral, more than I have heard from the United States in other speeches."

French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin said: "We know there is a great temptation toward unilateral action," and said that, while Paris has its own ideas about how new Security Council action should unfold -- implying that France might be ready to present its own resolution as early as the meeting with Powell on Friday -- Bush's broad outline was "compatible with the French approach."

Russia and China, which have both publicly opposed military action in Iraq, remained silent. In Germany, Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder repeated that he was opposed to military action under virtually any circumstances.

A senior Arab diplomat whose government fears any military action in Iraq will destabilize the region and set back a settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict said glumly that U.S. negotiations within the Security Council wouldn't really change much.

"What [Bush] is trying to do is to get more support from the international community. But the fundamentals are not affected in any way. It's only a matter of seeking support from the Security Council" for the military action it ultimately expects to carry out, he said.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A10741-2002Sep12.html>

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(Editor's Note: Hyperlink for transcript of the President's speech to the UN follows article.)

New York Times

September 13, 2002

Pg. 1

## **News Analysis**

# **Bush Names Hussein Public Enemy No. 1**

By Patrick E. Tyler

President Bush has formally changed the face of America's primary enemy from Osama bin Laden, whereabouts unknown, to Saddam Hussein, an old nemesis who cheated both Mr. Bush's father and President Clinton out of fulfillment of the terms of surrender that ended the 1991 Persian Gulf war.

The president's forcefully delivered speech at the United Nations significantly escalates the mission he assigned to himself after the Sept. 11 attacks, when he said that fighting terrorism was now the focus of his presidency. "We must stand up for our security," Mr. Bush said from the podium in the vast hall of delegates who gathered under the most stringent security measures ever.

America's security, he said, is "challenged today by outlaw groups and regimes that accept no law of morality and have no limit to their violent ambitions." And so the prospect that the United States could be at war with Iraq by Christmas or soon thereafter began to settle over a country both disturbed and a little numb from the first anniversary of the Sept. 11 attacks.

Mr. Bush made no case today that Mr. Hussein's government in Baghdad was connected in any way to the terrorists who plotted the hijackings and assault on the United States. Nor did he share any new intelligence that Iraq has made any significant strides in rebuilding its arsenal of nuclear, chemical or biological weapons, though the record of Mr. Hussein's deception, packaged by the White House and released today, is extensive.

Instead, the president moved on to new ground, arguing that the credibility of the United Nations and a secure world order require that the international community respond to the intolerable threat Mr. Bush says is posed by Iraq's "weapons of mass murder," developed to brandish against America and its allies.

That threat is so strong, he said, that Mr. Hussein should be removed from power.

Mr. Bush made no pledge to wait for United Nations approval for military action, only to work with the Security Council for the "necessary resolutions" that would give Washington freedom of action. A senior White House official said after the speech that neither was Mr. Bush willing to get drawn into a lengthy tussle over sending United Nations weapons inspectors back to Iraq. "Even when there were inspectors in, he was managing to keep them from doing their work," the official said, referring to Mr. Hussein.

In the last several days, the Bush administration has moved adroitly to exploit every crack in the edifice of European opposition to war in Iraq. After President Jacques Chirac of France said in an interview that the Security Council could set a deadline of three weeks for Iraq to admit weapons inspectors, after which Washington could petition for Security Council backing to use military force, Bush administration officials praised the proposal.

They pointed out that the positions of Britain and France were converging on how to handle Mr. Hussein.

In addition, Mr. Bush timed this speech to coincide with the anniversary events, reminding the country — and to some extent the world — how united both were in the immediate aftermath of the Sept. 11 attacks. Some of those sentiments benefited Mr. Bush today.

"I think the country generally speaking liked what he said even though there is a tremendous amount of concern about war," said Robert J. Strauss, a longtime Democratic strategist, diplomat and admirer of the fellow Texan who sits in the White House. "I also think he has made the decision that he can keep the political consensus behind him." That may depend on whether an Iraq campaign is short and easy or long and hard.

Senator John McCain, the Republican from Arizona who contested Mr. Bush for the nomination in 2000, made a point of saying today on Capitol Hill: "I am very certain that this military engagement will not be very difficult. It may entail the risk of American lives and treasure, but Saddam Hussein is vastly weaker than he was in 1991."

Mr. McCain also said it was possible that military action may take place before Congress comes back in January. He appeared with the Senate's Republican leader, Trent Lott, to express strong support for the president's call to arms. They said they would work to convince the Democrats, who control the Senate, to pass a resolution authorizing military action against Iraq before Congress adjourns for the November midterm elections.

But the Senate majority leader, Tom Daschle, laid out three specific questions and a more profound concern "about the politicization of this whole issue" as the White House has seemed to orchestrate the convergence of a fall war strategy with its fall campaign strategy to maintain control over the House and take back the Senate.

Mr. Daschle said, first, it was important to gauge foreign reaction to Mr. Bush's speech. He also wondered whether a major diversion of military resources to Iraq would undermine the war on terrorism in Afghanistan, and he said the administration had yet to address "to whom will we turn for leadership in Iraq" after Mr. Hussein was overthrown. But Mr. Daschle said the Democrats were "not prepared to make any commitment" to voting on a war resolution "until we've had more of an opportunity to answer these questions."

What was most striking about the speech was how Mr. Bush shifted his ground to address the criticism that continues to dog his administration, that it is hostile to international institutions and their role in regulating national behavior.

Today that criticism came from the United Nations secretary general, Kofi Annan, who proclaimed in introducing Mr. Bush, "I am a multilateralist." Mr. Bush answered by asking how a multilateral institution like the United Nations could assert its role in keeping the peace — indeed, remain true to the very principles for which it exists — if it failed to act against the willful defiance of a militaristic dictator like Mr. Hussein.

"We want the United Nations to be effective," Mr. Bush said. "We want the resolutions of the world's most important multilateral body to be enforced. And right now those resolutions are being unilaterally subverted by the Iraqi regime."

In Mr. Bush's view, Mr. Hussein is the unilateralist.

"The conduct of the Iraqi regime is a threat to the authority of the United Nations, and a threat to peace," Mr. Bush said. "All the world now faces a test, and the United Nations a difficult and defining moment. Are Security Council resolutions to be honored and enforced, or cast aside without consequence? Will the United Nations serve the purpose of its founding, or will it be irrelevant?"

<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/13/international/13ASSE.html>

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## President's Remarks at the United Nations General Assembly

Remarks by the President in Address to the United Nations General Assembly New York, New York

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020912-1.html>

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Christian Science Monitor

September 13, 2002

Pg. 1

## Why Winter Is Best, Tactically, For Iraq Strike

### *Cool weather, short daylight hours are advantageous to US*

By Anne Scott Tyson, Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

When President Bush warns that "time is not on our side" in halting Iraq's weapons threat, his sense of urgency may also reflect US military timing priorities.

November through February is the optimal window for an Iraq campaign, given seasonal considerations of daylight, temperature, and climate, military experts say.

Clearly, other major factors would loom large in a decision on when to strike Iraq - from whether Washington can secure crucial bases and overflight rights to international and domestic politics.

Yet from a military tactical perspective, weather can play a decisive role on selecting the timing of a US invasion of Iraqi soil.

While the US military can operate in all weather conditions, it is no accident that US commanders chose to launch the first airstrikes of the 1991 Gulf War in the middle of January.

One prime consideration for US ground troops is to avoid the hotter months of Iraq's desert climate - similar to that of the Southwestern United States - with temperatures averaging over 100 degrees F. in summer.

Given the potential risk of Iraqi chemical and biological weapons, troops must be prepared to wear heavy protective suits, which can limit activity and cause overheating.

"In the summer there's not a lot you can do in a MOPP [Mission Oriented Protective Posture] suit," says James Carafano, senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments here.

### **Unwieldy military gear**

The military's current suit, a 1997 model that contains activated charcoal to protect against exposure to deadly agents, is relatively heavy (5.6 pounds for a medium size), bulky, and hot.

"As you button the system, you are not allowing air circulation, and the body temperature does rise," says Sarah Clybourne, an expert on the gear at Fort Belvoir in Virginia.

New, lighter suits using plastic membrane are undergoing extensive testing but won't be ready for "a year or two," says Eugene Wilusz, leader of the chemical technology team at the Soldier Systems Center in Natick, Mass.

### **Trading daylight for moonlight**

In the months spanning winter, the shorter stretches of daylight would also extend the advantage the US military has operating in darkness, say experts.

Powerful night-vision capabilities allow the US military to move and strike targets while unseen by the enemy, gaining an element of surprise that has proven critical in military operations such as in Afghanistan.

"The shorter the days get, the more night, and US forces rule the night," says retired Navy Rear Adm. Stephen Baker of the Center for Defense Information.

"With our infrared capability, heat sources are much more identifiable [in darkness]," he says.

Other winter weather factors can have mixed implications for military operations, but do not pose serious obstacles, military experts and meteorologists say.

Winter marks the rainy season in Iraq, with 90 percent of the annual rainfall occurring between November and April, the majority of it between December and March.

As a result, cloud cover exists for about half the days in winter and can complicate the use of laser-guided missiles and other weapons.

### **Seeing through cloud cover**

However, the cloud cover is less of a problem in Iraq than in other theaters, such as Kosovo, experts say. Also, compared with the Gulf War, the US military currently uses a far higher percentage of GPS (Global Positioning System)-guided bombs, which are not limited by cloud cover.

"Cloud cover is a negligible factor [in Iraq]," says Colonel Carafano. "We have a lot more GPS capability, so we are better off in terms of our ability to attack in all weather."

Rains can also cause flash flooding in dry stream beds and roads in Iraq during the cool season, especially in early spring, although experts say the US military could maneuver around such areas without difficulty.

### **Desert storm**

Finally, sudden dust and sandstorms can blow through year-round in Iraq, with the potential to ground planes or make flying hazardous.

Nevertheless, military meteorologists point out that such storms, while hindering air operations, might help cloak a ground action.

"If you are trying to attack with ground forces, it is always better to have some weather" to prevent detection by the enemy, says Major David Wood, chief of the special operations support branch of the Air Force Weather Agency at Offutt Air Force Base in Omaha, Neb.

Indeed, Air Force meteorologists say they study a host of complex factors - from solar flares to wind and tide directions - to assist military planners in making decisions.

