### **USAF COUNTERPROLIFERATION CENTER**

# CPC OUTREACH JOURNAL

Air University Air War College Maxwell AFB, Alabama



Welcome to the CPC Outreach Journal. As part of USAF Counterproliferation Center's mission to counter weapons of mass destruction through education and research, we're providing our government and civilian community a source for timely counterproliferation information. This information includes articles, papers and other documents addressing issues pertinent to US military response options for dealing with nuclear, biological and chemical threats and attacks. It's our hope this information resource will help enhance your counterproliferation issue awareness. Established here at the Air War College in 1998, the USAF/CPC provides education and research to present and future leaders of the Air Force, as well as to members of other branches of the armed services and Department of Defense. Our purpose is to help those agencies better prepare to counter the threat from weapons of mass destruction. Please feel free to visit our web site at <a href="www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/awc-cps.htm">www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/awc-cps.htm</a> for in-depth information and specific points of contact. Please direct any questions or comments on CPC Outreach Journal Jo Ann Eddy, CPC Outreach Editor, at (334) 953-7538 or DSN 493-7538. To subscribe, change e-mail address, or unsubscribe to this journal or to request inclusion on the mailing list for CPC publications, please contact Mrs. Eddy. The following articles, papers or documents do not necessarily reflect official endorsement of the United States Air Force, Department of Defense, or other US government agencies. Reproduction for private use or commercial gain is subject to original copyright restrictions. All rights are reserved

## **USAF CPC PRESENTS ANG "CONFLICT 21" WEBSITE**

Focusing on homeland security, weapons of mass destruction issues and future total force concepts of operations (CONOPS) and other key issues, the Air Force Counterproliferation Center (CPC) at Maxwell Air Force Base recently unveiled the Air National Guard's (ANG) new **CONFLICT 21** website <a href="http://c21.maxwell.af.mil">http://c21.maxwell.af.mil</a> to the internet world.

According to **CONFLICT 21's** chief, Colonel Michael Ritz, "This unclassified site is intended to be used not only by Air National Guard members, but by all members of the armed forces and Department of Defense." Colonel Ritz also serves as a CPC associate director and ANG Advisor to the Director, CPC. "This website provides it's user a window into the world of counterproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, as well as a forum for examining the many elements of homeland security and homeland defense," said Colonel Ritz.

A key element of CPC's mission is the promotion of research and education in countering the spread of weapons of mass destruction. Developed by Colonel Ritz and Mike McKim of Air University's Air War College, CONFLICT 21 provides researchers, students, military and government personnel and the general public unclassified, direct information and cross-links to a multitude of sources throughout the internet. "We hope to educate and enlighten all who make use of CONFLICT 21 on a variety of matters critical to our nation and the world in the 21st century," says Colonel Ritz. "At the same, we want to provide a continuous flow of updated information for researchers, students and writers examining issues pertinent to those being examined by the ANG and USAF CPC now, and in the future," he concluded.

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### **Biodefense Testing Site Coming to Bethesda**

By Susan Levine

Washington Post Staff Writer

Thursday, December 12, 2002; Page GZ03

The National Institutes of Health in Bethesda plans to break ground next year on a \$186.1 million facility for testing microbes that could be used by bioterrorists, though scientists' assurances of safety have not won over many neighbors.

The 85,000-square-foot Building 33 would allow the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases to consolidate and significantly expand research on dangers such as anthrax, tuberculosis, smallpox and other viruses and bacteria. Its state-of-the-art laboratories would operate at a "biosafety level 3," requiring controlled, double-door entries, inward air flow, filtered exhausts and sealed surfaces to minimize contamination risks to workers or the public.

Since Sept. 11, 2001, and the subsequent anthrax attacks that killed five people and infected 13 others, NIAID has stepped into a leading role in the country's biodefense. Its mandate now is to develop vaccines, diagnostic tools and medicines to protect Americans against organisms that, in terrorists' hands, could cause widespread illness or death. Institute director Anthony S. Fauci calls construction of the facility essential to meeting this challenge. Without Building 33, research will continue to be constrained because of insufficient laboratory space, he said. "You're going to be severely hampered in putting together a comprehensive biodefense effort."

No experiments on biowarfare agents would take place there, and the kind of work to be done would not be new to the NIH campus, Fauci stressed. Nor would level 3 laboratories.

But nearby residents remain unconvinced that the corner near Wisconsin Avenue and West Cedar Lane, just north of Bethesda's dense downtown core, is the best location for the facility. On NIH's Community Liaison Council, "there's a very strong opinion . . . of disapproval," said co-chair Ginny Miller. Local civic groups also have voiced concern or, in the case of the Wyngate Citizens Association, of which Miller is president, adamant opposition.

"It isn't that we don't trust their scientists, but mistakes can happen," she said.

Fauci says there is "virtually no chance" of an accidental release of microbes, noting that NIH has no recorded incidents of community contamination from existing laboratories. Another worry these days is whether terrorists might target the campus itself.

The same events that have prompted a huge increase in NIH's biodefense research funding -- from less than \$100 million in fiscal 2001 to a proposed \$1.75 billion in fiscal 2003 -- have made neighbors reconsider their proximity and their possible vulnerability. They've watched entrances be barricaded and visitors registered and screened. A nearly 9-foot-tall metal fence will mark the campus perimeter by spring.

"It's a different world, everything has changed," Miller said. "There are too many facilities [there] we didn't think about before."

Residents have asked why Building 33 can't be put at Fort Detrick, the Army's high-security medical research center in Frederick County. Fauci counters that there would be no realistic way to transplant NIH's critical mass of investigators, "the intellectual capital."

"It would take over \$1 billion and about 10 years to do so," he said.

State Sen. Jennie M. Forehand (D-Montgomery) agrees that Fort Detrick is a logistical impossibility. "Having the brain trust nearby is an important thing" because of transit concerns, she said.

As a longtime member of NIH's Biosafety Committee, Forehand believes plans for the new facility should move forward. "I just feel as if every possible safeguard is going to be taken in that building."

If construction begins by mid- to late 2003, officials expect Building 33 to be completed in 2005.

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A40587-2002Dec11.html

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New York Times December 13, 2002 Pg. 1

# Iraq Arms Report Has Big Omissions, U.S. Officials Say

By David E. Sanger with Julia Preston

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12 — American intelligence agencies have reached a preliminary conclusion that Iraq's 12,000-page declaration of its weapons programs fails to account for chemical and biological agents missing when inspectors left Iraq four years ago, American officials and United Nations diplomats said today.

In addition, Iraq's declaration on its nuclear program, they say, leaves open a host of questions. Among them is why Iraq was seeking to buy uranium in Africa in recent years, as well as high-technology materials that the United States and Britain have said were destined for a program to enrich uranium. The nuclear document is under review both in Washington and at the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna.

The omissions themselves pose a new challenge for the Bush administration: it needs to decide whether to declare that Iraq has failed to meet one of the most important requirements set by the United Nations and to whether to try to use that failure as a justification for American military action.

"What's remarkable is how little new there is," said one American official who has access to the Iraqi declaration, "and how little effort there was to try to explain gaps that everyone knew were there since Unscom left." He was using the acronym for the United Nations agency that conducted weapons inspections in Iraq through 1998. A United Nations diplomat familiar with Iraq's submission said "our preliminary assessment" is that much of the declaration "seems to be recycled."

"They are claiming they have no new weapons of mass destruction," the diplomat said.

A second American official said there were "omissions big enough drive a tank through," citing as examples Iraq's failure to explain what happened to 550 shells filled with mustard gas, and another 150 bombs filled with biological agents, that the United Nations could not account for in the late 1990's.

The Iraqi nuclear declaration includes some revealing details of its nuclear program before 1991. But there are no drawings or descriptions of the gas centrifuges and other equipment for producing highly enriched uranium, senior officials who have reviewed the material said.

Britain said several months ago that Iraq had been buying "significant quantities" of uranium from Africa that could only be used in an enrichment program.

It believes that the nuclear program is still active, but several years from producing a weapon — and probably far behind the efforts of Iran and North Korea.

A top military aide to President Saddam Hussein said Sunday in Baghdad that the program had been abandoned in 1991, when it was close to perfecting a weapon.

Before Iraq submitted the document, the White House press secretary, Ari Fleischer, noted several times that omissions in the declaration would constitute a violation of United Nations Resolution 1441. But now, Mr. Bush and his national security team — which has often been divided on how much support to give United Nations inspectors and whether to build an international coalition to strike Iraq — face what officials describe as three major choices. The first, which has not been seriously considered in the White House, is to demand that Iraq answer specific questions about specific weapons programs. "We gave them that chance," one senior official said today. "They knew what issues were outstanding in 1998. They blew it."

The second is to continue with the inspections, and to aid inspectors with intelligence that would guide them to suspect locations. But Mr. Fleischer said earlier this week that the inspectors would receive no information that revealed the sources and methods used to collect them.

The third would be to declare, after a final review of the report, that Iraq is in "material breach" of its obligations. But winning that argument in the Security Council, American officials acknowledge, requires "proving a negative" — that is, proving that Iraq has knowledge of weapons materials that it has not accounted for.

Today the United States and Russia recommended to weapons inspectors at the United Nations which material in the Iraqi document should be deleted before the document is shared with the 10 nonpermanent members of the Security Council, Ewen Buchanan, the spokesman for the team, said. All of the 10 are non-nuclear states.

United Nations chemical and biological weapons experts, too, were working to identify material that they would have to filter out of the declaration before it could be distributed more broadly.

But it will be many days — perhaps several weeks — before Mr. Bush and his aides offer a fuller, more public assessment of the Iraqi declaration. They have begun work on a point-by-point comparison of the document with their intelligence about Iraqi sites, focusing chiefly on omissions. Within the administration, a debate has broken out over how much intelligence information to declassify to refute Mr. Hussein's contentions.

"The agency is reluctant," said one senior official, referring to the C.I.A. "And some of the more hawkish among us just want to say that the whole thing is laughable, and it is all the legal justification we need."

Hans Blix and Mohamed ElBaradei, co-chiefs of the inspection teams, are scheduled to give their preliminary impressions of the Iraqi declaration to the Security Council on Thursday.

If the administration can successfully argue that the Iraqis have given no accounting of the chemical and biological stores of which the United Nations inspectors found evidence in the 1990's, they will bolster Mr. Bush's contention that Iraq has violated United Nations mandates and could secretly give some of the weapons to terror groups. Today senior administration officials said terror networks like Al Qaeda had sought to acquire chemical weapons from a number of sources. But they discounted a report in The Washington Post today that the United States had received credible intelligence that Iraq had recently supplied Qaeda-related terrorists with a deadly chemical nerve agent.

In Vienna, analysts at the International Atomic Energy agency were busy combing through the 2,400 pages of documents that make up Iraq's nuclear declaration, which they received on Sunday.

Officials at the agency said 2,100 of the pages appeared very similar, if not identical, to the last declaration the agency received from Iraq, in 1998. The similarities were so clear that agency analysts were going through pages line for line to determine whether there were any changes at all.

Another 300 pages were in Arabic, and were being translated as fast as the agency could manage. The agency has several nuclear arms experts who are Arabic speakers, and they had already begun to examine the contents of those pages.

Agency officials said the declaration appeared to support Baghdad's insistent statements that it has undertaken no nuclear weapons programs since December 1998, the last time inspectors were in Iraq.

Administration officials, citing intelligence data about equipment and materials Iraq has tried to buy overseas, have accused it of reactivating efforts to build a nuclear weapon.

http://www.nytimes.com/2002/12/13/international/middleeast/13WEAP.html

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Washington Post December 13, 2002 Pg. 1

# North Korea Says It Will Renew Work At Reactors

By Doug Struck, Washington Post Foreign Service

TOKYO, Dec. 12 -- North Korea said today it will restart work at three abandoned nuclear power plants that could produce material for nuclear weapons, reviving the threat that brought it to the brink of war with the United States in 1994.

The announcement caused alarm in capitals in the region. Japan's prime minister called for calm, and the South Korean government convened its security chiefs over what it said was a looming "crisis on the Korean Peninsula." The North Korean Foreign Ministry said the move was prompted by the country's dire need for power following the U.S.-led decision to suspend fuel oil deliveries being made under a 1994 agreement that required North Korea to freeze work at its three nuclear plants.

If operational, the plants at Yongbyon and Taechon, north of Pyongyang, would produce spent fuel rods as part of the power generation process. The rods could be reprocessed at Yongbyon into plutonium, the heart of a nuclear weapon.

The White House announced it would cut off funding for fuel deliveries to North Korea this month after saying North Korea admitted in October to having bought equipment to manufacture enriched uranium, which also can be used to make an atomic bomb.

Many experts had predicted an escalation in the standoff by North Korea in answer to the fuel oil cutoff, but today's move was more drastic than most had anticipated. It came on the heels of Monday's U.S.-led seizure of a North Korean ship bound for Yemen with 15 Scud missiles, Pyongyang's chief legal export.

The Bush administration, which has been anxious about avoiding a crisis with North Korea that would interfere with U.S. plans for a possible war in Iraq, reacted cautiously to today's announcement.

"The statement that North Korea made . . . is regrettable," said the White House spokesman, Ari Fleischer. "The announcement flies in the face of international consensus that the North Korean regime must fulfill all its commitments, in particular dismantle its nuclear weapons program."

North Korea did not say it would begin work to produce a nuclear bomb, referring only to resuming electricity production at the nuclear plants. And it did not threaten to unseal 8,000 spent fuel rods now in canisters and under the watch of international inspectors. Existing plutonium rods would give the dictatorial government immediate access to the core ingredient needed for a nuclear bomb.

The moves were "short of the worst-case scenario," but evicting the nuclear inspectors would be "the logical next step," said C. Kenneth Quinones, who helped set up the inspection program in North Korea in 1994. He said the moves indicate Pyongyang is abandoning the 1994 nuclear agreement. North Korea said in November that the decision to cut off the oil had nullified the pact.

"The Bush administration now may feel it has got to respond with drastic action," Quinones said by telephone from Centreville, Va. "I think we are at a crisis now."

U.S. intelligence estimates indicate North Korea probably has enough plutonium for one or two small bombs. But until October, Pyongyang had insisted it had stopped working to make weapons-grade material. There is no public evidence that North Korea has been able to build a functioning bomb, which requires a sophisticated triggering device, and it has not conducted a nuclear test.

Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan urged the world to "respond calmly" to the North Korean announcement and actually offered a positive assessment of Pyongyang's move.

"If you read the North Korean announcement carefully, their consistent stance is to seek a peaceful resolution," Koizumi told reporters here in Tokyo.

Others' views were less optimistic. Both major candidates in next Thursday's presidential election in South Korea expressed alarm, and demanded that North Korea retract its threat.

"This is a nuclear crisis," said Jeon Jae Wook, a chief foreign affairs aide to one of the candidates, Lee Hoi Chang. "South Koreans have every reason to be worried about this."

"This is a war of words, threats and brinksmanship," said Lee Jung Hoon, an analyst at Yonsei University in Seoul. "I think we'll see an even stronger warning from the United States, and then the ball will be back in North Korea's court in no time."

Eight years ago, North Korea had a small, five-megawatt nuclear power plant at Yongbyon, about 25 miles north of Pyongyang. It was building two much larger ones nearby -- with 50-megawatt and 200 megawatt capacity. All used Soviet designs and equipment.

When the International Atomic Energy Agency concluded in 1993 that North Korea may have diverted fuel for reprocessing, Pyongyang announced it would withdraw from the IAEA and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The announcement produced a crisis that, according to accounts of White House insiders, came close to resulting in military confrontation in 1994.

War was averted by a deal negotiated by former president Jimmy Carter, in which North Korea agreed to shut down its nuclear plant, stop construction on the two larger facilities, and allow IAEA inspectors to remain there. In return, the United States, Japan, South Korea and, later, the European Union agreed to build two light-water reactors, from which weapons-grade nuclear fuel is hard to extract. Until the new plants were finished, the United States was to ship North Korea 500,000 tons of heavy fuel oil each year. The first plant was to have been completed in 2003, but is at least five years behind schedule, prompting North Korea to complain bitterly that the United States had violated the Framework Agreement.

In its statement today from the Foreign Ministry, North Korea said it was "compelled" to "immediately resume the operation and construction of its nuclear facilities to generate electricity" because of the fuel cutoff.

But that won't happen easily, according to Quinones, who is intimately familiar with the facilities in North Korea. The five-megawatt plant is an antiquated reactor in an unheated, multistory building. The crane needed to load fuel into the reactor, a massive machine three stories tall, is broken, he said.

Quinones said that if it the loader could be fixed, the plant could be operating in four to six months.

The two larger plants were 80 to 90 percent finished in 1994, when work stopped, he said, adding that "it would take considerable time to finish them," even if North Korea could get the reactor equipment to install at the plants.

"This doesn't mean they can develop a nuclear warhead overnight," said Koh Yu Hwan, a professor of North Korea studies at Seoul's Dong Guk University. "Today's statement is only step one in response to the freeze in shipment of fuel oil."

North Korea "has just thrown another card to open possibilities for negotiation," he said. "This is their ironic style of offering dialogue."

Special correspondent Joohee Cho in Seoul contributed to this report. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A47924-2002Dec12.html

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New York Times December 13, 2002 Pg. 1

# **State Officials Question Timetable For Smallpox Vaccines**

By Lawrence K. Altman and William J. Broad

Some state officials and medical authorities said yesterday that they doubted they could carry out the first smallpox vaccination campaign in three decades within the planned time frame called for by President Bush given the major logistical hurdles yet to be surmounted.

The doubts emerged with news that President Bush would call for vaccinating military personnel, health care and emergency workers against smallpox within weeks, and possibly the public in 2004.

But state and local officials said that some hospitals only now are beginning to prepare for vaccinations and that they needed more time to solve issues like educating medical personnel and the public; reducing risk of complications from the vaccine; ensuring that hospital care does not suffer if vaccinated workers feel ill; and determining who would pay for liability claims, lost work or supplies like bandages.

The plan, to be announced today, comes against the backdrop of a possible war against Iraq and fears over whether terrorists or hostile nations might attack with the contagious virus, which kills about one in three unvaccinated people.

The initial phases of the vaccination plan would cover about 500,000 military personnel and 500,000 civilians, mostly health care and emergency workers who would most likely be exposed if someone contracted smallpox, officials said. Eventually as many as 10 million people in law enforcement, health care and emergency response could be offered the vaccine. Defense officials said troop vaccinations could start today.

Yesterday, federal officials said an effort over the last two months to prepare the states for the immunizations had paid off, and that problems in carrying out the large effort would be small.

Dr. Ed Thompson, a liaison with state health departments for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, said, "We have no illusions of this being an easy task."

For many state health workers, "this will be the biggest challenge of their career," said Dr. Thompson, who recently left his position as state health officer in Mississippi. "There will be some stumbling and they will be learning as they go along." Since the program "is important to protect our citizens, we are going to make it work."

"Some of the things you do best are the ones you are scaredest of when you start," Dr. Thompson said.

Dr. Michael T. Osterholm, an adviser to the secretary of health and human services, said the civilian immunizations "will surely challenge state and local health departments. But it's very doable. I don't want to suggest it's going to be a cake walk. But we can do it with minimal interruption of services and activities."

When Dr. Osterholm was Minnesota's state epidemiologist, his team vaccinated 26,000 people against bacterial meningitis in four days, he said.

But smallpox vaccination is more complicated and dangerous because the virus in the vaccine can be transmitted inadvertently to other people, state and infectious disease experts said.

Dr. C. Mack Sewell, New Mexico's epidemiologist, said in an interview that the federal smallpox plan was too ambitious. "We were told you must start and finish in 30 days," he said. "We felt that was not reasonable, and other states feel the same way. We need more time to do this carefully and properly."

In particular, Dr. Sewell and other experts said, doctors need time to build up experience in administering the smallpox vaccine while avoiding danger. People at risk of complications include those whose immune systems have been weakened by cancer, AIDS or other diseases.

"We want to go cautiously to do our absolute best so as to minimize the number of adverse reactions," he said. "We want to make certain we screen properly and get mechanisms in place. If the threat assessment changed, we'd be ready to move more quickly."

The vaccine, made of a live virus closely related to smallpox known as vaccinia, can cause death or injury in susceptible people. They could presumably decline to be vaccinated, but they would remain vulnerable to infection with vaccinia virus shed by those who had taken the vaccine.

Dr. Sewell said New Mexico planned to immunize just 120 people in the first round, gradually expanding to about 12,000, a process that could take six to nine months. The state's plan, he added, had major uncertainties. "As with everybody else, it remains to be seen how many people will volunteer for this," Dr. Sewell said.

A doctor at a major East Coast hospital said the logistics of the vaccinations were incredibly complicated. "It's not down pat," he said of the preparation effort. "We're just getting started."

New York City's health and mental hygiene commissioner, Dr. Thomas R. Frieden, said he planned to move cautiously in vaccinating the the first wave of people. "We want to err on the side of safety," he said.

On Monday, a federal deadline passed for states and large cities to file their proposals on how to immunize health workers against smallpox, the first such plan in 30 years.

Yesterday, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta announced that it had finished its first review of the state plans, and found them encouraging. The states were responding to documents from the disease control centers asking that they develop 30-day plans for vaccinating specific groups of health workers.

"We are extremely pleased and quite impressed with the plans that have been submitted to the C.D.C. so far," Tommy G. Thompson, secretary of health and human services, said in a statement. "It is obvious that state and local health departments and hospitals have stepped up to the plate under an extremely tight timetable."

A federal expert, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, said the numbers of health workers proposed by states for the first immunizations ranged from the hundreds to 70,000. "Some of those states who reported the highest numbers will probably be lowered," the official said, adding that no other significant changes in state plans were expected.

Civilian workers are being allowed to decide whether to receive the vaccine. State health officials have identified more than 3,300 health care facilities that would participate.

Dr. William Schaffner, chairman of the department of preventive medicine at Vanderbilt University, who also advises the Tennessee Department of Health, said in an interview that hospitals were scrambling to carry out the plans.

"It's a huge task to do in a relatively short time, 30 days," he said, adding that federal officials said the time frame might be extended to six weeks. Even then, he said, "It would be a huge load."

Doctors, he said, would face perplexing and time-consuming problems like vaccinated people wanting to know if mild symptoms — even a pimple — are signs of a serious reaction.

Even though an advisory group to the C.D.C. began openly discussing the possibility of a renewed smallpox campaign last spring, the nation's medical community is just now starting to wrestle with the vaccination plan, Dr. Schaffner said. "Even among infectious disease specialists, there's a variable level of knowledge," he said.

Tennessee, he said, is trying to be "very realistic" about how many people can be vaccinated in a given time. "It's clear," he said, "that not all local health departments have enough staff to carry out the program and they're going to have to tap local hospitals to help them out."

The reactions in Tennessee, Dr. Schaffner said, have been starkly opposed: those eager to volunteer to be vaccinated, and "an equally large group that is skeptical and dubious that Tennessee would be targeted for an attack."

Dr. Schaffner said that the way Mr. Bush framed the issue today would be important and could convince people that vaccination was a patriotic duty.

Despite the federal push for quick vaccinations, experts said, concerns over liability could delay any vaccinations until Jan. 24, when a new law to reduce the legal risk is to go into effect.

"Practically speaking, it's hard to imagine a hospital moving forward with actual vaccinations without that in place," said Dr. Thomas Inglesby, a physician at the Johns Hopkins Center for Civilian Biodefense Strategies in Baltimore. The Association of State and Territorial Health Officials said news about the vaccinations had taken it by surprise and that it would have no comment until after the formal announcement. The decision emerged Wednesday night when ABC News broadcast excerpts of an interview with Mr. Bush.

The first American troops to be vaccinated would be military specialists who would respond to a smallpox outbreak, as well as forces assigned to units in the Middle East or that could eventually deploy there, military officials said. Of the 1.4 million service members on active-duty, 350,000 to 500,000 would be vaccinated under the new policy, the officials said.

"It's a matter of cranking up and preparing and getting ready and actually implementing it," Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld told CNN while traveling in the Persian Gulf state of Qatar yesterday. "It's been through the process at the Department of Defense and we've coordinated it with the White House, and they're aware that we do plan to provide smallpox vaccinations to first responders and to people who conceivably could be vulnerable to the disease."