"Our role is to provide information so the military planners can best employ the US instruments of national power," says Col. Bill Burnette, vice commander of the Air Force Weather Agency.

At the same time, compared with before the 1991 war, US military commanders and troops have far more experience fighting in a desert environment. The same goes for soldiers.

"Before 1990, you could not find many troops who had been to the desert," Carafano says. "Now, lots of people have been in the theater, and they have a lot more operational experience running things in all kinds of weather. The confidence level is way higher."

<http://www.csmonitor.com/2002/0913/p01s02-usmi.html>

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(Editor's Note: Hyperlink for a background paper released on Sep 12, 2002, from the White House follows article.)  
New York Times  
September 13, 2002

# White House Lists Iraq Steps To Build Banned Weapons

By Judith Miller and Michael R. Gordon

Seeking to buttress the case for military action against Iraq, the Bush administration published a brief paper yesterday outlining what it says are efforts by Saddam Hussein to develop chemical, biological and nuclear weapons, and the missiles to deliver them.

Some senior Democratic lawmakers have complained that the Central Intelligence Agency has yet to deliver an updated National Intelligence Estimate documenting Iraq's military programs. They have also asserted that some of the intelligence that the administration has provided about Iraq's weapons activities is sketchy and out of date. But the administration insists that despite Iraq's efforts to hide its activities to develop or acquire nonconventional weapons, Baghdad has shown a clear pattern of violating its commitments in all areas.

President Bush's speech yesterday at the United Nations and the new document — a fact sheet, the White House calls it — are intended to bolster the case for action by specifying how Iraq has violated its international pledges on arms and human rights since 1991.

In both the speech and the paper, the White House asserted that Iraq's efforts to buy specially configured aluminum tubes was evidence that President Hussein was still trying to make nuclear fuel for a bomb.

Senior officials acknowledged yesterday that there have been debates among intelligence experts about Iraq's intentions in trying to buy such tubes, but added that the dominant view in the administration was that the tubes were intended for use in gas centrifuges to enrich uranium.

George J. Tenet, the director of central intelligence, has been adamant that tubes recently intercepted en route to Iraq were intended for use in a nuclear program, officials said. They also said it was the intelligence agencies' unanimous view that the type of tubes that Iraq has been seeking are used to make such centrifuges.

The Defense Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency support the C.I.A. view, the officials said.

Although the C.I.A. position appears to be the dominant view, officials said some experts had questioned whether Iraq might not be seeking the tubes for other purposes, specifically, to build multiple-launch rocket systems.

Specifically, Washington officials said, some experts in the State Department and the Energy Department were said to have raised that question. But other, more senior, officials insisted last night that this was a minority view among intelligence experts and that the C.I.A. had wide support, particularly among the government's top technical experts and nuclear scientists.

"This is a footnote, not a split," a senior administration official said.

The government has shown great sensitivity about suggestions that intelligence experts differ over Iraq's intentions, because Mr. Hussein's pursuit of weapons of mass destruction is the centerpiece of the argument for planning a military campaign to topple him.

The New York Times reported on Sunday that the dominant view was that the tubes were for Iraq's nuclear program and that it was only one of several indications that Iraq was reconstituting and expanding its effort to acquire nuclear weapons.

The White House paper today also repeated the charges that Mr. Hussein's government was trying to develop mobile laboratories that could be used to make biological weapons.

On chemical weapons, the report said, Iraq is trying to buy ingredients that could be used to make poison gas. The fact sheet also said Iraq was trying to hide activities at its plant at Fallujah. Iraq, the report said, can make chlorine at Fallujah and three other plants.

Though Iraq claims that the production is to purify its water supply, the production capacity at the plants, the report said, is greater than Iraq needs for civilian purposes. The report says some of the chlorine supply is being diverted for military purposes.

On ballistic missiles, the report says Iraq is trying to develop missiles with a range of more than 90 miles, the upper limit established under the cease-fire after the Persian Gulf war in 1991. The report says Iraq has made preparations for testing the engines of prohibited longer-range missiles at its Al Rafah North complex.

Iraq has also rebuilt structures at Al Mamoun that were dismantled years ago at the insistence of United Nations weapons inspectors. The original structures were dismantled because they were intended to make solid-fuel engines for a long-range missile.

Regarding its nuclear programs, the report notes that Iraq has withheld documentation from the United Nations of its past nuclear program and relates that Mr. Hussein has repeatedly met his nuclear scientists in the last 14 months.

An administration official called discussions about the aluminum tubes and Iraq's intentions "a normal part of the intelligence process." The administration has stopped Iraq several times from buying such tubes. Officials said yesterday that earlier shipments differed from latter ones and that the specifications of the earlier shipments were not as clearly suited for nuclear purposes.



"There are tubes and then there are tubes," the administration official said. He added that the best technical experts and nuclear scientists at laboratories like Oak Ridge supported the C.I.A. assessment.  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/13/international/middleeast/13ARMS.html>

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## A Decade of Deception and Defiance

Decade of Deception and Defiance serves as a background paper for President George W. Bush's September 12<sup>th</sup> speech to the United Nations General Assembly. This document provides specific examples of how Iraqi President Saddam Hussein has systematically and continually violated 16 United Nations Security Council resolutions over the past decade. This document is not designed to catalogue all of the violations of UN resolutions or other abuses of Saddam Hussein's regime over the years.

For more than a decade, Saddam Hussein has deceived and defied the will and resolutions of the United Nations Security Council by, among other things: continuing to seek and develop chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons , and prohibited long-range missiles; brutalizing the Iraqi people, including committing gross human rights violations and crimes against humanity; supporting international terrorism; refusing to release or account for prisoners of war and other missing individuals from the Gulf War era; refusing to return stolen Kuwaiti property; and working to circumvent the UN's economic sanctions.

The Administration will periodically provide information on these and other aspects of the threat posed to the international community by Saddam Hussein. . . .

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020912.html>

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Washington Post  
September 13, 2002  
Pg. 30

## Observers: Evidence For War Lacking

### *Report Against Iraq Holds Little That's New*

By Dana Priest and Joby Warrick, Washington Post Staff Writers

The White House document released yesterday as evidence that it is time to overthrow Saddam Hussein is a concise summary of his regime's abuses of Iraqis and its past use or possession of chemical and biological agents.

But it contains little new information -- and no bombshells -- showing that Hussein is producing new weapons of mass destruction or has joined with terrorists to threaten the United States or its interests abroad.

Administration officials, seeking to persuade the public, Congress and foreign allies that it is time to go to war, had indicated recently that their strongest case rested on evidence of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction program and its efforts to develop ballistic missiles to launch them beyond its borders.

But experts on Iraq's weaponry say that on this subject the report, with few exceptions, recycles a mix of dated and largely circumstantial evidence that Hussein may be hiding the ingredients for these weapons and is seeking to develop a nuclear capability and to weaponize chemical and biological agents.

The 20-page paper, "A Decade of Deception and Defiance," concludes Iraq harbors stockpiles of chemical and biological weapon it created before the 1991 Persian Gulf War, as well as a limited number of missiles and other systems for delivering them. The stockpile includes highly lethal VX, a nerve agent so potent that a few drops on the skin can kill, as well as anthrax and other staples of germ warfare.

The report concludes that Iraq retains the expertise and infrastructure to build new weapons and is seeking to acquire critical parts and supplies. On Iraq's nuclear program, it repeats a British think tank's finding last week that Iraq could likely build a nuclear weapon within a few months, but only if it managed the difficult feat of acquiring enriched uranium from an outside source.

The bulk of the report's assertions were attributed to reports by U.N. weapons inspectors who scoured Iraq for outlawed weapons programs from 1991 to 1998. Although the inspectors destroyed large amounts of weaponry and equipment, they were unable to account for all the chemical and biological warheads and bombs Iraq has admitted making. They disputed Iraq's claims that it destroyed the weapons to hide evidence.



Other claims in the report were attributed to Iraqi defectors or to surveillance imagery that showed new construction in places where Iraq once manufactured weapons.

Weapons experts who reviewed the document noted a few previously undisclosed details, such as a new test platform reportedly built for longer-range missiles at Iraq's al-Rafah-North facility. But several expressed surprise at the lack of fresh revelations.

"Given the high priority for knowing what is going on in Iraq, I'm stunned by the lack of evidence of fresh intelligence," said Gary Milhollin, executive editor of Iraq Watch, a Washington-based nonprofit institution that tracks developments in Iraq's weapons program. "You'd expect that, for the many billions we are spending on intelligence, they would be able to make factual assertions that would not have to be footnoted to an open source." The document's evidence of Iraq's "support for international terrorism" is one-page long and lacks any reference to al Qaeda or to a purported meeting in Prague between Sept. 11 hijacker Mohamed Atta and an Iraqi intelligence agent. The document confirms that the last terrorism operation by Hussein's regime was the 1993 attempt to kill then-President George H.W. Bush during his visit to Kuwait. It cites Iraq's shelter of various anti-Iran and extremist Palestinian terrorist groups and says Hussein has increased from \$10,000 to \$25,000 his compensation to families of Palestinian suicide bombers.

President Bush has been under pressure to reveal why he is pressing for a war with Iraq in the near future, and many analysts believed the document would make his case with new information of a more urgent nature. The absence of evidence, they say, suggests Bush will rely on what he believes are Hussein's intentions and potential actions, rather than on concrete, current activities.

"This is a glorified press release that doesn't come close to the information the U.S. government made available on Soviet military power when we were trying to explain the Cold War," said Anthony Cordesman, a Middle East expert who has participated in many major studies of Iraq's capabilities. "It's clumsy and shallow when what we need is sophisticated and in-depth . . . as an overall grade, I'd give it a D-minus."

White House spokesman Dan Bartlett said yesterday that the document was meant to show Hussein's violation of U.N. resolutions. "It was never meant to be a smoking gun . . . this is a debate that's going to continue for weeks. There will be more documents and briefings that will be offered." The most detailed case made in the paper is that Hussein's regime routinely tortures and abuses its citizens, including children. Citing already published State Department, U.N. and Amnesty International human rights reports, the document contains seven pages of examples covering executions, torture, rape, disappearances, forced military training of children and crimes against Muslims, particularly the majority Shiite Muslim population.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A10645-2002Sep12.html>

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Newhouse.com

September 11, 2002

## **Is U.S. Prepared To Confront An Iraqi Chemical Or Biological Attack?**

By David Wood, Newhouse News Service

WASHINGTON -- In the growing debate about whether to invade Iraq, Bush administration officials have been silent on the potential clash of American soldiers and Iraqi weapons of mass destruction.