Military personnel will be asked the same series of questions that civilian emergency personnel will address to determine if they have a higher risk of suffering side effects from the vaccine. Those at high-risk will not be vaccinated unless there is a confirmed outbreak of smallpox that could affect them, defense officials said. The military bars individuals infected with the AIDS virus from joining the armed forces, and screens all military personnel periodically for the virus. If service members are found to be infected, they are allowed to continue their duties but are not deployed overseas.

http://www.nytimes.com/2002/12/13/health/13SMAL.html

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Washington Post December 13, 2002 Pg. 50

## U.S. Takes North Korea's Nuclear Plan In Stride

#### Consultations Underway, But Focus Remains on Iraq

By Glenn Kessler, Washington Post Staff Writer

The Bush administration, increasingly focused on the looming confrontation with Iraq, reacted calmly yesterday to North Korea's announcement that it would restart a nuclear power plant shuttered since 1994.

Several officials dismissed North Korea's announcement as the minimum counter move to a decision last month to cut off monthly heavy fuel oil shipments to North Korea. The United States pressed to end the shipments after it said North Korea had admitted to developing a secret nuclear weapons program in violation of previous agreements, part of a strategy to increasingly isolate the communist leadership in Pyongyang. Not only is the administration consulting with Japan and South Korea, two regional allies formally involved in North Korean issues, but U.S. officials are working with Russia and China as well. Russian President Vladimir Putin has privately suggested the creation of a Russia-China-U.S. trilateral group on North Korea, a prospect the administration is actively considering.

A senior administration official declined to say yesterday whether President Bush had any "red lines" that would spark U.S. action if North Korea stepped over them. "We will take a few days here to consult with others," the official said. "We will take our time and we will work through this whole issue. We've got very strong pressure points on North Korea."

The message suggested that the administration's policy on North Korea -- which sparked fierce interagency fights through much of the first two years of Bush's presidency -- has evolved into a single mantra: Make no waves while the focus remains on Iraq.

The consensus in the administration on dealing with North Korea is "remarkable to me," said another official involved in previous interagency fights. "Everyone understands the president doesn't want 15 crises on his plate." The stance is striking because several administration officials were fierce critics of the deal struck during the Clinton administration that led to the closure, but not the dismantling, of the nuclear plant that the North Korean government says it is restarting. The Clinton administration nearly went to war over the plant, believing it was used to produce plutonium for nuclear weapons, but conflict was averted by the 1994 agreement.

"We have no intention to invade," the senior official said. "You never take any option off the table [but] we think we have a chance to solve this in a different way. This time around there is a very good chance you can do this through international pressure, a very good chance."

Bush came into office deeply skeptical of North Korea and wary of pursuing further agreements on missile proliferation that were being negotiated with the Clinton administration. But his advisers remained split over how to deal with North Korea, at least until intelligence emerged this summer of Pyongyang's covert nuclear program. Under the 1994 accord, North Korea agreed to suspend operation of a nuclear reactor capable of producing weapons-grade material, stop construction of other two other reactors and place plutonium already produced under international safeguards. In return, the United States agreed, among other things, to supply Pyongyang with regular shipments of fuel oil, totaling 3.3 million barrels a year. Under a separate accord, Japan, South Korea and the United States agreed to construct two light-water reactors to generate electricity.

Since North Korea's admission, U.S. officials have pushed hard to get Japan and South Korea in agreement with a policy to isolate North Korea. Last month, the United States, telling its allies it was cutting off funding for monthly fuel oil shipments to the energy-starved nation, demanded that a ship carrying heavy fuel oil to North Korean ports be turned around midway in its voyage, foreign diplomats and U.S. officials said.

The Japanese and South Koreans insisted the November delivery was necessary, since it would help provide 85 percent of North Korea's heavy fuel oil needs for the coming winter. The United States backed down, permitting the ship to complete its voyage, once the other nations agreed to suspend future deliveries.

Yesterday, the North Korean government announced that in response to the fuel oil cutoff, it would "immediately resume the operation and construction of its nuclear facilities to generate electricity." It made no mention of removing 8,000 spent fuel rods from canisters -- which would immediately provide the key ingredient for weapons -- or kicking out international inspectors who monitor the rods in North Korea.

U.S. officials played down the announcement, saying it would be impossible for North Korea to be able to use the reactor to generate electricity. "It's all nonsense," one official said. "They can't hook it up to the grid," which he said has all but collapsed across North Korea.

The fuel oil deliveries, which cost the United States as much as \$100 million a year, actually are of little more than symbolic value to North Korea, said Peter Hayes, executive director of the Nautilus Institute, a scientific research organization in Berkeley, Calif. He estimated they provide only 2 percent of North Korea's overall energy supply, providing little heat except to some large buildings. While the oil was intended to match the thermal output of the closed reactors, he said that over the years the highly sulfuric oil has corroded boiler tubes in power generators, putting a number of power plants out of commission.

A number of U.S. officials are determined to try to stop construction of the light-water reactors next year, a step they hope will signal to the North Koreans that they have no choice but to comply with U.S. demands to end its weapons programs.

Staff writer Thomas E. Ricks contributed to this report. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A47743-2002Dec12.html

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USA Today December 13, 2002 Pg. 7

# Iran Nuclear Plants May Have Weapons Potential

By Barbara Slavin, USA Today

WASHINGTON — Iran is quietly building two nuclear facilities that could be used for weapons programs, U.S. officials and independent nuclear experts say.

Corey Hinderstein, assistant director of the Institute for Science and International Security, said Thursday that commercial satellite photographs obtained by the Washington think tank appear to show a plant for making so-called heavy water, which is used as a coolant in reactors that can yield plutonium for bombs. Another facility under construction appears to be a gas centrifuge plant for producing enriched uranium, another potential bombmaking material.

The story, first reported by the Long Island newspaper *Newsday* and CNN, was confirmed by U.S. officials. "They are undeclared and suspicious sites," a U.S. official said. He added, however, that Iran is not obliged to "declare" either site — meaning to open them to inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) — until they are closer to completion.

Iran has denied any intention to produce nuclear weapons, but U.S. intelligence says the country is actively trying to acquire bombmaking capability.

Its nuclear program poses another challenge to the Bush administration, which is already contending with weapons crises in North Korea and Iraq.

Iran has declared only one nuclear facility, at the port city of Bushehr, where Russian technicians are helping to build a reactor to generate electricity. The Iranians are hoping to buy a second reactor from the Russians, but the Bush administration is urging Moscow not to make the sale.

Hinderstein said the IAEA was aware of the undeclared sites and that the agency's chief, Mohamed ElBaradei, has requested access to them. She said Iran had twice canceled visits by ElBaradei to the country, including a trip that was scheduled this week. He is now scheduled to go to Iran in February.

Heavy water is used in a type of reactor in which plutonium can be produced from natural uranium. Because of that, the production of heavy water is generally monitored, and its export is usually controlled. http://www.usatoday.com/usatonline/20021213/4699868s.htm

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Baltimore Sun December 13, 2002

### FBI Investigators Search Md. Forest For Anthrax

### Justice Department letter says 'interest' label wasn't meant to implicate Hatfill

By Scott Shane, Sun Staff

FBI anthrax investigators began a search for evidence yesterday in a forest northwest of Frederick, apparently following up on a tip concerning former Army bioterrorism expert Dr. Steven J. Hatfill.

Agents informed local police they would be searching through the weekend in the City of Frederick Municipal Forest, a sprawling watershed in the Catoctin Mountains about 10 miles south of the presidential retreat at Camp David.

Investigators have excavated part of a clearing, and FBI divers searched in some of the dozen small ponds in the watershed.

A brief statement issued by the FBI indicated that investigators have already conducted sampling for anthrax in the area, which is frequented by hunters, anglers, hikers and mountain bikers. The search appears to be aimed at finding traces of the bacteria or equipment used to make it.

"The FBI is conducting forensic searches on public land located within the City of Frederick, Maryland," the statement said, adding: "It is important to note that based on water, soil and sediment testing already conducted, there is no indication of any risk to the public health or safety."

As in the past, FBI officials would not confirm that the search is related to Hatfill, the 49-year-old physician and virologist who has been the focus of investigators for months.

But Pat Clawson, a friend of Hatfill's who acts as his spokesman, said he had heard the investigators were following up on a tip that Hatfill had been seen in the watershed. Hatfill worked at the Army's biodefense center at Fort Detrick in Frederick from 1997 to 1999 and lived near the base until last summer.

Clawson said Hatfill told him yesterday that he had spent time in the parks around Frederick only while volunteering with a local Boy Scout troop.

"He's just mystified," Clawson said.

Hatfill, who was fired by a bioterrorism training program at Louisiana State University last summer after FBI agents searched his apartment, continues to deny that he had anything to do with the anthrax attacks. Letters mailed to two U.S. senators and media organizations killed five people and sickened at least 17 last year.

"The FBI can search the planet until hell freezes over, but it will find that Steve Hatfill was never involved in the anthrax attacks," said Clawson, a former CNN reporter who works for a radio production company. "We'd just like to know how many searches it takes to get his reputation and employment restored."

Also yesterday, Sen. Charles E. Grassley, an Iowa Republican, released two letters from the Justice Department answering his queries about its treatment of Hatfill. He had asked why Attorney General John Ashcroft called Hatfill a "person of interest" in the anthrax investigation, and why the department prohibited LSU from employing Hatfill on its training contracts.

In the replies, Assistant Attorney General Daniel J. Bryant said the "person of interest" label was not intended to imply that Hatfill was a suspect.

"The phrase was never used by the FBI or Department of Justice to draw media attention to Dr. Hatfill," Bryant wrote. "On the contrary, the phrase was used to deflect media scrutiny from Dr. Hatfill and to explain that he was just one of many scientists who had been interviewed by the FBI and who were cooperating with the anthrax investigation."

Bryant acknowledged that LSU was told not to hire Hatfill "as a subject-matter expert or course instructor" on Justice-funded programs. He gave no explanation for the ban.

Hatfill had previously obtained a federal research job using a forged Ph.D. certificate from a South African university.

Clawson said Bryant's letters were "bureaucratic gobbledygook" showing that Ashcroft's Justice Department "is utterly shameless about trampling on due process and civil liberties."

He said Hatfill, who had completed training as a United Nations biological weapons inspector, is living in Washington and searching for work.

Investigators blocked off a mile and a half of an icy two-lane road bordering the park. Two tents were set up in a field, and plastic sheeting was spread over a hole dug in the clearing, the Associated Press reported. About 15 investigators could be seen.

William C. Staley, a retired Department of Natural Resources police officer who lives nearby, said most of the watershed is covered with thick brush. "It's pretty wild," said Staley, 74. "Some places you can't walk through it." He said the area is dotted with about a dozen small ponds, up to an acre in size and about 10 feet in depth. http://www.sunspot.net/news/nationworld/bal-te.hatfill13dec13.story

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New York Times December 13, 2002

# Plan For Vaccinations Carries Risk Of Infecting Other People

By Denise Grady

For about three weeks after a smallpox vaccination, the site on the upper arm can shed the live virus used in the vaccine and infect other people who come into contact with it, making some of them very ill.

As the United States prepares to vaccinate large numbers of people for the first time in 30 years, one of the greatest concerns of public health experts is that vaccinated people may inadvertently infect others who have a high risk of being harmed by the vaccine, which contains the virus vaccinia, a relative of smallpox.

Vulnerable people include pregnant women, babies younger than a year old and people with H.I.V. or other immune disorders, some types of cancer, organ transplants or histories of skin problems like eczema. No one who lives with a person at high risk should be vaccinated, said Dr. Lisa Rotz, an epidemiologist with the bioterror program at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

To reduce the chance of transmission, Dr. Rotz said, patients will be told to keep the vaccination site covered with a gauze bandage and tape for two to three weeks, until the scab falls off. Vaccinated health care workers will wear special semipermeable bandages at work, because they are better than gauze at preventing transmission.

Vaccinated people have to wash their hands often, especially after changing bandages, and avoid touching the site or letting anyone else touch it. Used bandages are supposed to be sealed in plastic bags and thrown out with the rest of the household trash. The scab should be discarded in the same way.

Activities are not restricted, Dr. Rotz said. Even swimming and hot tubs should be safe, she said, as long as the person wears a waterproof bandage. People can play sports, as well, though she advises against wrestling. Problems may arise if a person sweats so much that the bandage falls off.

Researchers say very close contact is required to spread vaccinia, like touching the vaccination site or an article that has been in contact with it like clothing or a bandage. Infection occurs when the virus enters a break in the skin caused by a cut or a rash.

According to a study of 11.8 million Americans in the 1960's, for every 100,000 people vaccinated for the first time, vaccinia spread to two to six others who had not been vaccinated. Most who caught the virus developed "accidental infections," sores that healed on their own. But one or two became very ill.

People vaccinated for the first time were more likely to transmit the virus. Most person-to-person infections, 68.5 percent, occurred in children younger than 5 who caught the infection from a recently vaccinated sibling or close relative. One baby was infected by a nurse, and two children by contacts in day care. Several adults were infected by vaccinated children, and one woman by sleeping with a recently vaccinated soldier. A wrestler infected his opponent.

Researchers say that the low rates of transmission are reassuring, but that rates could be higher today, because skin conditions like eczema are more common than in the past, as are organ transplants. http://www.nytimes.com/2002/12/13/health/13CONT.html

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Washington Post December 13, 2002 Pg. 20

# **Mass Inoculations Pose Complexities**

By Guy Gugliotta, Washington Post Staff Writer

Middle-aged Americans probably remember it as little more than a ho-hum trip to the family doctor, but the resumption of large-scale smallpox vaccinations after a 30-year hiatus promises to be anything but simple. The Bush administration is expected today to set in motion plans to inoculate 500,000 military personnel and as many as 500,000 health care workers nationwide -- the front-line defenders in any biological warfare attack against the United States.

As more vaccine becomes available, federal health officials say the "Phase I" program will soon expand into a "Phase II" to include 10 million to 12 million additional Americans -- virtually the nation's entire contingent of police, firefighters and other first responders. The vaccine would probably be offered to the general population by 2004.

Sixty-two states, cities and territories have been getting ready for Phase I for months, calling for volunteers, educating them on the vaccine's dangers and preparing to monitor its effects. Wyoming conducted drills to determine how long it took to vaccinate 100 people.

"We are extremely pleased and quite impressed with the plans that have been submitted so far," Health and Human Services Secretary Tommy G. Thompson said yesterday. "It is obvious the state and local health departments and hospitals have stepped up to the plate under an extremely tight timetable."

The military plan, unlike the civilian version, is mandatory, according to a key member of Congress, but in other respects will largely mimic civilian procedures -- vaccinating first-line medical personnel before immunizing soldiers in high-risk areas such as Iraq and the Middle East. The Pentagon did not respond to requests for information on its plan.

Despite administration enthusiasm for the vaccinations, many questions remain unresolved.

"This is not something that anyone can take lightly," said Diane Sosne, a registered nurse and leader of the 16,000 health care workers in the Washington state branch of the Service Employees International Union. "We want to make sure this doesn't pose more risks than it is supposed to address."

The smallpox vaccine, used throughout the United States until 1972 and in the U.S. armed forces until the 1980s, can have extreme side effects. For every million people vaccinated, as many as 52 will suffer serious illness, including prolonged fever, and one or two will die.

At the least, people who receive the vaccine -- usually in a series of pinpricks on the upper arm -- can expect swelling, redness, itching and a large, lingering scab. A few days of fever or malaise is common.

Such adverse reactions were deemed more than acceptable when smallpox was a world scourge, but there has not been a reported case anywhere in the world since 1977.

Doctors warn that the vaccine poses unacceptable risks for babies, people with a variety of skin conditions and anyone with a weakened immune system.

"In the old days, we didn't have a lot of the medications we have today, so those patients would die," said Laurene Mascola, who is in charge of the vaccine program for Los Angeles County, Calif. "Today there are many more cancer patients living, more people on steroids, and more people living with HIV."

The Service Employees International Union, the nation's largest health care workers union with 1.5 million members, criticized the administration earlier this month for failing to provide compensation for volunteers who may miss work, become ill or even die from taking the vaccine.

"This is an economic decision as well as a health care decision," said SEIU President Andrew L. Stern. "Suppose I'm a per diem nurse, and I'm out for a couple of days or I go to the hospital. That has to come out of my pocket. This should be a no-fault situation."

On Capitol Hill, Rep. Christopher Shays (R-Conn.) questioned whether the armed forces will adequately screen personnel likely to suffer adverse reactions:

"It's mandatory, so people will take this vaccine against their will," said Shays, a longtime critic of Pentagon vaccine policy. "Since they will have to comply, it's important to determine who should get it."

Shays said medical workers in the military must not cede control of the vaccination process to field commanders with little expertise: "The record of the military in following private-sector procedures is basically nonexistent," Shays said.

Despite these misgivings, the public climate for the vaccination program appears to be markedly positive. A Robert Wood Johnson Foundation poll released Wednesday found 65 percent of respondents are willing to get a vaccination.

"I thought we'd be having a lot of our people saying this is a bad idea," said Wyoming state epidemiologist Karl Musgrave, in charge of vaccinations in the least populous state. "But more questions came from people who wanted to do it and were asking for a waiver -- one nurse was on chemo, another was taking steroids and another had diabetes. No matter what, they want to take it."

In Wisconsin, Herb Bostrom, the director of the Bureau of Communicable Diseases, found the same enthusiasm, "even though significant questions remain" about compensation and medical care. "People in hospitals and public health recognize they are supposed to do this, and they will," Bostrom said.

The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention gave states and local governments until Dec. 9 to submit plans for conducting vaccinations both before and after a smallpox outbreak. The CDC said yesterday that plans it has examined so far envision inoculating almost 450,000 people.

Musgrave said Wyoming's plan calls for "about 1,000 people" to receive the vaccine in Phase I, a task he said could probably be completed in a few hours. He said eight communities practiced vaccinating 100 people this summer and managed the job "in a couple of hours."

Elsewhere, authorities appeared less inclined to move that quickly: "We'll start slowly, do one site first and see what happens," said Georges C. Benjamin, former Maryland secretary of health and mental hygiene, who said his state expects to vaccinate between 6,000 and 8,000 people during the initial phase. (Benjamin resigned Sunday to take another position.) He said Maryland could complete the vaccinations "within a week," but is in no hurry: "There is no emergency. We're going to look at the experience, and see if our criteria are too rigid or too loose. There's a learning curve."

In Los Angeles County, Mascola will vaccinate as many as 12,000 people but is "not interested in doing it until January," when the worst of the flu season is over.

Staff writer Ceci Connolly contributed to this report.

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A47678-2002Dec12.html

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Washington Times December 13, 2002 Pg. 1

# **Smallpox Vaccinations Pit Safety Against Risks**

By Joyce Howard Price, The Washington Times

The debate over smallpox vaccination as a precaution against bioterrorism pits those who say it is necessary for national security against those who are concerned about the vaccine's medical risks.

President Bush is expected to announce today that there will be immediate and mandatory smallpox vaccinations of 500,000 U.S. military troops, followed by voluntary immunizations of 500,000 Americans who work in hospitals and on special smallpox response teams.

The president was forced to weigh the risk of the live-virus vaccine against the theoretical risk of a terrorist attack with smallpox as a weapon in deciding whether to offer mass smallpox inoculations for the first time in the country in 30 years.

Mr. Bush is also expected to announce that the vaccinations will be offered to the general public as soon as large stockpiles are licensed. That phase is likely to begin early in 2004, although the federal government will not be encouraging average Americans to get the vaccine, which has more deadly side effects compared with any other vaccine in use in the country.

"The vaccine includes a risk for death, so the issue has to be seriously deliberated," White House spokesman Scott McClellan said in an interview Wednesday.

Studies from the 1960s show that 15 of every million first-time recipients of the vaccine suffer life-threatening complications and that one or two of them die.

Encephalitis, or brain swelling, is one of the vaccine's most severe side effects. It kills between 5 percent and 25 percent of affected victims, and an additional 25 percent have permanent neurological damage, according to data from the University of Minnesota.

A Heritage Foundation policy paper released Monday says that vaccinating the American public against smallpox is "no longer just a public health issue."

"It's becoming a national security matter," the paper said.

"Even a localized [smallpox] attack on non-immunized Americans could result in the deaths of a million or more Americans nationally," writes Michael Scardaville, policy analyst for homeland security with the foundation. He cited the prospects of a war with Iraq and terrorist attacks by al Qaeda. One or both could release the smallpox virus as a bioterrorism weapon, he said.

Smallpox is believed to have been eradicated worldwide more than 20 years ago. No one knows the likelihood of the smallpox virus returning as a terror weapon.

Only two labs — in Atlanta and Moscow — are known to have the virus. But many disease and weapons specialists fear that it has been obtained by rogue nations such as Iraq or by terrorist groups. There's speculation that Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein will release the virus if his country is attacked by the United States and others.

Mr. Scardaville acknowledges that the vaccine "carries significant risks." He said experience with a smallpox vaccination program in this country before 1972 "indicates that one in every million first-time recipients is likely to die from complications."

Vaccinating the entire American population "could cost 300 lives," Mr. Scardaville said. He noted that estimates of how many would suffer serious complications from the vaccine but would not die range from a low of one in every 67,000 to a high of one in every 8,000.

But he argues that the benefits of the vaccine far outweigh the risks. Pre-emptive vaccination, he says, would reduce the spread of the disease if it is used as a biological weapon, improve health workers' ability to treat victims, reduce panic and deter some terrorists from using smallpox against U.S. targets.

In his report, Mr. Scardaville says the federal government should urge states to "vaccinate all first responders and public health officials essential to their state and local response plans."

He also says it "should carry through on plans to vaccinate essential military personnel immediately" and should make the vaccine "available to the general public for voluntary inoculations following a broad campaign of education."

A number of powerful medical organizations, including the American Medical Association, had opposed vaccinating the general population on the basis of a perceived threat of a smallpox attack.

They argued that, without a better assessment of the threat, the potential loss of life from the vaccine outweighs the benefits of inoculation. They also expressed fear that administering physicians who distribute the vaccine could face legal liability.

The AMA now says it can accept the recommendations Mr. Bush is expected to announce today. However, it insists that no American be vaccinated until "vital federal liability protections" are put in place.

Gordon Johndroe, spokesman for the Department of Homeland Security, said the legislation that created that department calls for liability coverage for the vaccine to take effect Jan. 24, 2003.

There has been no case of smallpox in the United States since 1949, and world health officials announced its global eradication in 1980.

D.A. Henderson, a federal bioterrorism adviser, who led the global eradication effort, told the Associated Press yesterday that he finds the planned level of use of the vaccine "troublesome." He and his associates had recommended a conservative vaccination program involving no more than 20,000 Americans.

Dr. Henderson, who heads the Center for Civilian Biodefense Studies at Johns Hopkins University School of Public Health, says it is crucial that the government keep detailed records of the vaccine's effects on the first million recipients before offering it to the broader population. The Bush administration says it intends to do that. <a href="http://www.washtimes.com/national/20021213-2162815.htm">http://www.washtimes.com/national/20021213-2162815.htm</a>

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Christian Science Monitor December 13, 2002 Pg. 1

# North Korea Plays Its Nuclear Card

# To provoke the US, say analysts, Pyongyang says it will restart a reactor suspected of producing weapons material.

By Robert Marquand and Howard LaFranchi, Staff writers of The Christian Science Monitor BEIJING AND WASHINGTON – Playing the role of "rogue state" has been one of North Korea's greatest skills, leaving neighboring states never knowing how much is bluff - and how much is real.

Now, by saying it will immediately start up a long-dormant nuclear reactor because of an electricity shortage - the regime of Kim Jong II is playing one of its most dangerous cards and appears to be moving slowly toward brinkmanship with the United States.

Yesterday's move comes three days after North Korean-made Scuds were found on an unmarked Cambodian ship, and it seems designed to put maximum pressure on the Bush administration to deal with Pyongyang at an inconvenient time, analysts say.

The mercurial Mr. Kim is not ready for a genuine standoff, say many experts, though how Kim will back down from yesterday's open threat is not clear. A confrontation is possible, some analysts say, but others suggest that a crisis is what Kim needs to make a deal. "One thing is clear, this has nothing to do with electricity," says Paik Jin-hyun, professor at Seoul National University. "That reactor has always been an experimental reactor which has never been an energy source. Saying they need it for energy is nonsense. This is an effort to prod Bush."

Ten years ago a Soviet-designed reactor at the Yongbyon facility in the North caused a nuclear crisis on the peninsula when inspectors found it was being used to develop weapons-grade plutonium. The outcome was a 1994 treaty to shut down the program in exchange for two light-water reactors and fuel oil shipments.