But it is Saddam Hussein's presumed arsenal of nerve gas or deadly bacteria, and perhaps one or more crude nuclear weapons, that President Bush cites as a "casus belli" -- the justification for going to war to force disarmament and a "regime change."

Paradoxically, these same weapons pose the greatest risk for the American troops who would have to cross hundreds of miles of desert and fight their way into the clutter of Baghdad and other cities.

For all their frightening reputation, chemical and biological weapons are considered inefficient battlefield killers, hard to target precisely and apt to blow away or evaporate in hot desert winds. U.S. military units regularly practice donning protective suits and masks, and decontaminating their weapons and vehicles.

Yet protective suits muffle voice commands and complicate eating and drinking, and work only if troops are disciplined enough to use them properly in grueling heat and 24-hour combat operations. House-to-house fighting through Baghdad's back alleyways could be a nightmare of nerve gas booby traps, ripped protective suits and troopers felled by suffocating heat.

The U.S. Army's new missile interceptor, the Patriot PAC-3, has failed its last four field tests and there aren't enough of them to protect a large invasion force, Pentagon officials say. Meanwhile, medical personnel haven't treated battlefield chemical casualties since 1917.

Thus the outcome of a chemical or biological attack, according to a wide range of analysts and experts, is highly uncertain.

At best, barrages of chemical or biological toxins would slow or halt a U.S. military advance while troops perform cumbersome and time-consuming decontamination. At worst, Iraqi use of such weapons could trap Washington in an unwanted escalation toward a nuclear retaliatory strike.

Vice President Dick Cheney, asked Sunday on CBS-TV's "Meet the Press" if he thought invading Iraq would be a "cakewalk," replied simply, "I don't think it would be that tough a fight."

Others say the threat of chemical, biological or nuclear weapons should be critical in weighing whether and how to invade Iraq, in judging the risks to American service men and women, and in pondering the regional and global implications of clashing with Saddam's armed and desperate regime.

Some analysts believe that unlike during 1991's Desert Storm, Saddam indeed would launch whatever chemical or biological weapons he had at hand, especially against an American force intent on killing him or capturing him for a war crimes trial.

"These are weapons of last resort, and chances are Saddam would have nothing to lose," said Richard L. Russell, professor at the National Defense University's Near East/South Asia Center for Strategic Studies and a former CIA military analyst.

Said Andrew Krepinevich, a former Pentagon staff officer now advising Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld: "I think we have to be a lot more concerned about chemical and biological weapons this time than the last time around."

Saddam's battlefield commanders, however, might not be so quick to comply with a launch order.

"To 'slime' Baghdad international airport, the impact on the Iraqi civilian population would be horrific," said retired Army Maj. Gen. Robert H. Scales, a strategist and former commandant of the Army War College.

"Saddam might pick up the phone and order his commander to fire chemicals, and they're thinking, 'I'm 48 hours away from being under American control, so do I face the court of world opinion for having slaughtered half a million people, or do I just hang up?' That's a pretty easy decision."

On both sides of this issue, however, there is agreement about the arsenal Saddam is believed to have hidden away. According to the best estimates of the CIA, reports by Iraqi defectors, and projections by former United Nations inspection teams, Iraq may have concealed as much as 660 tons of chemical agents, including the nerve gases VX and Sarin, and mustard gas, a blister agent.

Iraq is also thought at one time to have had a biological weapons stockpile of some 5,200 gallons of botulinum, 528 gallons of aflatoxin and ricin, and 2,100 gallons of anthrax agent. How much remains is not known.

To deliver this stuff, Saddam is believed to have between 10 and 30 modified Russian Scud missiles capable of carrying warheads to Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Turkey, and an unknown number of missiles with ranges under 150 kilometers. Iraq is known to have outfitted light drone aircraft with spray tanks, and may have hidden stocks of artillery shells and rockets capable of carrying liquid chemical agents.

Unknown and perhaps unknowable, analysts and administration officials say, is whether this listing is a jumble of rusting, broken leftovers or a coherent, well-oiled and deadly fighting force. Either way, the threat raises these difficulties:

-- Strategists presume Saddam would hide missile launchers in the empty, 29,000-square-mile western Iraqi desert, as he did in 1990. Then, Allied strike fighters and commando teams engaged in the "Great Scud Hunt" were unable to document destroying a single launcher, even as Iraq was firing 88 of the missiles into Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Israel.

This time, hunting down Scuds and other missiles would require diverting a division-size ground force from the main attack on Baghdad.

-- Massed troops and vehicles, and the mountains of materiel needed to sustain them, would present tempting targets at ports and airfields in Turkey, Kuwait, Jordan and Bahrain.

Even after U.S. armor columns began clanking toward Baghdad, they could be quickly halted by chemical barrages requiring lengthy and cumbersome decontamination. Army Col. Tom Klewin, deputy commandant of the U.S. Army Chemical School, said it takes up to two hours to decontaminate each tank.

The Defense Department is husbanding precious supplies of anthrax vaccine, designed to be given in six shots over 18 months for maximum effectiveness. But according to spokesman James Turner, the Pentagon will send troops off with three shots given over 45 days, and then only to "people whose performance is essential for certain mission-critical capabilities that we are not going to discuss."

-- Some analysts worry that Saddam, rather than ordering a direct strike on U.S. forces, might offer chemical or biological munitions to radical terrorists to use in suicide bombings in Israel. Such an "asymmetric" attack would doubtless spark an Israeli retaliatory strike, enabling Saddam to recast the fighting as a struggle to defend Islamic civilization from the "infidel" United States and Israel.

-- The Bush administration has already warned Baghdad that the United States would retaliate powerfully for any Iraqi use of chemical, biological or nuclear weapons, according to Sen. Bob Graham, D-Fla., chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

Similar U.S. threats in 1990 are believed by some officials to have effectively deterred Saddam from using his chemical weapons. But if Saddam did fire chemicals out of desperation, the United States could find itself having either to back down or to launch a nuclear strike.

"That's the risk -- and it's a tremendous Catch-22," said Kenneth Brower, an independent weapons analyst and consultant to the Pentagon and the Israeli Defense Force.

"The president would have to react. He couldn't just ignore a chemical attack on American kids."

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Washington Times  
September 14, 2002

## **Joint Chiefs Boss Cites Iraqi Dangers**

By Bill Gertz, The Washington Times

The Pentagon is expected to transfer the headquarters of the U.S. Central Command to the Persian Gulf, and Iraq is working on mobile-germ and poison-gas facilities, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff said yesterday.

Air Force Gen. Richard B. Myers said the Central Command, which would be the main group in charge of fighting a war against Iraq, will likely move out of its Tampa, Fla., location to Qatar as part of a November exercise, and may remain there.

Qatar is viewed by Pentagon planners as a potential headquarters for military operations against Iraq, if Saudi Arabia denies the use of its bases for U.S. and allied strikes.

"A decision hasn't been finally made, but my guess is the secretary [of defense] will make a decision to push a forward headquarters into the region.

"It just makes sense to have your headquarters in your area of responsibility, so, I think that's a likely outcome," he said.

He said the relocation is not a sign about "potential action in the region."

After a speech at the National Press Club, Gen. Myers also said there is evidence Iraq has mobile-production capability for chemical and biological weapons.

"It does not take a lot of space for some of this work to go on," he said. "It can be done in a very, very small location, and the fact that you can put it on wheels makes it a lot easier to hide from people that might be looking for it. And so, yes, we have evidence that's happening."

President Bush has said Iraq's chemical and biological weapons, and work on nuclear arms, are a key reasons the United States should take action to oust the government of Saddam Hussein.

Earlier at the Pentagon, a senior defense official said U.S. intelligence estimates that Iraq can deploy a missile within three years' time that could carry chemical, biological or nuclear warhead to Israel, Turkey and throughout the Persian Gulf.

Iraq has already tested a missile with a range greater than 93 miles, which is prohibited under United Nations sanctions, said the official who briefed reporters on efforts by state sponsors of terrorism to build chemical, biological and nuclear weapons and missiles to deliver them.

The senior defense officials said Iraq's chemical and biological weapons program are "fairly aggressive" and have been rebuilt since the end of the 1991 Persian Gulf war.

"We continue to see suspicious activities at sites that we believe are related to their CW and BW programs," the senior official said.

With outside support, Iraq could fire a home-made missile with a range of up to 930 miles by 2005, the official said. The official disclosed how mobile biological weapons production could be carried out on four semi-tractor trailer trucks. "A small number of tractor-trailer-type trucks is sufficient to have a capability for producing biological weapons agents," he said.

The trucks would include a personnel support vehicle, a labor support area where agents are mixed; a truck that mixed biological agents and a biological weapons storage truck.

"What it shows is that a mobile biological weapons production capability is very viable and very difficult to detect and find," a second defense official said.

Iraq is believed to be increasing the range of its missiles by putting lighter warheads on them. "That means you can take a very powerful rocket, load it down with a lot of weight and it will only go 150 kilometers. But if you take the weight off, it will go a lot farther. And the suspicion is that that's exactly what the Iraqis are up to," said the senior official.

As for Iraq's nuclear program, U.S. intelligence estimates that Iraq could field a nuclear weapon in a year if it obtained fuel for the bomb, the official said.

The Pentagon quietly has been building up a major air base in Qatar known as Al Aidid, which has state-of-the-art aircraft storage bunkers and a 15,000-foot runway, which can accommodate the largest U.S. bombers.

"It's just that we've got to be ready for action and for activities, no matter what we're called upon to do," Gen. Myers said, noting that military activities there could range from humanitarian operations to "more serious activities, to real crisis."

<http://www.washtimes.com/national/20020914-99696672.htm>

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Washington Times  
September 16, 2002  
Pg. 1

## **Iraqi Scientist Says Materials For Nuclear Bombs In Hand**

By Paul Martin, The Washington Times

LONDON — Iraq is already using copies of pirated German equipment to process nuclear material for an atomic weapons program, according to a former Iraqi nuclear scientist who testified before the U.S. Senate this summer. Khidir Hamza, who led a section of the Iraqi nuclear bomb program before his defection in 1994, said the devices may not be discovered even if U.N. inspectors are allowed to return to Iraq.