That treaty held until this fall, when North Korea admitted to having a second, secret nuclear program to enrich uranium. Some experts feel Kim is now simply shopping for a more lucrative treaty arrangement. The White House, which considers the North part of an "axis of evil," has resolutely refused to deal with Kim until he agrees to scuttle his illegal uranium program.

That position, along with the vote of a consortium of US-led nations two weeks ago in New York to stop fuel oil shipments to the needy North - has contributed to the slowly developing crisis, and to some fears that Bush and Kim are moving in opposite directions. "We are not going to pay North Korea more to do what it is already supposed to do," a senior US official in Seoul says. "They have to comply with their agreements."

Analysts like Paul Kerr, a Korea peninsula specialist at the Arms Control Association in Washington, say that by its announcement yesterday North Korea is turning the US stance on its head. North Korea is effectively saying, "But we have a trump card - we already have facilities and fuel. Without talks and an end to pressure on our neighbors not to send us economic assistance, we have no choice but to use our card."

But Henry Sokolski, executive director of the Nonproliferation Policy Education Center, says the explanation may be other than the "conventional" - and he adds, that, in any case, the US has to be more proactive on the North Korean challenge, no matter what motivates the North.

The North's move comes on the eve of South Korean elections next week, and is a further blow to the once-promising Sunshine policy of outgoing President Kim Dae Jung.

It may simply be another example of the North's military acting to show "that it can't be pushed around," Mr. Sokolski says. But in any case Sokolski says the US - which he suspects is lying low on the Korean issue until after the elections - has to start taking some of the "bolder" action it is threatening.

"Right now the US is in a holding pattern, but it's not a policy to follow," he says. What the US should do, he adds, is something between the two extremes most camps fall into. "Most people are on the side of either grovel or bomb 'em, but I would say neither of either."

Based on various intelligence sources, Sokolski says that North Korea will continue to develop additional nuclear weapons - and very likely more powerful ones - with or without current agreements. He says the US should stop all "nuclear bribing," which hasn't worked anyway. Beyond that, he says the US needs to press much more heavily on its allies in the region who continue to deal with Kim.

"It's not enough to cut off our bribes, but [Japan and South Korea need to] make sure [North Korea] pays a price for violating all the international agreements [it] signed on to."

Sokolski says the US should also play the human rights card more than it is now. "That worked in the cold war." Though coming from a different point of view, Arms Control's Mr. Kerr agrees that the US doesn't have a strategy for effectively dealing with North Korea. The administration has "no compelling answer" when asked why North Korea should dismantle its programs if the quid pro quos it negotiated are suspended. "Tough diplomacy is not the same as appearement," he says. "We can still solve a problem that's getting worse... if we give North Korea a stake in giving up" on proliferation.

The greatest immediate threat at present lies in the technical capability of North Korea to turn its current cache of spent plutonium fuel rods into an estimated five or six nuclear weapons in a matter of months.

A statement issued from Pyongyang yesterday carefully avoided making any reference to the status of the rods, which are currently under the observation of international inspectors. But should Kim whisk them away, or kick out the inspectors, this would be seen as highly provocative. The North is already thought to have enough material for two nuclear devices, US intelligence sources feel.

"What is most urgent is the fuel rods," argues Dr. Paik. "If Kim starts to reprocess them, he can have the weapons quickly."

North Korea's enriched uranium program would take several years to develop, scientists say.

Brinkmanship with the White House comes after a summer in which it appeared the isolated Stalinist regime was beginning to open. The North experimented with market mechanisms, including an aborted effort at creating a special economic zone on the border of China. Kim began a historic dialogue toward normalization with arch-enemy Japan (which soured after the Japanese public felt the North did not give enough details on kidnap victims by the North.)

With South Korea, the North engaged steadily - sending sports teams, connecting a long shut down rail line, and allowing more reunions between family members estranged since the Korean War of the early 1950s.

Senior White House officials believe that one of Kim's main objectives is to force US leaders to come to Pyongyang - whether they desire to or not.

Kim's curious and unusual game, US officials argue, is to legitimate himself within his own regime by showing his people that important world leaders must come to Kim's door in order to solve dangerous problems in the midst of tense brinkmanship.

http://www.csmonitor.com/2002/1213/p01s04-woap.html

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

Washington Post December 16, 2002

Pg. 2

# **Gilmore Panel Backs New Terrorism Agency**

By Mike Allen, Washington Post Staff Writer

Former Virginia governor James S. Gilmore III warns today in a report by his federal terrorism commission that the government must guard against transforming the FBI into "a kind of secret police" focused only on preventing attacks.

The fourth annual report by Gilmore's commission recommends that the government dedicate the FBI to law enforcement, and create an independent intelligence fusion agency that would coordinate information about potential attacks and report to President Bush.

The commission suggests that the new agency, the National Counter Terrorism Center, should be staffed by intelligence analysts transferred from the FBI, CIA and other agencies

By concluding that the nation's intelligence structure needs an overhaul, the report echoes the joint congressional intelligence committee investigating the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks.

Last week, the committee used its final report to recommend the appointment of a Cabinet-level intelligence czar. The new push from Gilmore, former chairman of the Republican National Committee, will add pressure for the administration and Congress to undertake the politically sensitive task of reorganizing the collection and dissemination of intelligence.

"It is clear that the federal government is far from perfecting a system of sharing national security intelligence and other information, developed at the federal level, with states, localities and certain segments of the private sector," the report says.

Gilmore's commission, formed in 1999, recommends that the military be used to fight terrorism in the United States only in support of civilian authorities. Gilmore writes in the report to Bush and Congress that "protecting democracy and individual liberties is paramount to achieving ultimate victory."

"Coming through this crisis without diminishing our freedoms or our core values of individual liberty is the entire game," Gilmore wrote. "If we pursue more security at the cost of what makes us Americans, the enemy will have won."

Gilmore said in an interview that the administration has not yet violated civil liberties on the home front of its war on terrorism. "We have not yet gone so far as to have a camera on every corner or a database that invades people's privacy, but we have to be vigilant and guard against it," he said.

The commission said that of 79 substantive recommendations in its previous reports, 66 have been adopted in whole or in part. Next year is the final year for the commission, and Gilmore said he plans to focus on such issues as the protection of critical infrastructure and the systems by which states and localities receive funding for their response systems.

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A59193-2002Dec15.html

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The Fourth Annual Report to the President and the Congress of the Advisory Panel to Assess Domestic Response Capabilities for Terrorism Involving Weapons of Mass Destruction

# IV. Implementing the National Strategy

http://www.rand.org/nsrd/terrpanel/terror4.pdf

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Time December 23, 2002

### **The Great Scud Hunt**

In the last war against Iraq, the U.S. did a poor job of destroying Scuds. If another war comes, the American military aims to do it better and smarter — with Israeli help

By Mark Thompson, Washington

U.N. arms inspectors in their Toyota Land Cruisers paid a visit last week to a company called al-Nidaa in the Baghdad suburb of Zafaraniyah. This was the place where Iraq once manufactured its modified Scud missile, al-Hussein, one of the most potent tools in its arsenal. The weapon has been forbidden to Baghdad since the 1991 Gulf War cease-fire, and the Iraqis claim these days that al-Nidaa makes only metal molds and tools. But the inspectors,

armed with 1,240 unrevealing pages on missile programs that were part of Baghdad's recent accounting to the U.N., made their own inquiries, snooping around al-Nidaa and five other missile-related facilities. At one, the inspectors were treated to a test launch of a short-range missile arranged by the Iraqis to prove the device fell within the U.N.-permitted limit of 93 miles. "Of course, we have no Scud missiles, absolutely," General Hussam Mohammed Amin, Iraqi disarmament chief, told reporters. "And this fact is valid since the summer of 1991, O.K.?"

Well, not really. U.S. intelligence believes that Iraq possessed some two dozen hidden Scuds when the previous team of U.N. inspectors left the country in 1998; missile experts say that with proper maintenance they should work fine. Since then, Baghdad may have bought or built more. Media attention has focused on the risks posed by Iraq's chemical, biological and nuclear capacities, but those dangers are multiplied if Iraq can arm missiles with these weapons and strike its neighbors at arm's length. In the 1991 conflict, Iraq did not fire missiles tipped with chemical or biological agents. But if the U.S. battles Iraq again, this time with the stated aim of removing President Saddam Hussein from power, as President Bush has threatened, intelligence analysts fear that Saddam, with nothing left to lose, will unleash his most pernicious arms. If he's got missiles and the U.N. doesn't find them first, that could expose not only U.S. troops but also millions of civilians in the region to Saddam's vengeance.

No group is more vulnerable than the Israelis. Iraq lobbed 42 Scuds at Israel during the Gulf War. Only one Israeli was killed by a missile, though 15 died of heart attacks, suffocation in their gas masks or reaction to a chemical-weapon antidote that some took in a panic. Pentagon planners are worried that in a new war, if Saddam again hits Israel with missiles — wishing to ignite a wider conflict that would pit Muslim nations against the U.S. and Israel Washington would be unable to convince the Israeli government, as it did in 1991, that it should refrain from retaliating. If Israel launched a counterstrike, U.S. officials fear, America's Arab allies would find it difficult to align with Washington.

Thus Pentagon officials, who have little confidence that U.N. inspectors will unearth any illicit Iraqi missiles, have poured energy into devising ways to neutralize the Scud threat. Their plans involve putting Scud-hunting commandos on the ground fast, deploying improved technologies for detecting and destroying Scud launchers and missiles — even after they are shot — and shortening the chain of command for anti-Scud operations. Still, a recent independent review concluded that these efforts would probably fall short, which suggests that Iraq's Scuds could again be a complicating factor in any new war.

The last time around, the U.S. military's inability to defeat the Scuds turned out to be its biggest failure in the war. In 1991 the U.S. dedicated 2,493 missions to what came to be called the "Great Scud Hunt." But it did not score one confirmable kill against a mobile missile or its launcher in Iraq — though it did destroy what turned out to be a few fuel trucks as well as some East German decoys that looked like the real thing. Scuds caused not only mayhem in Israel during the month the missiles rained down on Tel Aviv but also the deaths of 28 U.S. troops whose barracks in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, were demolished by a Scud. Those 28 accounted for a fifth of all U.S. deaths in the war. Part of the problem was that in the beginning, Norman Schwarzkopf, the U.S. Army general who ran the war, underestimated the Scud. After all, the crude, 40-ft. Soviet-designed missile, which is in the arsenals of some 25 nations, has a bull's-eye a mile across. Schwarzkopf called it a "mosquito" that was "clumsy and obsolete." He resisted sending commandos into Iraq to hunt down the Scuds.

Schwarzkopf's intelligence about the missile was poor. Before the 1991 war, the U.S. believed that the crew of the 45-ton, Soviet-made truck that carries and launches the Scud would require half an hour to disassemble the launch gear and leave the scene after shooting. That would allow a fair amount of time for U.S. military satellites equipped with heat sensors to detect the flash of the launch and provide coordinates to allied aircraft that could move in for the kill. The Iraqi crews, however, were not following the Soviet owner's manual the U.S. was relying on; they had found ways to cut corners and were fleeing in as little as six minutes, scooting into caves or culverts where they could not be seen. Intensive U.S. bombing — including nightly B-52 strikes on suspected Scud routes — reduced but did not stop the launches.

This time the U.S. has some better ideas about where to find Scud launchers. Israeli special forces belonging to a unit called Shaldag (Hebrew for "Kingfisher") have been conducting reconnaissance missions in western Iraq, looking for likely launch sites that are near good hiding places. Israeli intelligence has identified for the U.S. these possible launch areas as well as the best elevated positions from which to keep track of them. Washington has promised Israel that U.S. commandos would be sent into western Iraq in the war's opening minutes to hunt down the Scud systems and call in air strikes to destroy them.

Those assurances are largely politically motivated because, in reality, there's a limited chance that commandos would come across Scud teams in the vastness of the Iraqi desert. Another resource for spotting Scud teams before they have shot a missile is the Joint Surveillance Target Attack Radar System (J-STARS) airplane, which was used experimentally in 1991. J-STARS scours the ground like an AWACS scours the skies, keeping track of things that move.