"The beauty of the present system is that the units are each very small, and in the four years since the inspectors left, they will have been concealed underground or in basements or buildings that outwardly seem normal," he said.

Mr. Hamza was one of the first witnesses at Senate hearings on Iraq in July. But in a series of interviews over the past several weeks, he painted a much more alarming picture than was laid out before the Senate or in a widely discussed report released last week by the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies.

That study concluded that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's regime could make an atomic bomb within months if it succeeded in acquiring the necessary nuclear fuel from an outside source.

But Mr. Hamza said Iraq already has, and is processing some 1.3 tons of low-enriched material bought many years ago from Brazil.

He maintained that Iraq has also been processing many tons of its own yellow-cake uranium, which has been extracted from large supplies of phosphates in the north.

U.N. inspectors were shown 162 tons of the material before their expulsion in 1998, but Mr. Hamza said there are several other sites that can be used.

"The amount of uranium it already has — conservatively estimated in a German intelligence report at 10 tons of natural uranium and 1.3 tons of low-enriched uranium — is enough for three nuclear weapons," Mr. Hamza said.

Before their expulsion, the inspectors dismantled an illegally imported German centrifuge that had been used in a program that progressively refines natural or low-enriched uranium until it becomes suitable for weapons.

But Mr. Hamza, who was the science adviser to the Atomic Energy Establishment and later helped start and direct Iraq's nuclear weapons program, said by then the "cat was out the bag."

He said he suspects the Iraqis have taken advantage of the four years since the inspectors' expulsion to make numerous copies of the original smuggled centrifuge and are busily refining uranium into the necessary material for nuclear bombs.

"It's a relatively simple process once you have the plans and some experience operating one or two centrifuges," he said.

The key was provided, he said, when German Karl Schaab showed the Iraqis how to build and operate a centrifuge in 1989, and later helped them build a second.

"Our engineers videoed as it was put up, so they could build identical ones. Then he also provided 130 classified documents and charts detailing every aspect of the construction.

"When the inspectors took away the original centrifuge, we already had the know-how. I believe there are probably hundreds of copies today," said Mr. Hamza, who now lives in the United States.

"They are easy to hide — undetectable from satellites if built within or under other buildings."

The problem for Iraq, he says, is simply to keep reprocessing the material so that after each run it gets more and more enriched, until it reaches the 90 percent level needed to make a nuclear weapon.

The process can be completed more quickly if one begins with low-enriched uranium — which is at 3 percent to 4 percent — rather than only natural uranium, which is at about 0.7 percent.

A really efficient weapons program requires thousands of such centrifuges, as each has a very small output of enriched uranium, Mr. Hamzi said.

Further evidence that such a program is in place came this month when the United States announced the interception of a shipment to Iraq of highly refined aluminum tubes suitable for making centrifuges.

"The whole centrifuge method of getting to a bomb is much easier for Iraq than, for example, it was for Pakistan, which took 17 years in going the same route," Mr. Hamza said. "They had to get it in bits and pieces, whereas we got a whole centrifuge and all the plans."

Experts suggest the method being used by Iraq can take from four to seven years, depending on the number of centrifuges. Mr. Hamza said Iraq would have begun work in earnest as the inspectors left in 1998.

"This means, unless he's stopped soon, Saddam will have set up a whole nuclear bomb industry, not just have made a couple of bombs," he said.

Iraq has repeatedly denied having such a program.

"It's not that Iraq has no material," said Foreign Minister Naji Sabri in a televised interview last week. "From the beginning of 1991 the government had a decision to leave the weapons-of-mass-destruction club. So we presented all we had to UNSCOM [the U.N. weapons inspectors]. There is nothing."

Mr. Hamza, who was working on Saddam's weapons program when Israeli jets bombed the French-supplied 40-megawatt Osirak research reactor in 1981, confirmed long-held suspicions that the facility was to have been used to develop nuclear weapons material.

Scientists had planned not to divert the existing French-supplied highly enriched nuclear fuel — enough for one bomb — but rather blanket the reactor with natural or depleted uranium, which would produce plutonium. That would have made it possible to continue producing, eventually allowing repeated bomb production.

"From the moment Osirak was hit we knew we had to try another method to get the bomb, and the centrifuge approach is the easiest to conceal," Mr. Hamza said.

<http://www.washtimes.com/world/20020916-28573872.htm>

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New York Times  
September 15, 2002  
Pg. 1

## **Burning Of Chemical Arms Puts Fear In Wind**

By Rick Bragg with Glynn Wilson

ANNISTON, Ala. -- Some nights, when he is in a worrying mood, Samuel Robinson sits by himself in the glow from his television screen and counts the windows in his home.

It could get in here, he thinks.

It could get in there.

Any place a breath of air could creep in, he says, so could a tiny amount of deadly vapor, a smidgen of the poison gas that the nearby chemical weapons incinerator plans to begin burning in October, after years of delay, cost overruns and safety concerns.

"And I'll be thinking, what could I do?" said Mr. Robinson, 74, who lives just a few miles from the Anniston Army Depot, where stockpiles of deadly nerve gas and mustard gas, some leaking from corroded shells, rockets and barrels, await destruction in a \$1 billion incineration plant.

"One in each bedroom, two in the living room, one in the kitchen," he said, running over the windows in his house, and the room he would try to seal with plastic wrap if an alarm sounded. "No, I couldn't. I'd just get nervous and give up."

The Anniston Army Depot houses 9 percent of the nation's chemical weapons stockpile, which, under a global treaty that bans such weapons, is supposed to be destroyed by 2007. But unlike incinerators on Johnston Island in the Pacific Ocean and at Tooele, Utah, in the Great Salt Lake Desert, the weapons bunkers here in this green, hilly region of northeastern Alabama are surrounded by schools, churches, ball fields, day care centers, nursing homes and trailer parks.

The Army's scientists say that when the burning starts, at 2,700 degrees, 2,254 tons of the most inhuman weapons ever devised will be rendered little more dangerous than water vapor. Most of the chemicals are 40 years old or older and have become obsolete because age has caused the chemicals to deteriorate and because the necessary guns and launching platforms no longer exist.

It will take seven years to erase the stockpile, says the Army, which insists that the risk to the incinerator's neighbors is minimal to nonexistent and that it is far better to burn these weapons than to let them sit and crumble.

But similar Army efforts elsewhere, while avoiding disaster, have been marred by mechanical foul-ups and human error, and some health experts, environmentalists and residents say it is madness to burn weapons of mass destruction in a county of 116,000 people.

After years of wrangling with the federal government to finance a \$41 million effort to protect the public, and with the scheduled start-up just weeks away, the county still has not fully carried out the plan. It has not given residents materials to seal their homes, or protected all the surrounding schools with equipment that raises the air pressure indoors so gases outside cannot leak in.

"We are not ready," said Mike Burney, director of the Calhoun County Emergency Management Agency. "It has been a constant battle to get the funding to put a protective plan in place."

Mr. Burney said the Department of Defense only recently freed up the money for protection efforts, spurred by a state lawsuit that threatened an injunction to halt the opening of the incinerator if the federal government did not pay for pressurizing schools and more. But Mr. Burney conceded that if burning begins on schedule and if a disaster occurs, he can no more affect the impact on his community than a weatherman can steer a hurricane. All he can do, at least until preparations are in place, is watch from a command post in nearby Jacksonville.

With backing from the city's business leaders and only a small number of opponents willing to raise an outcry, the Army has pushed ahead.

The Department of Defense says that unlike Iraq, whose past use and reported stockpiling of poison gas have led to talk of war, the United States has never used chemical weapons. Civilians in Alabama are certainly not going to be the exception, said Michael B. Abrams, a spokesman for the Anniston Chemical Agent Disposal Facility.

"It is unrealistic to live in fear, or assume that the entire community is on the edge of Armageddon," Mr. Abrams said. "This community does not have to live on edge."

If there is a chemical leak, alarms will warn people who live within a few miles of the depot. The 35,000 people who live within nine miles are expected to have only 8 to 15 minutes to evacuate. For those who cannot get away quickly, the plan is simple. They have been told to go inside, seal a room with duct tape and plastic sheeting and wait. Some people, especially the old, sick and poor, smile bitterly at this.

They can neither run nor hide.

"I could not, with God's help," said Raymond Whitten, 59, who lives about a mile from the depot fence. He has heart trouble, had a bypass operation recently and lives with his wife, Lee, in a 1976 model mobile home. "You couldn't get it airtight if you poured concrete over it," Mr. Whitten said.

Whatever happens at the incinerator, the residents of western Anniston, near the depot, have already been poisoned. An immense chemical plant here run by Monsanto, now called Solutia, leached PCB's into the soil and water over decades.

But for years, the depot spread only paychecks through the community. Anniston has always been a pro-military city, even after the loss of its Army base, Fort McClellan, in 1995. Local and state politicians have long acted on the assurance that most residents preferred incineration to other methods -- like chemical neutralization -- and that only a vocal minority, mostly college professors and malcontents, opposed it.

"The risk is the stockpile," Mr. Abrams said. "While some people do not trust the technology, we do. We can either wait for a silver bullet to arrive and gamble that nothing will happen, or employ the incinerator."

But a recent survey, commissioned by a Republican candidate for governor, found that the community was divided, with slightly fewer than half of the residents saying they preferred incineration and a slim majority saying they preferred using existing technology like neutralization or waiting for other technology.

Gov. Donald Siegelman has said he will look into other ways to destroy the stockpile, including neutralization. But the people closest to the incinerator say it is too late. They wonder whether the incinerator will really shut down once the stockpile is burned, as state and federal laws now mandate, or whether it will merely shift gears and begin burning hazardous waste or other materials.



Even spokesmen for the incineration plan concede that the depot's life span might depend on the whims of future legislators and Congress.

As the start date draws closer, more residents are beginning to wonder who, if anyone, will protect them in a catastrophe. The Army says it is not its duty to protect residents in an accidental release.

"I firmly believe that the incinerator should not be burdened with the safety of the community, when we don't present a realistic threat to the community," Mr. Abrams said. Barring a devastating fire, a complete power failure or an explosion outside containment rooms, he said, there is no threat to the community.

Even if a chemical does leak, "the chance of it going past the fence line is about impossible," Mr. Abrams said. The fence line is about four miles from the incinerator.

But Peter deFur, a toxicologist and biologist with Virginia Commonwealth University who has researched incinerators and their health effects, said Army reports on incineration in the 1990's on Johnston Island and in Tooele show "abnormal operations, accidents, spills, things have gone wrong."

"Even if you have a low probability of something going wrong," Mr. deFur said, "if you operate long enough, hard enough and fast enough, then chances are, something is going to get out."

In August, a laboratory technician at a chemical weapons incinerator in Oregon took home a vial of solution containing sarin, a deadly nerve agent, in what federal officials have called an accidental breach of procedure. Also in August, the Army and the Environmental Protection Agency confirmed the accidental release of nerve gas -- 45 times higher than the permitted level -- from the incinerator on Johnston Island as that plant was being closed.

No one has been seriously hurt, but watchdog groups say the frequency of incidents is troubling.

Craig Williams, director of the Chemical Weapons Working Group, an organization that has fought off plans to build an incinerator in Kentucky, said the "pattern of detecting chemical agent in material that has been run through the incinerators is very disturbing." Mr. Williams added, "It calls into question the fundamental destruction capability of the whole incineration approach and should be of great concern in communities where incinerators are scheduled to operate."

Mr. deFur said the emissions from the incineration will include PCB's, dioxin, lead and mercury. Exposure through the air, contaminated water or food from contaminated soil, he said, is especially dangerous for unborn children, older people and people with weakened immune systems.

The Army says the incineration will have no long-term effects.

In April, the Alabama Department of Environmental Management, accused by many environmentalists of often rubber-stamping permits for polluting industries and government agencies, found that the Anniston depot had violated its permit through improper storage and labeling of hazardous waste containers.

"The performance of the lab is disturbing," the agency wrote in an April letter. "These reports reflect a general attitude of lax management and offer at least a hint of collusion between the laboratory branches to prevent any major discrepancies from seeing the light of day."

Protests here have been small. A recent public hearing drew 75 people.

A protest rally Sept. 8 attracted about 150, including civil rights figures like the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, who fought segregation a half-century ago. On Sept. 13, Mr. Williams of the Chemical Weapons Working Group said that his coalition was preparing a lawsuit to halt the incineration.

Before the rally, Mr. Shuttlesworth said the incinerator was a civil rights issue because it threatened the weak and poor. "I haven't been to jail since Reagan was in, and I've got the jailhouse itch," he said. "Anniston is the place to break the back of pollution like Birmingham was the place we broke the back of segregation."

Hattie Howze, 89, taught school here for generations. She has not thought much about the incinerator.

As with any threat, like a tornado or a thunderstorm, she will respond to the alarm by taking shelter in her hallway, not by trying to cover her house in tape and plastic. "I have trouble closing the drapes," she said.

"I fear it," she said. "But you just have to trust in the people who are supposed to know."

<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/15/national/15CHEM.html>

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New York Times  
September 14, 2002

## Lab Suggests Qaeda Planned To Build Arms, Officials Say

By Judith Miller



WASHINGTON, Sept. 13 — Pentagon officials disclosed new details today about equipment found in a laboratory near Kandahar, Afghanistan, that they contend Al Qaeda intended to use to make biological and chemical weapons. The officials said the equipment — a centrifuge for separating liquids and an oven in which slurried agents could be dried — supported the assessment that Al Qaeda might have acquired what it needed to make "a very limited production of biological and chemical agents," one official said.

A senior Defense Department official presented photographs of the equipment today at a briefing on efforts by terrorist groups and by Iraq, Iran and other nations to acquire chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, as well as the means to deliver them. The briefing was a more limited version of a classified presentation that Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld and senior aides have made to NATO allies and to legislators on Capitol Hill.

A senior Defense Department official said he did not know whether the centrifuge or the dryer had actually been used. Other officials said they believed that they had not been used, and added that no live agents had been found at the laboratory, which was still under construction when it was discovered by British forces in Afghanistan this past spring. Centrifuges and dryers are also used in making ordinary pharmaceuticals.

But, the senior official added, the equipment and documents found at the site left little doubt that Al Qaeda was trying to acquire weapons of mass destruction.

Pentagon officials said American intelligence officials had not known of the lab's existence before the British forces discovered it on the outskirts of Kandahar last spring. It was the only one of about 60 sites that American officials have investigated that was previously unknown. They said that about 370 samples have been taken from these sites. In only five cases were there any apparent indications of the presence of biological agents, and these were in tiny or trace amounts.

But the discovery of a lab previously unknown to American intelligence officials intensified concerns about Al Qaeda's intentions and the extent to which the United States and its allies can accurately monitor efforts by terrorist groups and what the Bush administration calls rogue states to develop unconventional weapons.

In an interview, another Defense Department official said the equipment and the documents found in the lab suggested that Al Qaeda had intended to make a wide variety of chemical and biological agents to use against people, plants and animals. Intelligence analysts say the lab could have been used eventually to make biological agents that cause anthrax, plague and cholera, as well as a variety of rusts and blights that attack plants, and foot and mouth disease to use against animals with cloven hooves.

"They were actively hunting with shopping lists for equipment, materials, and expertise, and they were working with foreign scientists familiar with such agents," the official said.

Osama bin Laden and his senior aides made no secret of their desire to buy or develop unconventional weapons.

Testimony in terrorism trials in New York and other cities indicated that Al Qaeda was actively seeking nuclear and other unconventional weapons even in the early 1990's. Mr. bin Laden indicated that he considered the acquisition of such weapons a religious duty.

Discovery of the lab near Kandahar was first disclosed by The New York Times in March. The lab had been abandoned by Al Qaeda before production began, officials said.

"We got them before they got us," one official said.

The Department of Defense refused to make available the photos of the dryer and the centrifuge it said came from the lab, or any of the other photos and slides discussed at today's briefing. In response to a reporter's question, the senior official said the department had arranged the briefing in response to reporters' requests for an unclassified version of the secret briefing on these subjects that Mr. Rumsfeld had been giving.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/14/international/asia/14LAB.html>

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Jane's Defence Weekly  
September 18, 2002

## **USA Expedites Chem-Bio Bunker-Buster Project**

By Andrew Koch, JDW Washington Bureau Chief, Washington DC

The US armed forces have long sought a capability to locate and destroy stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons (CW and BW) such as Iraq is believed to possess.

However, despite years of development efforts, US defence officials say the task still poses serious technical and operational challenges. "There is no silver bullet for the defeat of a chemical or biological weapon," explained Defense Threat Reduction Agency (DTRA) director Stephen Younger. "Kilogramme quantities I think we are

getting reasonably close to being able to deal with. Hundreds of kilogrammes to tons, which exist in some places - that is a more difficult problem."

Paramount among these concerns is finding a way of destroying the agents without releasing them into the atmosphere - a problem complicated when they are stored or hidden underground and in populated urban areas, as is the case with Iraq.

No existing fielded weapon, however, would destroy lethal agents that have already been produced. That task would be left to a special filling the US Department of Defense has been developing over several years under the category of 'Agent Defeat'. And while, as Younger explained, no single method has proven effective against all types of agents, work on the Agent Defeat Phase II advanced concept technology demonstration (ACTD) programme holds promise.

The DTRA and Office of Naval Research programme - with industry partner Lockheed Martin - will seek to destroy CW/BW agents in situ. It uses a high-temperature incendiary (HTI) "thermo-corrosive" filling adapted from Special Operations Command's classified 'Vulcan Fire' programme.

The concept involves 300 lb (136kg) of a two-stage reactive and pelletised mix of "titanium boron lithium perchlorate intermetallic high-temperature fill" that burns at 1,000°F (538°C) for a long time and with low overpressure so any remnants are not ejected from the facility. As a by-product of the HTI reaction, 35 lb (15.8kg) of disinfecting monatomic chlorine and monatomic fluorine gas, along with hydrochloric and hydrofluoric acid, will be left to destroy any remaining BW agents.

The goal is to develop the fill for both the 2,000 lb BLU-116 penetrating warhead on the GBU-24 laser-guided bomb, and the 2,000 lb BLU-109 penetrator on a Joint Direct Attack Munition.

The goals of the ATCD are to fabricate eight weapons by Fiscal Year 2004 (FY04) for flight-tests and validation and an additional 20 to leave for operational use. As the US-led Operation 'Enduring Freedom' in Afghanistan demonstrated, promising technologies such as ACTDs can be accelerated when there is a vital operational need.

The ability to destroy these in situ, according to some documents and several US defence and industry officials, may now be possible.

In addition to traditional demolition capabilities offered by introducing special forces on the ground, US defence and industry officials note new technologies such as a single-shot high-powered microwave (HPM) weapon could be ready. HPM weapons could be used to destroy CW/BW agent production equipment by burning-out electronic and computerised controls. Likewise, computer network attacks could shutdown key infrastructures, such as the production equipment, or cut off electricity. Other means to incapacitate the facility or temporarily deny access to the material are offered by substances such as sticky or hardening foams.

According to US intelligence and former UN Special Commission officials, Iraq is hiding CW agents such as VX nerve gas, sarin, cyclosarin and mustard, and has produced and weaponised biological agents such as anthrax and botulinum toxin. Further, the officials fear, Baghdad could be developing deadly germ bombs of highly contagious diseases such as smallpox.

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New York Times  
September 16, 2002

## **Science Slow To Ponder Ills That Linger In Anthrax Victims**

By William J. Broad and Denise Grady

Every day, Norma Wallace spends several hours reading a chapter or two in seven books. She favors history, philosophy, literature, math, puzzles and sometimes college entrance tests. It is all part of her strategy to fight the memory loss that has troubled her since the fall of 2001, when she became gravely ill with inhalation anthrax.

"I want to saturate my brain to keep it working and help it to recall information," said Ms. Wallace, 57, still on disability leave from her job as a mail processor at the postal center in Hamilton, N.J. "My short-term memory is coming back."

Her co-worker Richard Morgano says he does not feel so fortunate. The nightmares and cold sweats that marked the first months of his recovery from a probable case of skin anthrax have eased. But his health is poor, his mood dark and his anger high. He avoids people and work, he says, afraid he might explode. "I get too bent out of shape," he said. "My temper is short. Even when I drive, I get road rage."