Still, the easiest way to catch a Scud launcher is after it has fired. Satellites help, but in a new conflict, the U.S. would also have new tools like the Battlefield Ordnance Awareness system, which detect the flash of missile firings on the ground from spy planes flying high above Iraq. Instead of funneling intelligence back to the U.S. -- as had to be done in the Gulf War — new systems would give commanders in the region direct access to information, enabling them, for instance, to guide warplanes to any exposed Scuds. The idea is to shorten what the Pentagon calls the "kill chain" -- the time taken between finding a target and destroying it. One novel option for eliminating Scud systems is the newly armed Predator drone. The Predator can loiter over the desert for a day, far longer than a manned warplane.

Would the new technologies give the U.S. all the edge it would need? General John Jumper, Air Force chief of staff, says he's "very" confident that the U.S. could do a better job of killing Scuds in a second Gulf War. But a study by the Rand Corp. earlier this year concluded that the U.S. Air Force still can't detect and destroy a Scud within 10 minutes, whereas the Iraqis can flee in six. Efforts to kill mobile Scuds "will continue to be relatively ineffective" until improved reconnaissance systems are developed, according to the Rand report. Myron Hura, one of its authors, says Saddam could erase any U.S. advantage from the past 11 years of technological improvement by deploying more decoys and hiding his real Scuds in populated areas or near mosques and schools. "It remains a tough challenge," says Hura.

If the U.S. can't destroy Scud systems before or after they launch, there is one more line of defense — intercepting the missiles as they come in. The technology for that mission has improved since 1991 too. With U.S. financial and technical help, the Israelis have built, at a cost of \$2 billion, an antimissile system called the Arrow. Though it is new and untested in combat, the Israelis estimate that the Arrow could destroy 9 of every 10 incoming Scuds. It is designed to destroy missiles at a higher altitude (25 to 60 miles) than the system used in 1991, the U.S. Patriot (which can kill an incoming missile as close as two miles away). Plus, the explosion high in the atmosphere would spew the biological or chemical weapons over a wider area, perhaps rendering them ineffective. Israel will still use the U.S.-supplied Patriot, linking that system to the Arrow to provide a two-layered defense. If the Arrow missed an incoming Scud, the lower-aiming Patriot would get a chance to shoot it down. The Patriots stationed in Israel are an improved version of the same design that failed to destroy nearly all the Scuds it targeted in the last Gulf War. Israeli officials are confident the improved Patriots would perform better in a second conflict. But just in case some Scuds would succeed in piercing the dual shields, Israel is providing its citizens with gas masks. Meanwhile, the U.S. is spending \$12 billion developing a new generation of Patriots. The original Patriot was designed to destroy airplanes and was drafted to shoot down missiles only in the heat of the Gulf War. Unlike the older Patriot, which destroys its target by blowing up as it passes by, the new Patriot destroys its target by crashing into it. The Pentagon, eyeing a possible war with Iraq, recently decided to boost production of the new Patriot, each of which costs \$10 million.

In its ongoing effort to improve its Scud-killing abilities, the U.S. Air Force last month launched a pair of Scuds — which it secretly obtained from an unspecified Warsaw Pact nation — from American soil for the first time. The firings, from California's Vandenberg Air Force Base out over the Pacific Ocean, were witnessed by U.S. and Israeli defense officials. Sensors on the missiles as well as aboard nearby ships and planes tracked the trajectory of the Scuds. "Because the new Patriot is 'hit to kill,' we need very accurate data on Scud performance," a Pentagon official said.

U.S. military officials say the stakes in any anti-Scud campaign would be high. While Saddam may have few missiles in his quiver, he might in a future campaign have the motivation — and ability — to load them with devastating chemical warheads. U.S. intelligence isn't sure why he didn't do this last time. Perhaps he was convinced by hints that Washington might retaliate with nuclear weapons. Or his engineers might have been unable to perfect the sophisticated fuse needed to spread a cloud of sarin or VX gas half a mile wide, a lethal fog capable of killing thousands of people in its path. Such devices — used to trigger car air bags — are now common. With reporting by Azadeh Moaveni/Cairo and Matt Rees and Aharon Klein/Jerusalem <a href="http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0.9171,1101021223-400021,00.html">http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0.9171,1101021223-400021,00.html</a>

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Aviation Week & Space Technology December 16, 2002

# Iraq's Hidden Weapons 'Are Likely Underground'

By David A. Fulghum, Washington

It has been asserted by U.S. analysts that Iraq has a number of long-range missiles and the equipment to produce and store weapons of mass destruction, but the question now for United Nations inspectors and coalition war planners is where to find them.

Some of the chemical and biological manufacturing facilities are mobile and are constantly being shifted about on river barges and small groups of semi-tractor trailers to avoid detection. A number of Scud-type missiles are also on wheels

"These are full-up rounds, and they keep them moving around with about a dozen launchers," a U.S. Air Force official said. "These would be targeted at Tel Aviv." Also of concern are indications that North Korea may have sold Iraq a number of their more advanced, longer-range, Scud-derivative Nodong missiles. Only a day after *Aviation Week & Space Technology* was told of these concerns, a Cambodian-flagged, North Korean ship was intercepted carrying components for 15 Scud missiles headed for delivery in Yemen. North Korea has also sold missiles to Pakistan, Syria and Iran.

**BUT MOST PROBLEMATIC** for allied targeteers and warfighters are "Iraq's large number of underground facilities," said a senior U.S. official in the intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (ISR) industry. Such critical facilities as command-and-communications nodes have also been stuffed into these tunnel complexes.

Most of the underground structures have been built since the 1990-91 Persian Gulf war. In its wake, the sales of dual-purpose earth-boring equipment skyrocketed. "Sweden, Germany and other countries are selling machines that can carve a 25-ft.-dia. tunnel through several hundred feet of granite each day," the ISR official said. "After a year, you can have a huge underground complex."

"The last eight years it has been a whole new ball game," the Air Force official agreed. "The breakthrough is that large holes can be cut into mountains of solid rock." Moreover, builders have become extremely savvy in hiding entrances, excavated rock, communication cables, electrical lines and water pipes.

"One method is to construct a conventional building of some kind as a facade," the official said. "In the dark of night, they bring the large pieces of construction equipment into the building and then start tunneling. They can go very deep which makes it difficult to find. The Soviet Union built some tunnels 2,000 ft. deep."

North Korea, China and several Middle East countries have spent fortunes on such underground facilities that, in turn, have created enormous headaches for the intelligence community.

"If you look worldwide, there are a lot of enigmas," the ISR official said. "An enigma may be a facility we know about because of a defector or a communications intercept, but we don't know where it is or exactly what it is doing. Or perhaps you can see the construction, but you don't exactly understand what it's for."

There appear to be no shortage of underground facilities to pique allied intelligence. In Iran, near Tehran, there is a facility of hundreds of thousands of square feet, possibly a command-and-control center, which was built and then covered.

In Syria there is an 800-ft.-deep Scud assembly plant tunneled into a granite mountain. The entrance is protected by huge blast doors shielded by big mounds of earth and granite spoil. The whole mountain is in air space that's heavily defended.

Syria is building 700-km.-range Scud-Ds that could target Israel from the northeast corner of the country, an area that is difficult for the Israel Air Force to reach. Israel has tracked Scud-D flight testing with its new Green Pine radar.

"We know where some [of the enigmas] are and what some do, but we don't know enough," the ISR official said. "Some are very cleverly done with power brought in deep and from a long way off."

But, although the Defense Dept. has a major initiative, the Deep Underground Facilities Program, to work the whole problem--from intelligence gathering to new types of weapons--only pieces of the project are functioning at this time.

And while U.S. intelligence has holes in its knowledge, U.N. inspection teams probably know even less about where to look for Iraqi violations.

"You can't watch everything 24 hr. a day," the ISR official said. "If they started from the beginning to hide things, and are careful about trucks leaving and entering a site, we may never know it's there. You run multiple fiber-optic cable, power and water into what is a legitimate business above ground and then send some [utilities] below." Another obstacle for inspectors is that key elements of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (WMD) program are dispersed throughout the country, with small production facilities hidden in urban homes and other elements stored in farms.

A former weapons inspector noted that Iraq has disassembled many Scud missiles in a manner that allows for concealment now and rapid reassembly when needed.

Moreover, targeting Saddam Hussein to achieve Washington's avowed goal of "regime change" could be complicated by the fact that the Iraqi leader is constantly on the move. One expert on Iraq noted that while the U.S. and inspectors have some knowledge of the inner circle involved in directing the Special Republican Guard that hides the WMD program, little is know of the smaller community in charge of Saddam's personal security.

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New York Times December 16, 2002

# U.S. Says Russia Helped Iran In Nuclear Arms Effort

By David E. Sanger

WASHINGTON, Dec. 15 — American intelligence and defense officials have concluded that Russia — one of the Bush administration's most important allies in the campaign against terrorism — supplied Iran with much of the equipment and expertise it used to build two new facilities that appear to American intelligence agencies to be part of a nuclear weapons program.

The case is the latest example of the Bush administration's growing difficulties with nations that it has hailed as allies in its efforts against Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups.

Pakistan has been identified by the C.I.A. as both a supplier of nuclear technology to North Korea and a purchaser of North Korean missiles. Yemen took delivery of a shipload of North Korean missiles over the weekend, after the shipment had been seized at sea. President Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney agreed to let it proceed after Yemen's president angrily told Mr. Cheney that the United States had no right to interfere.

Iran has historically denied that it is pursuing a nuclear weapons program, and Russia insists that all of its help has been for energy-related development. "We are in an uncomfortable position where allies we very much need do not see these proliferation dangers the same way we do," one senior administration official said today. "Every week, that is getting more and more obvious."

Russia has long acknowledged aiding Iran's nuclear power program, but it has always denied helping it with any project that could help Tehran build a weapon. Russia's atomic energy minister, Aleksandr Rumyantsev, was quoted by the Itar-Tass news agency today as contending that Iran had violated no international rules in building the two nuclear sites that were disclosed last week through commercial satellite photographs. The United States said it was "deeply concerned" about the two sites, which have been known to American intelligence agencies for more than a year.

One of the photographs appears to show a a heavy water plant, critical for the production of a plutonium bomb. Another shows a separate facility for producing highly enriched uranium, another path to producing a nuclear weapon. Like North Korea, which just announced it would restart its plutonium program, Iran appears to be pursuing both approaches simultaneously.

When President Bush visited Russia earlier this year, he was assured by Russia's president, Vladimir V. Putin, that Moscow was only aiding Iran in the production of nuclear power plants for peaceful purposes. Mr. Bush disputed that view, and their differences on Russia's contracts to aid Iran's nuclear program remain a major source of contention in relations between the United States and Russia.

Mr. Rumyantsev, the Russian atomic energy minister, was quoted over the weekend as saying "you cannot assume anything" from the just-published photographs of the Iranian sites.

A Defense Department official who has monitored developments at the Iranian facilities closely said late Friday that the Russians were involved "in all aspects of the Iranian nuclear program," including the two newly disclosed facilities.

China has also, over the years, been involved in Iran's nuclear program. In the 1980's, Pakistan also reached an agreement to provide scientific help to Iranian nuclear programs, though the defense official said there was no sign of any broad Pakistani government support of the Iranian project.

The official said Pentagon analysts estimate that with outside help, the Iranian uranium-enrichment program could produce enough fissile material to manufacture a nuclear device within a few years, but if no outside aid were forthcoming, it could take until the end of the decade.

North Korea, in contrast, is believed to have enough plutonium already for a few bombs, and if it goes ahead with its threats to restart a nuclear reactor, it could produce several bombs' worth of material every year.

American experts have said in recent years that Iran has skillfully exploited loopholes in the Nuclear

Nonproliferation Treaty.

The treaty allows the import of "peaceful" nuclear technology, as long as the International Atomic Energy Agency is permitted to inspect facilities that countries declare as part of their nuclear program. The agency has conducted regular inspections in Iran. But those have not included secret facilities that Iran has not yet declared, including the sites pictured in the satellite photographs.

Iraq used similar loopholes in the late 1980's to receive a certification from the atomic energy agency that it found no evidence of a weapons program. It was only after the Persian Gulf war that inspectors discovered that the country was only six months away from producing a weapon, a fact that an Iraqi general all but confirmed last weekend. Russia, eager to hold onto its contracts with Iran, insists there is no evidence that the country is secretly pursuing a weapons program, and Iranian officials, too, have repeatedly dismissed Western claims of such a program. Iran's efforts to get help from China and Russia have been only sporadically successful. Its China deals began to collapse after it pledged in 1997 not to engage in new nuclear cooperation with the country. Russia has stepped in, sweeping aside questions about why an oil-rich nation needed a nuclear power program.