For far longer than anyone had predicted, these two postal workers and many of the 15 other survivors of the anthrax attacks that began a year ago this week have been ill with symptoms their doctors cannot explain — fatigue,

shortness of breath, chest pains, memory loss. In interviews, many say they communicate very little with one another, most fighting their battles alone, often confused, at times frightened.

These survivors are of great scientific interest, especially those who had the inhaled form of the illness, because in the past nearly everyone with inhalation anthrax died, and doctors have almost no information about recovery. But only now is the government beginning to study their progress. While the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta has drawn blood from survivors to measure changes in their immune systems, it has not conducted comprehensive follow-ups or physical examinations. The reason, officials say, include a lack of trained personnel, red tape and a surfeit of competing demands.

Now another agency, the National Institutes of Health, has developed a plan to study the survivors. But some leading anthrax experts say that the work should have begun a year ago and that valuable information may have been lost in the meantime.

"It's very peculiar to me that these people haven't had the million-dollar work-up that they deserve," said Dr. Meryl J. Nass, an anthrax expert in Freeport, Me., who has advised one victim. "Nobody has made an attempt to gather them together and test them all for the same things and compare the results. That's how you make a determination of what's wrong with them."

Critics like Dr. Nass say survivors offer a rare chance to map the course of recovery and try to determine whether the disease has any long-term effects that might help explain the problems now confronting some of the survivors. Such information could help not only the survivors themselves but also future victims, should anthrax ever be used as a weapon again.

"It's a unique population," said Dr. Philip S. Brachman, an epidemiologist at Emory University who investigated anthrax outbreaks for the disease centers from the late 1950's to the 1970's.

Representative Dan Burton, chairman of the House Government Reform Committee, called the absence of follow-up studies until now a serious federal lapse. "They need to get on the ball and make sure they're following every single case closely," he said.

### **The Symptoms Memory Loss, Fatigue, Rage**

Besides her memory problems, Ms. Wallace still suffers from fatigue. She used to work two jobs, as a substitute teacher by day and a mail processor by night. Now she is not working at all. She hopes to return to work but is not sure when she will be well enough.

The uncertainty is even greater for her colleague Mr. Morgano, 39, a maintenance worker who cut his forearm while fixing a jammed machine on the night of Sept. 18, 2001, when the Hamilton center processed the first wave of anthrax letters.

Mr. Morgano developed the oozing wounds typical of skin, or cutaneous, anthrax. He may have been the first victim of the attacks. Robert Stevens, the Florida photo editor whose case was the first to be reported, fell ill in late September and died Oct. 5. But Mr. Morgano's case is murky because early treatment with strong antibiotics by an alert physician cleared up his worst symptoms before the nation realized it was under attack.

"There's no question he had it," said his doctor, Michael Dash. "But it probably will always be a suspected case."

Mr. Morgano is now on antidepressants and talking regularly to a psychiatrist. But he is haunted by fear of unknown complications. A persistent pain has developed in his chest, and Dr. Dash recently sent him to a cardiologist.

"It comes and goes and I don't know what's causing it," Mr. Morgano said. "It could be totally unrelated" to the anthrax spores that caused his arm to blister and swell. But he suspects that the spores not only contaminated his arm but also entered his chest.

Dianne Abbott, his girlfriend, said Mr. Morgano was depressed. "Rich is not doing that good," she said. "His personality changed. He's very short-tempered."

The cloud of uncertainty, she added, is the worst part. "We can't get answers from anybody."

Another Hamilton employee, Patrick D. O'Donnell, who developed a severe case of cutaneous anthrax that put him in the hospital for a week, described symptoms similar to Mr. Morgano's: fatigue, rage, depression, panic attacks. He said he was seeing a psychiatrist to avoid taking his anger out on anybody else, and he described himself as having gone from "Mr. Nice Guy" to "Mr. Bitter."

Another survivor, David Hose, 60, also expressed frustration over his slow recovery. Mr. Hose contracted inhalation anthrax while handling mail for the State Department in Sterling, Va. Sometimes he thinks he is improving, but then he runs out of breath, his pulse and blood pressure start jumping around or he turns forgetful in a way that he never was before. He now needs inhaled asthma medicine to help him breathe, even though he never had asthma before.

Worst of all, he said, is the fatigue.

"You're tired all the time, that's what really gets you," he said. "You're not who you were before at all."

Recently, at a psychologist's urging, he began taking antidepressants.

Mr. Hose's physician, Dr. Mark Galbraith, an infectious disease specialist, said that not enough people had survived inhalation anthrax for doctors to know what to expect.

"We don't have a pathway, a textbook that says this is supposed to happen," Dr. Galbraith said. "We don't have enough experience with this to say, 'In six months or three years this is where he should be.'"

With so few cases, Dr. Galbraith said, it is hard if not impossible to tell the difference between symptoms of anthrax and problems caused by aging or by the enormous physical and psychological stress of having suffered a severe illness and being the victim of a bioterrorist attack.

Fatigue can be hard to interpret, Dr. Galbraith said. "Is there some lasting metabolic effect from the toxin, or some underlying depression? This is one of the reasons one was hoping the C.D.C. could act as an investigative arm and find some commonality. We have no cases to refer to."

Leroy Richmond, who contracted inhalation anthrax at the Brentwood postal center, said he, too, tired easily and was struggling with memory problems. "I want my health to get back to where I would be able to get back to work," he said. "You'll never find anyone who enjoyed work as much as I did, and I really miss it."

The oldest and the youngest victims of the attacks seem to be among the few who have recovered completely.

Ernesto Blanco, 74, returned to work early this year in Boca Raton, Fla., at American Media Inc., which publishes supermarket newspapers. Mr. Blanco said on a recent busy day that he was in very good health.

"I forget some things, but because of my age," he said from his post at American Media. "I'm like a fish in the water, honest to God."

The youngest survivor contracted cutaneous anthrax at the age of 7 months after his mother, a television producer, took him to visit her colleagues at the ABC studios in Manhattan. The infection, misdiagnosed for two weeks as a spider bite, became a systemic illness that caused a life-threatening blood disorder and kidney failure. The baby recovered fully, but his mother said doctors had cautioned her that kidney problems could in theory develop later, because the illness was so severe.

She added that the C.D.C. had shown little interest in his recovery, which surprised her because so little is known about the course of anthrax on such young children.

### **The Science Lessons From the Dead**

Many anthrax experts inside and outside the government — including epidemiologists and medical doctors — say that now that aggressive medical treatment has been shown to save the lives of people with inhalation anthrax, the government and the public have an important chance to study the quality of those lives and the natural history of the disease.

"This is a good opportunity to learn more," said Dr. John Ezzell, a senior anthrax scientist at the Army's biodefense institute at Fort Detrick, Md.

Anthrax bacteria release deadly toxins that can travel throughout the body to attack tissues, kill cells and cause fluids to accumulate. In acute infections and especially in the pulmonary form of the disease, the symptoms include coughing, high fevers, hard breathing, chest pain and heavy perspiration. Victims can turn blue from lack of oxygen. In interviews, many anthrax experts noted that victims who die are often found to have widespread damage to organs, including the brain. Many suffer delirium, seizures and coma in their final hours; autopsies suggest those symptoms may have been caused by pressure on the brain from accumulated blood and other fluids. Studies also show that anthrax toxins are usually present in high concentrations in the blood.

"So certainly," said Dr. Ezzell, "there may be an effect on survivors, and it would depend on how far along the people were" in fighting the disease.

Dr. David H. Walker, a pathologist at the University of Texas at Galveston who studied people who died in the 1979 Sverdlovsk anthrax outbreak in the Soviet Union, said survivors were faced with a real possibility of lingering illnesses and long-term side effects.

"It's a severe, life-threatening illness," he said. "Antibiotic kills the bug but doesn't repair the damage."

In studying autopsy material from Sverdlovsk victims, Dr. Walker said, "we saw neuropathology," suggesting that the American survivors might have damage related to the brain. The lack of studies "is a blind spot for everybody," he said, adding, "We're much better in dealing with an emergency than its aftermath."

### **The Slow Start Lessons From the Living**

In the last year, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention has collected blood from the survivors, hoping to gain information that will help researchers develop better diagnostic tests. But the agency has not studied the people themselves.

"We are in the process of getting their medical records," said Dr. Bradley Perkins, an anthrax expert at the disease centers. "They're all located in various states. Each state is different, and it has to be reviewed at federal and state levels before access is given."

"We are concerned about the chronicity of symptoms among the survivors," Dr. Perkins added. "That constitutes a surprise."

Because there are so few survivors, he said, it will be difficult if not impossible to draw solid conclusions from their experience. Nonetheless, if their problems persist, the agency may try to do a study comparing anthrax victims with people who survived other severe infections, to try to determine whether the lingering problems are specific to anthrax, or are common to other serious diseases as well.

The National Institutes of Health study getting under way is to examine the long-term health not only of last fall's victims (both from the skin and inhalation forms of anthrax) but of anyone who might be infected in the future, officials said. Run by the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, the study is voluntary and to be done in cooperation with the survivors' physicians. Officials said no one is yet enrolled.

The study is to draw on the patients' medical records; the N.I.H. will supplement them with monthly blood tests, X-rays, CAT scans and other clinical examinations. Because of the memory lapses that some survivors are reporting, there will also be mental tests. The agency says it will probably pay the survivors' expenses to travel to its campus in Bethesda, Md.

"This research looks at the natural history of anthrax infection," said Mary Wright, head of the study and chief of the biodefense clinical research branch at the infectious diseases institute. "It's a way to help understand what happened to people exposed to *Bacillus anthracis*. It's in place and we're definitely ready to go."

The study team, she said, will involve 15 scientists, some from the disease centers in Atlanta, as well as Dr. Arthur M. Friedlander, a physician at Fort Detrick who is one of the nation's top anthrax experts.

Since last November, when the attack's last victim was identified, Dr. Friedlander has pressed for the nation's civilian agencies to do follow-up studies on the survivors. On his own, Dr. Friedlander said in an interview, he has managed to visit some of the survivors to make observations.

"It's vital that these studies be done," he said. "We need to learn as much as we can about this disease."