Publicly, the Bush administration has been very low-key about the Iranian projects, pointing out that it could be years before they pose a threat. But when speaking with the promise of anonymity, some officials say there is much more concern that terrorist groups could obtain nuclear technology or know-how from Iran than from Iraq. The future of Russia's nuclear ties to Iran is uncertain. Over the summer the two countries reached an agreement in principle to build as many as five more nuclear power reactors like one already under construction at Bushehr, a city on the Persian Gulf.

A week after the proposals to build more reactors were disclosed, however, Russia appeared to back away from them. After pointed discussions in Moscow with Energy Secretary Spencer Abraham, Mr. Rumyantsev suggested for the first time that Russia was prepared to take into account "political factors" before deepening its assistance to Iran.

http://www.nytimes.com/2002/12/16/international/middleeast/16DIPL.html

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

Global Security Newswire (nti.org)

December 13, 2002

# New Bush WMD Strategy Marks A Significant Departure, Experts Say

By Bryan Bender, Global Security Newswire

WASHINGTON — The newly unveiled Bush administration strategy for combating weapons of mass destruction marks a significant departure from long-standing U.S. policy by publicly advocating a nuclear response in the face of a chemical or biological attack, according to government officials and private analysts (see GSN, Dec. 11). The document is considered a step forward by those who believe a revised policy, coupled with a strong declaration about the potential consequences of attacking the United States with weapons of mass destruction, is urgently needed to deter potential adversaries in an era in which traditional deterrence might not be sufficient. The new policy was quickly criticized from several quarters, however, as unnecessarily eroding international arms control. These critics also contend that the Bush administration is being far too public about its intentions at the expense of U.S. credibility in future debates about stemming the spread of nuclear weapons.

The six-page strategy, sent to the U.S. Congress on Wednesday, threatens overwhelming retaliation — implying the use of nuclear weapons — in response to a WMD attack, in an effort to persuade potential adversaries to refrain from unleashing chemical or biological weapons against the United States or its allies.

"The United States will continue to make clear that it reserves the right to respond with overwhelming force — including through resort to all of our options — to the use of WMD against the United States, our forces abroad, and friends and allies," the document says.

It also calls for the development of new military and civilian capabilities to defeat WMD-armed adversaries, the strengthening of nonproliferation treaties and arms control regimes, and preparations to reduce the potentially catastrophic consequences of a successful WMD attack against the United States or its allies.

**Breaking with the Past** 

Some expert observers contend, however, that although the United States has always reserved the right to use nuclear weapons in response to a nuclear threat, it has never said so explicitly and has refrained from applying the policy to chemical or biological weapons.

A 1978 executive order said the United States would not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states. Following a renouncement of that policy by U.S. Undersecretary of State John Bolton in February (see GSN, Feb. 22), the Bush administration quickly reaffirmed it (see GSN, Feb. 27).

The new strategy may also contradict international agreements, according to one interpretation.

"Until now we have not been explicit about" responding to a WMD attack with nuclear weapons, said Robert Einhorn, former assistant secretary of state for nonproliferation. "This statement takes one additional layer of ambiguity away by saying we would use any option. They are clearly saying nuclear weapons without saying so." "It essentially nullifies the last 50 years," said Senate Foreign Relations Committee member Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.) in a Wednesday speech.

Experts said the policy comes in response to the growing threat from chemical and biological weapons, which, in the wake of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, are considered an imminent threat to U.S. national security — even more so in light of a possible war with Iraq to disarm its suspected WMD stockpile.

Yet the new policy also raises international legal questions. According to Corey Hinderstein, an arms control expert at the Institute for Science and International Security, the new policy may conflict with the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in particular.

"It is some sensitive ground for international law," she said. "It doesn't jibe with some of the interpretations of our legal right to [use nuclear weapons]" under the NPT, she said.

"The first thing that strikes me is what appears to be completely unrealistic references to the NPT, the essential mechanism for preventing the spread of nuclear weapons," Morten Maerli, nuclear security expert at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, told GSN today. "The U.S. is neglecting the 13 steps to implement article VI from the 2000 Review Conference that can only hurt the future of the treaty," Maerli said, referring to the treaty commitment undertaken by nuclear powers to move "in good faith" toward nuclear disarmament.

#### Too Assertive?

Any policy departures or legal questions aside, critics charge that if such a new deterrent strategy is required to address the threats posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the White House would be better to remain silent, continuing its long-standing policy of nuclear ambiguity, rather than advertise its possible responses. "It is very dangerous to be talking too much about these kinds of responses that the United States would take or actions in anticipation of another nation's actions," Hagel said. Overasserting the U.S. right to use nuclear weapons, he said, brings a "mucky schizophrenia" to the long-standing U.S. policy of nuclear restraint.

"What the administration chose to do was to put forward a very muscular version of this, unnecessarily muscular in my view because it alarmed the hell out of a lot of the people we need most to forge the kind of coalition we have to put together against Saddam Hussein," former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Richard Holbrooke said Wednesday in a television interview.

The strategy "reflects the changing reality," prospective Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Senator Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) told Global Security Newswire earlier today. The administration "could have maybe been more artful in saying it," he said.

Holbrooke, while critical of the Bush language, said he believes the policy itself is not very different from the past. In the past, however, it was not part of the political rhetoric.

"This is just the more muscular form of a long-standing policy. At least four times in the last half-century, [former U.S. Presidents Dwight] Eisenhower in Korea, [Richard] Nixon in Vietnam, [George H.W.] Bush against [Iraqi President] Saddam [Hussein] in '91, and [John] Kennedy in the missile crisis in '62, we have said the same sort of thing," he said. "We reserve the right to use any means we have, including nuclear weapons," Holbrooke said.

#### **Possible International Consequences**

Yet, experts worry that it may be too late to offset the potential harmful consequences of such an assertive policy. "I think its effect will be profound in some states," Hinderstein said. "Pakistan is very fearful that the U.S. is intent on destroying its nuclear capability. If the U.S. establishes a pattern of taking excessive military action, they feel like they might be on that list."

Added Hagel, "It sets in motion a series of uncontrollable actions that could be taken by China, by Russia, by Israel, Pakistan, India, North Korea."

According to John Isaacs of the Council for a Livable World, the new strategy to combat weapons of mass destruction only adds to a series of Bush administration actions in the nuclear arena that he believes will prove destabilizing in coming years.

"Dr. Strangelove is alive and well in the Bush administration," Isaacs said in a statement Thursday. "The administration's new strategy, its quest to explore building new nuclear weapons such as a 'nuclear bunker buster,' and its refusal to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty signal to the world that the U.S. has extensive plans to build and use nuclear weapons in the future," he said.

#### **Supporters Applaud Comprehensive Strategy**

Despite concerns about some of the language in the new strategy and its possible consequences, the Bush policy was applauded by experts who believe a new deterrent policy was long overdue and describe the plan as the kind of comprehensive strategy required to combat the growing threat of weapons of mass destruction.

"It really is a step forward," said Jack Spencer, a Heritage Foundation defense analyst. "If we are going to have a chance, albeit a slim one, to address the proliferation problem, we are going to have to take a comprehensive approach to this widespread danger. We can't rely solely on arms control. Arms control is important, but so is deterrence and persuasion."

The document is "a nonproliferation tool box," he added. "It gives us the tools to address this very complex problem." As for whether it may contradict previous arms control regimes, he said the new threats might require the international community to revisit past treaties to ensure they remain relevant.

The White House will need to continue to explain the new strategy to ensure international support for nonproliferation efforts, experts say.

"They are walking a fine line between an assertive policy they need to commit to but at the same time recognizing that we can't be a nuclear cowboy in the world," Hinderstein said.

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### **National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction**

http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/12/WMDStrategy.pdf

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Washington Post December 14, 2002 Pg. 1

# **U.S. Revives Smallpox Shot**

#### Bush Says He Will Receive Vaccine With Military, Emergency Workers

By Ceci Connolly and Dana Milbank, Washington Post Staff Writers

The federal government began vaccinating military personnel against smallpox yesterday as President Bush unveiled an unprecedented campaign to try to protect millions of Americans from the once-eradicated virus that has reemerged as a potential biological weapon.

After months of deliberations, Bush said that he would be vaccinated as commander in chief, had ordered nearly half a million people in the armed forces inoculated and would encourage as many as 10 million medical workers and emergency responders to quickly follow suit.

By summer, administration officials said, the vaccine would be available to any healthy American adult who demands it. Because of the vaccine's dangerous side effects, however, they strongly discouraged average citizens from being inoculated.

Bush's decision to begin the inoculations represents the first time in history that public health officials will give vaccinations for a disease that no longer exists in nature and has not been seen in a patient in more than 20 years. Despite the advice of experts to move cautiously, Bush opted for a more aggressive policy, citing national security concerns.

"To protect our citizens in the aftermath of September the 11th, we are evaluating old threats in a new light," he said. "Our government has no information that a smallpox attack is imminent. Yet it is prudent to prepare for the possibility that terrorists who kill indiscriminately would use diseases as a weapon."

The administration fears that Iraq or terrorist groups might possess the highly contagious, deadly virus. The inoculation program is designed to protect the emergency workers most likely to encounter the first victims of an

outbreak in the United States and enable them to open mass vaccination clinics for the rest of the population. In the event of an outbreak, researchers say, authorities can safely dilute the current vaccine stocks to inoculate everyone. The decision reflects pressure from Vice President Cheney and other defense hawks, who argued for the strategic necessity -- and deterrent effect -- of vaccinating a larger part of the public.

Bush and his advisers labored to play down the risk of an attack, pointing out that Bush's own family and staff -- including Homeland Security Director Tom Ridge -- are not being vaccinated. Still, the sense of urgency in the new program, the known side effects and the possibility that vaccinations could coincide with the start of a war in Iraq have raised anxiety about smallpox, a disease that kills one of three people infected.

Mandatory vaccination of the half-million military personnel -- which began yesterday with several dozen medical personnel at Walter Reed Army Medical Center -- is the first step of an incremental program that will extend quickly to 10 million medical workers and emergency responders.

The official unveiling of the policy yesterday brought a somber tableau to a lecture room in the White House complex: Eight officials from the State, Defense and Homeland Security departments and health agencies stood at attention while Bush read his carefully worded statement. Watching from the front row -- and not participating in the subsequent briefing -- was D.A. Henderson, the public health adviser who led the effort that eradicated smallpox worldwide. Henderson had argued for much more limited vaccinations.

"It's been quite a while since this nation saw the need to vaccinate so many people in such a limited amount of time," Health and Human Services Secretary Tommy G. Thompson said yesterday, calling the effort "a public health partnership like no other we've seen."

The White House plan to offer inoculations to every American represents a break with the recommendations of the government's own vaccine advisory panel. That group, known as the Advisory Committee on Immunization Practices, first suggested in June that no more than 20,000 medical workers be inoculated, and in October increased that figure to 500,000.

Many in the medical community voiced concern yesterday over the large number of people who will be put at risk by the vaccine while the extent of the danger is unknown.

"Why not present information [about a threat] to the advisory committee and define the risk more explicitly so folks in the community as well as the professionals can understand better why it is we're doing this?" asked William Schaffner, a nonvoting member of the committee and a professor at Vanderbilt University Medical Center. "I wonder whether it's prudent, let alone wise."

Jeffrey Koplan, former head of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and one of a handful of practicing physicians who have treated smallpox, said it will be a "tough sell" with many doctors and nurses.

"I'm not a security expert, but if you are going to ask people to use a vaccine with known and significant side effects, then you've got to make a very good case that the risk of exposure to the disease is real, tangible, quantitative and worth the risk you are going to take with your patients," he said.

Historical data show that of 1 million people vaccinated, 14 to 52 will experience life-threatening complications such as encephalitis, and one or two will die. To treat dangerous side effects, the government has stockpiled an antidote called vaccine immune globulin; officials said they have enough to treat side effects in 27 million people and by summer should have enough for 300 million.

Pregnant women, young children and people with skin conditions or weak immune systems should not receive the vaccine. That includes most cancer patients, individuals who test positive for the AIDS virus and people who have received organ transplants. Recent studies suggest that about a quarter of Americans would be excluded from vaccination because they or a close family member are in those groups, said Raymond Strikas, director of smallpox preparedness at the CDC.

The American Medical Association and the American Public Health Association issued statements yesterday endorsing the conservative approach advocated by the advisory committee and urging federal officials to wait before offering vaccine to others.

"States haven't even done plans for vaccinating the 10 million yet," said Georges C. Benjamin, executive director of the public health group.

Even though HHS believes fewer than 1 million people are needed to inoculate the country within 10 days of an attack, Thompson said that there is no way to know where in the country an attack might take place and that the vaccination of 10 million emergency workers "would be a broader deterrent."

The surprise in yesterday's announcement was the rapid implementation of the plan and a relatively broad willingness by the government to let ordinary Americans receive the vaccine even if they will not be carefully monitored through clinical trials.

A risky but effective live vaccine first developed by Edward Jenner in the late 1700s, the smallpox shot was once a common part of every toddler's trip to the doctor. Routine vaccinations ended in the United States in 1972, and the

disease was declared eradicated worldwide eight years later. Today, about half the U.S. population has never been vaccinated. People vaccinated more than 30 years ago have little, if any, lingering immunity.

Vaccination within a few days of exposure should provide protection from the disease; however, because the incubation period of the virus averages 12 days, individuals may not immediately realize that they have been exposed.

Administration officials presented a rapid timetable for the inoculation campaign:

\*Vaccine has been shipped to several overseas military bases, where it will be given to 500,000 military personnel, including emergency response and medical workers and "mission critical" troops. Vaccinated military personnel would also help during a domestic smallpox outbreak.

\*Beginning in late January, 439,000 civilian emergency workers who are not at high risk of side effects will be encouraged to receive the vaccine as part of a voluntary program that the government hopes can be completed in 30 days.

\*Next, federal and state governments will move "as quickly as we can" to inoculate a broader group of 10 million health care workers, according to CDC Director Julie Gerberding. Officials estimate that about half that number will choose to be vaccinated during a second phase that will take 45 to 90 days. American diplomats in the Middle East would also have the option to be vaccinated, and the State Department will "consider" requests from allies for the vaccine.

\*In late spring or early summer of 2003, vaccine will be available to any American adult who is not in a high-risk group for complications and who insists on having the vaccine. The government is not encouraging average Americans to receive the vaccine, and "it's going to take a process" of questionnaires and consent forms to receive it, Thompson said. This group would receive unlicensed vaccines until more become available in 2004. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A52680-2002Dec13.html

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New York Times December 14, 2002

#### **News Analysis**

# **Bush Signals He Thinks Possibility Of Smallpox Attack Is Rising**

By William J. Broad

For months, Bush administration officials have talked about the threat of a smallpox attack but have offered no strong proof. But by asking millions of Americans to accept the risks of smallpox vaccinations, President Bush has signaled that he thinks the possibility of an attack is rising as the United States considers a war against Iraq and assesses long-term dangers.

Even if Saddam Hussein is removed in Iraq, federal officials said yesterday, the specter of a smallpox attack will not disappear.

The announcement of the nation's first smallpox vaccination campaign in three decades is part of a long-term strategy to protect the country from a contagious virus that killed one in three unvaccinated people.

The administration's decision to offer 10.5 million health care workers and other Americans a vaccine against a conquered disease says more about the perceived risk of a smallpox attack than volumes of official statements and Congressional testimony, or even Mr. Bush's assurances yesterday that the United States faces no imminent threat. It means officials are willing to accept the potential public backlash from complications of the vaccine.

"We live in a new world," said Jerome M. Hauer, assistant secretary for emergency preparedness at the Department of Health and Human Services.

In an interview, Mr. Hauer said Mr. Bush's decision was rooted in a calculus that looked at the smallpox threat over the long term — not just weeks or months but years and decades.

The risks accumulate over a long time, Mr. Hauer said, and that drives officials to take prudent steps now to prepare for the worst. Medical experts estimate that the vaccine could give vaccinated individuals some protection against the disease for decades.

By vaccinating millions of Americans, Mr. Hauer said, "you're testing your logistics, developing trained cadres, and protecting medical response teams. So in the event of an incident, you don't have to be concerned about vaccinating

those groups." He added that vaccination could then begin of people who had come in contact with infected people "and, if necessary, mass vaccination."

Yesterday, Mr. Bush seemed to bend over backward not to create a panic, to understate the threat, never once mentioning potential war with Iraq. His strongest statement on the danger was that "regimes hostile to the United States may posses this dangerous virus."

Dr. Alan P. Zelicoff, a physician and smallpox expert at the Sandia National Laboratories, said in an interview that the administration was engaged in no bluff or bluster, but had carefully weighed the long-term risks of a smallpox attack.

"I think the administration has got it just about exactly right," he said of offering the vaccine to 10 million people. "The question is not what is the risk of attack in the next six months or year, but what is the risk over the effective lifetime of the vaccine, which is measured in decades."

Intelligence agencies believe that Iraq may have collected the smallpox virus from a natural outbreak that struck there in 1971 and 1972. Based on interviews with defectors and other informants, the agencies also believe that North Korea has the virus and that Russian scientists, impoverished by the collapse of the Soviet Union, may have sold the virus to terrorists.

Experts on risk assessment say a short-term danger grows as time passes. For example, a coin flipped has only a 50-50 chance of coming up heads, but flipped many times will eventually land heads up.

In the case of smallpox, experts also fear that over time, the chance grows that the virus and the knowledge and technology needed make it into a weapon will spread.

The administration's move to protect the nation against such threats comes at a potentially high cost.

Ten million Americans involved in health care, law enforcement, and emergency response are to be offered the vaccine on a voluntary basis by this summer. State and local officials say it will be a huge logistical challenge. Ten million civilians is 20 times the roughly half million health workers slated for the first, even quicker round of vaccinations. The larger number is likely to produce health repercussions too big for Washington to ignore even if, as expected, only half the target population ends up volunteering for the vaccine. Based on previous statistics, five million immunizations could translate into five deaths and 500 serious illnesses.

Those casualties might not occur. Though doctors have no recent experience with smallpox, it is possible that modern drugs and treatments could save more lives than in past epidemics.

But many infectious disease experts say that, if anything, the risk estimates could be understated. Since routine smallpox vaccination ended in the United States in 1972, millions of Americans have contracted illnesses that in theory make them more susceptible to complications. People at risk include those whose immune systems have been weakened by cancer or AIDS.

The smallpox push is reminiscent of an earlier vaccination episode that involved the anthrax vaccine. Again, it occurred in reaction to Saddam Hussein.

In December 1997, six years after the Persian Gulf War, the Pentagon announced that it had decided to vaccinate its 2.4 million solders and reservists against anthrax. It was unclear what prompted the decision. Iraq's program to make biological weapons had been exposed more than two years earlier, and Clinton Administration officials offered no public assessment of what new dangers existed, if any.

In time, the anthrax program turned into a public-relations disaster, with hundreds of soldiers refusing to take the shots and some even suing the government. One fear, discounted by federal officials, was that the vaccine can cause serious side effects, as medical experts agree that the smallpox vaccine did in the past and can do again today. Things may be different for the Bush administration's smallpox push. Dr. Zelicoff said he expected a public-education campaign by federal officials over the next few months to more clearly articulate the issues posed by what medical experts call history's worst killer.

"You have to understand the long-term benefits, which are enormous," Dr. Zelicoff said. "Thinkers in the administration are planning to make that argument publicly, and I believe the public will accept it once they see that the initial cadre of vaccinated people does all right."

http://www.nytimes.com/2002/12/14/politics/14THRE.html

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New York Times December 14, 2002

# North Korea's Nuclear Plans Called 'Unacceptable'; Bush Seeks A Diplomatic Solution

By Steven R. Weisman

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13 — President Bush and President Kim Dae Jung of South Korea today declared "unacceptable" North Korea's plans to reactivate an idled nuclear plant that is deemed capable of producing nuclear weapons. But the two leaders also committed themselves to resolving this particular nuclear crisis peacefully. The pledge by the two leaders came as the United States acknowledged that the nuclear threat posed by Iran — another of the three nations listed by the administration as part of the "axis of evil" — was advancing more swiftly than some experts had thought.

The developments again provided a contrast with the administration's approach on Iraq, which is singled out as a more serious danger that can be resolved only by the threat of military force. By contrast, administration officials argue that Iran and North Korea can be dealt with diplomatically.

The administration said newly released commercial satellite photographs showed that Iran was trying to hide two nuclear facilities, one in the central Iranian town of Nantax and another in nearby Arak.

Administration officials said they regarded these facilities as a serious violation of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, and that international authorities should be allowed to go into Iran to investigate. Both Iran and North Korea maintain that their facilities are for civilian purposes.

"The reports that you've seen of secret facilities in Iran reinforce our already grave concern that Iran is seeking technology to produce fissile material for nuclear weapons," said Richard A. Boucher, the State Department spokesman. He said the United States would work with other countries to get Iran to "refrain" from its program. On the North Korean issue, Mr. Bush and Mr. Kim, the South Korean leader, spoke briefly by telephone this morning, a day after North Korea's announcement of plans to reactivate a nuclear reactor. Secretary of State Colin L. Powell also conferred about North Korea with the foreign ministers of Russia, China and the European Union, according to administration officials.

Administration officials seemed jolted by North Korea's latest declaration. They made it clear, however, that by diplomatic resolution, they meant mainly an effort to exert pressure on the government of President Kim Jong II in Pyongyang, the North Korean capital.

The officials acknowledge, however, that American allies in the region — including Russia, Japan and South Korea — would be more inclined to coax along North Korea with offers of aid and other incentives than would Washington.

Ari Fleischer, the White House spokesman, reiterated the administration's hard-line view today, saying, "North Korea would like to have an expectation of the world that the more North Korea violates agreements, the more the world will double over backwards to placate North Korea, and the president will not do that.

"The president will not engage in allowing North Korea to violate its agreements and then have the world come rushing to North Korea to say, 'How can we help you?' " he added.

The administration's tough stance on North Korea is bound to remain controversial, however. Some experts said the confrontational approach actually made this week's announcement by North Korea inevitable. They said that after the United States pressed its allies to cut off aid to North Korea, the country would then order the removal of international inspectors from the nuclear plant that had been under inspection since 1994.

"This is not unexpected," said Donald P. Gregg, former ambassador to South Korea, and current president of the Korea Society, referring to North Korea's decision this week.

Mr. Gregg has visited North Korea twice in the past year. Unlike some other experts, he has argued that the North Korean leader is eager to work constructively with the West to end his country's isolation and should be encouraged to do so.

He said Russia, in particular, had developed a close relationship with Kim Jong II, in part because Russia would like to build an oil pipeline through the Korean peninsula to export its oil from Siberia. Japan and China should also be encouraged to work with North Korea to bring about a diplomatic solution to the current crisis, Mr. Gregg said. Administration officials acknowledge that they have had to accede to some of the sentiments of America's allies in Asia, not least because North Korea is capable of retaliating against those allies in the event of any American military strike of the kind being considered for Iraq.

The developments of the past few days have roiled South Korean politics and forced a kind of suspension in the diplomatic process with the North, administration officials say.

Many Korean political experts say that North Korea's latest decision, as well as the stopping of a North Korean ship bearing Scud missiles for Yemen, and the ship's subsequent release, would encourage the South Korean hawks.

On the other hand, anti-American sentiments are at a new high in South Korea because of the deaths in June of two South Korean teenage girls who were crushed by an American military vehicle. The deaths have hurt America's image and undercut the American demand for a more confrontational approach to North Korea.

Mr. Fleischer said today that Mr. Bush "conveyed his deep personal sadness and regret" over these deaths. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2002/12/14/international/asia/14KORE.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2002/12/14/international/asia/14KORE.html</a>

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Chicago Tribune December 15, 2002 Pg. 5

## Salmonella At Base Not Terror, U.S. Says

By Tribune News Services

CAMP DOHA, KUWAIT -- The salmonella outbreak at a U.S. military installation near here that affected 271 service members was a result of poor food preparation, not terrorism, officials said.

Col. Michael Doherty, chief of preventive medicine for the 3rd Medical Command, described the outbreak last week as an "isolated incident that was quickly contained." Thirteen people were hospitalized.

The incident occurred at Arifjan, about 35 miles south of Kuwait City. It is one of the newer bases where U.S. troops are housed while training for a possible war against Iraq.

http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/chi-0212150497dec15,1,3290481.story

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