Mr. Hose, the State Department employee who contracted anthrax while handling mail, said he would welcome a chance to participate in the N.I.H. study. But he added, "It's a shame they haven't already started."

<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/16/national/16LIMB.html>

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Baltimore Sun  
September 13, 2002

## **U.S. Uneasy At Russian Company Building Nuclear Reactor In Iran**

### ***Officials fear that Tehran will make weapons fuel***

By Douglas Birch, Sun Foreign Staff

MOSCOW - By many measures, the high-tech, state-controlled company called Atomstroyexport is a shining example of Russia's progress toward capitalism. It has won overseas orders worth billions of dollars and is seeking new business that would employ tens of thousands of highly skilled workers.

But Atomstroyexport - from the words for Atomic Construction Export - is also a source of growing concern for the Bush administration, which is pressuring Russian President Vladimir V. Putin to halt the company's work on a nuclear power plant in Iran.

About 600 Atomstroyexport workers recently began assembling the reactor and turbine-generator for the Bushehr nuclear power plant in the Iranian city of Halileh, on the coast of the Persian Gulf.

The Bush administration, and many Russians, fear that Iran will use the \$840 million, 1,000-megawatt reactor to produce the highly enriched uranium or plutonium necessary for nuclear weapons.

Officials at Atomstroyexport, which serves as the marketing arm of Russia's atomic energy ministry, Minatom, insist that the design of the reactor and an agreement for Russia to acquire the power plant's used fuel render the project harmless.

Minatom has also proposed five more reactors in Iran over the next decade, for \$6 billion to \$10 billion.

"Russia in principle is not interested in the proliferation of nuclear weapons," Viktor V. Kozlov, general director of Atomstroyexport, said in an interview this week. " ... Russia is cooperating in the construction of the power plant here because it is absolutely sure that that is not the situation."

U.S. officials have described the power plant as the most divisive issue in Russian-American relations. U.S. Undersecretary of State John Bolton, who arrived here yesterday, is expected to raise it again in his talks with Russian officials.

U.S. Energy Secretary Spencer Abraham, in remarks last month, summarized the administration's skepticism: "We have long been concerned that Iran's only interest in nuclear civil power, given its vast domestic energy resources, is to support its nuclear weapons program."

### **Threat to U.S., Russia**

Many Russians share these concerns.

"The construction of the nuclear unit is the preliminary stage which is obligatory for the future nuclear program, which will result in Iran obtaining the technology of making nuclear weapons," Maxim Shingarkin, a former colonel in Russia's strategic weapons program, said.

Highly enriched uranium and plutonium are inevitably produced in the uranium used as nuclear fuel in reactors. Minatom officials say their design minimizes the quantities being produced, reducing the risk that Bushehr will help Iran develop nuclear weapons.

Robert Norris, a nuclear expert with the Natural Resources Defense Council in Washington, agreed yesterday that the Russian reactor design produces less plutonium than some others. But he said the reactors can still be used to produce such material. "You haven't eliminated the problem," he said. "You've lessened it somewhat."

Minatom pledges to take custody of the Bushehr's used fuel and either alter it or dispose of it, so the Iranians can't reprocess it - chemically refine the metal to yield the small amounts of plutonium and enriched uranium it will contain.

Control of the spent fuel is the critical consideration, Norris said. If Iran is intent on building nuclear weapons and obtains used nuclear fuel, reprocessing it "is well within the capability of Iranian scientists."

But critics here wonder what will happen if the Iranians ignore the agreements for spent fuel.

"After four years, Iran will have enough plutonium for 10 bombs," said Shingarkin, who now works for the environmental group Greenpeace.

Iranian officials note that Iran is a signatory of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, by which it pledges not to acquire nuclear weapons. Gholam Reza Shafei, Iran's ambassador to Russia, told reporters in February, "There is nothing about production of nuclear weapons in the agreement signed between Russia and Iran on use of the atom for peaceful purposes."

Radzhab Safarov, director of Russia's Iranian Studies Center in Moscow, said he assumed Iran was seeking nuclear weapons, in part because of the presence of nuclear powers in the region, including Israel and Pakistan, and the presumed nuclear weapons program of Iraq.

"I don't know for sure, but I can suppose that it would be reasonable and logical under the circumstances that the country would deal with its security properly," Safarov said. "And security in modern times is provided by powerful weapons."

Other Russian officials fear that Iran could export nuclear technology and weapons to Islamic rebels in the former Soviet states of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Muslim separatists are also fighting Russian rule in Chechnya.

"Iran has not abandoned the idea of exporting the Islamic revolution," said Sergei S. Mitrokhin, a member of the Yabloko faction in Russia's parliament. "Nuclear weapons in the hands of Iran will be a huge threat to Russia. And it will be a bigger threat for Russia than for the United States."

Minatom inherited control of Russia's nuclear weapons and its aging nuclear power plants in 1992. It is a vast agency with about 300 institutes and production facilities, and more than a million people live in cities built around Minatom plants. Some of those cities remain off-limits to foreigners.

"Minatom is a state inside a state, which has its own budget, its own cities and of course its own foreign policy," Mitrokhin said.

### **Corruption charges**

Minatom, along with other Russian bureaucracies, has been accused of pervasive corruption. The state Accounting Chamber reported in January that \$270 million in U.S. and European aid earmarked for improving the storage sites for radioactive waste had vanished.

The Bushehr nuclear project, begun 30 years ago for the former shah by the German firm Siemens, was 85 percent complete when the Islamic revolution swept Iran in 1979. During the Iran-Iraq war, in the 1980s, the site was repeatedly bombed by Iraq.

After the war, Iran decided to complete at least one reactor there. When Western countries declined to help, Iran in 1995 turned to Minatom.

Alexei Yablokov, then environmental adviser to President Boris N. Yeltsin, learned that secret parts of the contract between Minatom and Iran called for construction of facilities specifically designed to produce material suitable for nuclear weapons.

When Yablokov told Yeltsin about those provisions, Yeltsin canceled the contract. But Yablokov has said he fears that Minatom continued to help Iran acquire weapons technology.

Yablokov, now a member of a presidential commission for monitoring radioactive materials, is convinced that Iran's goals haven't changed. "Iran is still seeking to have access to nuclear weapons," he said.

Asked why an oil-rich state would need nuclear power, Kozlov replied with soothing equanimity, "Nuclear power in the future will be very important for all countries. Yes, Iran has fuel. Maybe enough for today, but who knows about tomorrow?"

He noted that, a decade ago, Minatom planned to build a nuclear power station in North Korea, but Washington intervened by citing the danger that the regime would use material and technology from the power plant to build nuclear weapons.

"And we stopped," Kozlov said. The Clinton administration, along with Japan and South Korea, then promised to provide North Korea with two reactors, in exchange for North Korea promising to suspend its weapons development. The Bush White House has stuck with that plan.

"I think that if we leave Iran, after five or 10 years the United States will build a nuclear power station in Iran, or some other competitor will," Kozlov said.

In a recent opinion piece in The Boston Globe, Rep. Edward J. Markey, a Massachusetts Democrat, conceded the point. "As long as the United States is engaged in a deal that would hand over two nuclear reactors to North Korea," he wrote, "why isn't it appropriate for the Russians to engage in a similar deal with Iran?" He called for cancellation of both projects.

Under U.S. pressure, Ukraine scrapped a \$45 million deal to supply turbines to Bushehr four years ago. But analysts here say Washington never made good on its promises of new investment to make up for the loss.

Kozlov dismissed accusations that Minatom was not answerable to the government. "Our activities are completely under state control," he said. "We were able to start negotiations with Iran only after the state signed an intergovernmental agreement. We have no right to do anything without permission."

Russia is building five nuclear power-generating reactors, two each in China and India as well as the one in Iran.

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New York Times  
September 14, 2002

## **Ship's Radiation Is Traced To Harmless Tiles**

By Ronald Smothers

NEWARK, Sept. 13 — A German container ship was allowed to dock in Port Newark today after more than two days of inspections determined that the radioactive readings that it registered were emanating from naturally occurring radiation in ceramic tiles among the cargo.

The 708-foot Palermo Senator and its crew of 21 steamed into port here this afternoon after a determination that it and its cargo "posed no danger or threat," said Sandra Carroll, a spokeswoman and special agent with the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The F.B.I. had supervised a thorough inspection of the ship by a team of Department of Energy, Navy and Coast Guard technicians while the ship was anchored six miles offshore.

The ship and its cargo of 655 containers first attracted the attention of investigators when the Coast Guard, following intensified security procedures in place since last year, boarded it as it approached the port early Tuesday morning. The boarding came on the eve of the observance of the anniversary of the Sept. 11 and in the midst of a high security alert nationwide.

Noises in the containers raised concerns that stowaways might be on board. In verifying that there were none, inspectors noted low-level radiation from the cargo holds.

The ship, which plies the waters between the United States, Spain, Saudi Arabia, China and Korea, was taken off shore, where the more thorough search was conducted to clear it for docking.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/14/nyregion/14SHIP.html>

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U.S. News & World Report  
September 23, 2002

## A Home-Grown Nuclear Threat

### *The U.S. exported atoms for peace; could they now be used for war?*

By Douglas Pasternak

It began with a tip from a Mafia informant. A smuggling ring was hawking parts for nuclear missiles on the black market, the informer told Italian police. By the time an undercover cop infiltrated the ring two months later, the smugglers were boasting that they could supply uranium from the warheads of the missiles, too. The undercover agent, posing as an Egyptian businessman with links to terrorists, agreed to pay \$12.2 million for the first of eight uranium elements the smugglers had to offer. The next day, Feb. 27, 1998, police swooped in as the deal went down in a Rome apartment surrounded by armed men with links to organized crime. Thirteen men were eventually sentenced to prison.

As it turns out, the 28-inch-long cylinder seized from the traffickers was not the weapons-grade stuff the criminals had advertised; it was an unirradiated fuel rod containing low-enriched uranium that was nevertheless potentially dangerous. The Mafia had suggested the material was Russian in origin. In fact, "fuel rod 6916," as it was known, came from a far less likely source: It had been shipped in 1971 to a nuclear research reactor at the University of Kinshasa in Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of the Congo. And it came from the General Atomics plant in San Diego.

**Side effects.** The theft of the Kinshasa uranium illustrates the unintended consequences of an ambitious Cold War-era program known as Atoms for Peace. Started nearly 50 years ago by President Dwight Eisenhower, Atoms for Peace exported nuclear technology and material for economic, scientific, and medical purposes to nations that agreed to refrain from developing nuclear weapons. "It is not enough to take this weapon out of the hands of the soldiers," said Eisenhower in a 1953 speech to the United Nations. "It must be put into the hands of those who will know how to strip its military casing and adapt it to the arts of peace."

And so it was that the United States came to distribute huge quantities of nuclear material worldwide, including 749 kilograms of plutonium and 26.6 metric tons of highly enriched uranium, to scores of countries from the 1950s to the 1970s. The initiative is credited with improving everyday life through advances in nuclear medicine and the development of nuclear power.

Yet, successful as it was diplomatically, critics say Atoms for Peace failed in its essential mission of stemming proliferation and, in fact, has created a new security threat. Many experts now worry that the exported materials could be used to make "dirty bombs" or to help hostile nations develop nuclear weapons. The plutonium used in India's first nuclear bomb test in 1974, for instance, came from a reactor that used U.S.-supplied materials. The United States also supplied small quantities of plutonium to Pakistan, Iran, and Iraq. Says Matthew Bunn, assistant director of Harvard University's Managing the Atom Project: "We should not have been sending highly enriched uranium all around the world. That was dumb."

Potentially more troubling, Atoms for Peace also pushed the Russians into sharing nuclear technology of their own, with nations such as North Korea and Iran. "The Atoms for Peace program set the framework for Russian reactors in Iran today and French reactors in Iraq," says Fred Ikle, a former director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. In 1981, Israel bombed the French-built Osiraq reactor in fear that Iraq was using the facility to build nuclear weapons. And fear of Iraqi nuclear weapons has pushed the United States ever closer to military action against that country. Military experts also worry that Russian-built reactors in Iran are being used as part of a nuclear weapons program there.

Before the September 11 terrorist attacks, the United States paid little attention to tracking low-level nuclear material and small quantities of weapons-grade material. Even after the theft of fuel rod 6916 and a second fuel rod—still missing—from Kinshasa, the United States never conducted a security review there. That is hardly an isolated case. Since 1975, the United States has conducted only one security assessment of nuclear facilities in Pakistan and India that use U.S. material. A Department of Energy inspector general's report issued last March found that the department could not fully account for 536 government-owned sources of plutonium, provided to 33 countries, because it lacked an adequate accounting system. "We had sort of lost our sense of how dangerous this material could be," says Susan Eisenhower, president of the Eisenhower Institute and granddaughter of the former president. Adds a former Department of Energy official: "We were thinking of the Homer Simpson problem, not the bin Laden problem."

**"Loose nukes."** Even today the United States has no policy for tracking its exported nuclear materials. This is despite the fact that it has spent millions of dollars helping former Soviet-bloc countries control their own "loose nukes." Just last month, for instance, the United States and Russia conducted an elaborate top-secret mission to spirit away 100 pounds of weapons-grade uranium from an aging nuclear reactor in Yugoslavia. The nighttime military-style operation, which removed enough uranium to make as many as three nuclear bombs, took place at Belgrade's Vinca Institute of Nuclear Sciences.

Now, Vinca and the 537 other active nuclear research reactors around the world—including 53 in the United States—are considered among the most serious and underappreciated threats to nuclear security. Because research reactors use much less nuclear material than power plant reactors, the potential consequences of an attack against one would be less drastic than what would occur at a power reactor. But research reactors also have far less security, making them more vulnerable to attack.

Generally located at universities, research reactors vary greatly in the materials they use and keep on hand. An attack against a reactor using low-enriched uranium would not be devastating, but it would almost certainly cause massive panic and huge economic costs. Reactors that use highly enriched uranium are potentially more dangerous; an attack against some of these facilities, according to the Energy Department, could release more radiation than the 1986 accident at Chernobyl.

Most nuclear weapons consist of uranium that is 90 percent enriched or higher. But even material that is only 20 percent enriched—such as the uranium stolen from the Kinshasa reactor—could help jumpstart a nation's nuclear weapons program, experts say. "If you were a state trying to make a nuclear bomb," says Scott Parrish of the Monterey Institute's Center for Nonproliferation Studies, "20 percent gets you closer to that goal."

The reactor at Kinshasa, built by the Belgians and supplied by the United States, was the first of its kind in Africa and an important symbol of national pride. But even at the height of the Cold War, experts say that it was foolhardy to build such a facility in the impoverished nation, which for years had been ravaged by chaos and corruption. "It was just really dumb to do that," says Daniel Simpson, who served as U.S. ambassador to Zaire.

By the mid-1990s, the climate in Congo had only grown worse as civil war tore the country apart and led to the downfall of Mobutu Sésé Séko's regime. According to some reports, the outer wall of the Kinshasa reactor—though not the reactor itself—was hit by a mortar during the fighting. Earlier, the country's political unrest had prompted the United States to halt the export of a spare part for the reactor. U.S. officials also considered ways to secure the uranium at Kinshasa, but they ultimately did nothing. "We knew the reactor was in trouble. We knew it had no security. We knew the country was in chaos," says Jon Wolfsthal, a former DOE official now at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "But we didn't care all that much about it."

That was then. It remains unclear how the uranium from the Kinshasa reactor ended up in the hands of organized crime. But whatever the answer, in the sobering context of September 11, many say that the episode underscores the need for far better control of U.S.-exported nuclear materials. "I think the fact that the Mafia got their hands on low-enriched uranium and not highly enriched uranium was simply chance," says Charles Curtis, former deputy secretary of energy. "What is certain is that they are not going to make that mistake again."

*With Eleni E. Dimmler in Rome*

<http://www.usnews.com/usnews/issue/020923/usnews/23nukes.htm>

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## **Vermont Senator Wants Study of Terror Link to West Nile Virus**

By CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12 — Senator Patrick J. Leahy, Democrat of Vermont, said today that the authorities should examine whether the spread of the West Nile virus in this country is a result of biological terrorism.

"I think we have to ask ourselves: Is it a coincidence that we are seeing such an increase in West Nile virus, or is that something that is being tested as a biological weapon against us?" Mr. Leahy, who is chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, said in a radio interview in Waterbury, Vt. "There are some people, credibly, who feel that it is a test of our defenses and is a biological weapon or somebody doing this for commercial purposes."

A 2000 report from the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee examined the possibility that the West Nile virus could be bioterrorism. An article in The New Yorker magazine the year before cited a book by a supposed Iraqi

defector who claimed that President Saddam Hussein might have developed a lethal strain of the virus to use as a weapon.

Law enforcement and public health officials dismissed the theory. "Our research up until this point has not indicated that this is anything other than a natural evolution" of a virus that follows the migratory patterns of mosquitoes and birds, said Rhonda Smith, a spokeswoman for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

When pressed later in Washington to elaborate on his statement, Mr. Leahy said: "In the times in which we live, questions about our vulnerabilities are unavoidable, and finding all the answers we can is more important than ever. I have no way of knowing what the answers are, but some legitimate questions have been asked, especially before Sept. 11 last year, and no doubt they are being asked anew by the agencies that are working on this."

Last November federal investigators discovered a letter addressed to Mr. Leahy that contained anthrax spores identical to those received by Senator Tom Daschle, the Democratic leader from South Dakota.

West Nile virus is spread by the bite of an infected mosquito. Most people suffer only mild symptoms, but the infection can result in severe and sometimes fatal illness, particularly among the elderly or people with impaired immune systems.

In the United States, 1,295 are known to have contracted the disease, and 54 have died. The virus has been detected in more than 30 states.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/13/politics/13VIRU.html>

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**September 13, 2002**

## **Panel says government should increase anti-bioterrorism efforts**

By Molly M. Peterson, [National Journal's Technology Daily](#)

Intelligence agencies should improve their ability to collect and analyze public health data in order to combat bioterrorist threats, a congressionally mandated anti-terrorism panel said Thursday.

During its quarterly meeting, the so-called Gilmore Commission—named for its chairman, former Virginia Gov. James Gilmore—agreed to incorporate that recommendation into its fourth annual report to the president and Congress, due Dec. 15.

"The intelligence community has to expand their mindset into the medical and health arena so that they don't miss things that may be related to bioterrorism," said Patricia Quinlisk, a member of the bipartisan panel.

Commission member Kenneth Shine, director of the RAND Corp.'s Center for Domestic and International Health Security, said intelligence officials must be able to examine certain types of public health data in conjunction with other intelligence. Shine said if a U.S. agency, for example, learned that a well-known molecular biologist had recently met suspected terrorists in Pakistan, data from health organizations about a possible outbreak in that region would be crucial.

But Quinlisk, an epidemiologist who serves as medical director of Iowa's Public Health Department, cautioned that information sharing among health agencies and intelligence officials must not violate civil liberties such as patient confidentiality. "I think public health [officials] would have some reservations about being linked to the CIA," she said.

Quinlisk also noted that data sharing between public health agencies and domestic law enforcement officials cannot include any personal identifying information. "The law specifically forbids us from telling law enforcement if we suspect someone of ... [manufacturing] anthrax in their garage," she said.

But Quinlisk and other commission members said there still is a pressing need to bridge certain information gaps among public health officials and the law enforcement community.

George Foresman, assistant to the governor of Virginia for emergency preparedness, said that when epidemiologists, for example, determine an outbreak may be the result of a criminal act, they must be able to alert public safety officials. Likewise, he said, when police officers, firefighters or other public safety officials discover evidence of a possible biological hazard, they must be able to notify public health officials—and each other—immediately.

"We shouldn't be doing two parallel investigations that never cross anywhere," Foresman said.

Shine also urged continued funding for emergency communications systems such as the Health Alert Network being developed by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. That network, when fully deployed, will enable

federal, state and local officials to track disease outbreaks, send warnings of health emergencies and strengthen bioterrorism preparedness.

"It does have promise, and there ought to be continued funding of that," said Shine, who did not attend the meeting in person but discussed the draft recommendations with the other panel members during a public conference call.

The commission also agreed Friday to recommend the implementation of some type of alert network throughout the agricultural sector for reporting potential threats to the food supply. Members of the panel said that network could be modeled on, or integrated, with the Health Alert Network.

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