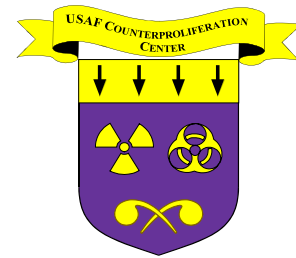


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USAF COUNTERPROLIFERATION CENTER

# CPC OUTREACH JOURNAL



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

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 [www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/awc-cps.htm](http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/awc-cps.htm) for in-depth information and specific points of contact. Please direct any questions or comments on CPC Outreach Journal to 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

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# Iraq and Weapons of Mass Destruction

National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 80

Edited by Jeffrey Richelson

December 20, 2002

. . . The documents presented in this electronic briefing book include the major unclassified U.S. and British assessments of Iraqi WMD programs, the reports of the IAEA and UNSCOM covering the final period prior to the 1998 expulsions, the transcript of a key speech by President George W. Bush, a recently released statement on U.S. policy towards combating WMD, and documents from the 1980s and 1990s concerning various aspects of Iraqi WMD activities.

<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB80/>

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Washington Post  
December 23, 2002  
Pg. 1

## Iraq 'Ready To Deal' With Questions

### *CIA Agents Invited to Visit; Issue of Interviewing Scientists Unsettled*

By Peter Baker, Washington Post Foreign Service

BAGHDAD, Iraq, Dec. 22 -- Iraq pronounced itself "ready to deal" with outstanding questions about its arms programs today, agreeing to allow scientists to be interviewed here without government officials present and even inviting CIA agents to visit suspected weapons sites.

Iraq, however, still would not commit to permitting scientists to be taken abroad for interviews, as the United States has demanded, and said it would supply no more documents to fill in the "gaps" found by U.N. inspectors in a 12,000-page declaration about its weapons programs submitted this month.

"We don't have any more," Gen. Amir Saadi, a top adviser to President Saddam Hussein, said at a news conference this evening. "We don't have any more documentation. But we are ready . . . to work and cooperate with" the inspectors.

"We do not even have any objection if the CIA sent somebody with the inspectors to show them the suspected sites," Saadi added.

The statements marked Iraq's most extensive response yet to the Bush administration's declaration three days ago that Iraq is in "material breach" of U.N. resolutions for failing to fully disclose its programs to develop weapons of mass destruction. Saadi denounced what he called American "lies and baseless allegations" and called for the inspectors to be allowed to work without pressure from the United States.

The pronouncement also underscored Iraq's strategy to head off war with U.S. forces gathering in the Persian Gulf. While standing by its assertion that it possesses no chemical, biological or nuclear weapons, Iraq has embraced the U.N. inspection process in an effort to undercut the credibility of U.S. claims and isolate the United States from would-be coalition partners around the world.

In contrast to the 1990s, when Iraqi officials routinely obstructed and denounced U.N. inspectors as dupes and spies, Hussein's aides have opened all doors and praised this latest round of examiners, even contending that their work has confirmed the Iraqi position. The Iraqi officials have all but ignored criticism by the chief inspector, Hans Blix, that their declaration was incomplete, and instead have in effect portrayed the U.N. team as an ally against reckless U.S. warmongering.

"Iraqis are calculating, 'Let's do all we are asked for and then there will be no pretext for war' -- or at least real reason for war understood by other players in the world," said a diplomat here. "I was told that [government officials] were told if an inspector wants to lick your mouth, you open your mouth and wait for him to finish."

"Iraq will go to the extreme of cooperation with the U.N. weapons inspectors as we will never give the American and British governments the pretext they are looking forward to get in order to start their unfair war against our country," Iraqi Trade Minister Mohammed Mehdi Saleh told the Gulf News during a visit to the United Arab Emirates.

As part of the strategy, Iraq continued to woo its Arab neighbors today by making another gesture to Kuwait, the tiny neighboring emirate it invaded in 1990, setting off the Persian Gulf War.

Iraq returned a load of stolen paintings, carpets and other items owned by the Kuwaiti royal family during a meeting at a border post. Hussein last month apologized to Kuwait for the invasion and has agreed to renew long-frozen talks next month on the fate of Kuwaitis who went missing during the occupation.

So far, though, the strategy has met with limited success. Even Hussein seemed frustrated today that Iraq has not been able to rally international opinion against the United States. "We have told the world we are not producing these kind of weapons, but it seems that the world is drugged, absent or in a weak position," he told a delegation from Belarus, according to an Iraqi news agency.

The latest maneuvering came as most of the international nuclear inspectors left the country after nearly wrapping up the first stage of their work. Chemical and biological inspectors remained in Iraq.

A U.N. official reported that specialists from the International Atomic Energy Agency took air, soil and water samples from 27 sites over the past three weeks and are awaiting results to determine whether tests show any indication that Iraq has continued work to develop a nuclear bomb.

Thirteen nuclear inspectors packed up and left today, and two others flew out a few days ago, leaving just six behind. The IAEA team has come close to completing its preliminary inspections of all known sites and will begin "a more investigative phase" in which it will study procurement files, factory inventories and consumption records in an effort to compare them with previous data, said U.N. spokesman Hiro Ueki.

Iraq tried to portray this as an indication that it had been essentially cleared on the question of nuclear weapons, even though the atomic energy agency officials have made no public determinations. "We don't have a problem with IAEA," Saadi said. "We're not concerned about the nuclear file. It is closed for all intents and purposes."

In responding to the U.S. statements last week, Saadi ridiculed some of the assertions as "rehashed allegations" from long-ago reports by U.N. inspectors, who he said tried to tamper with chemical samples to falsify results.

Saadi acknowledged that Iraq tried to procure crude uranium oxide known as "yellow cake" in the mid-1980s but said no further purchases were made. He said that Iraq developed 1.5 tons of VX nerve agent in 1990, but that the material degraded rapidly and the program was abandoned. U.S. reports have said Iraq produced 3.9 tons, but Saadi did not address the discrepancy.

The Iraqi government today signaled more flexibility in meeting demands for interviews with scientists. "We believe in most cases they would want to conduct interviews here privately without the presence of Iraqis," Saadi said.

"Okay. We have no objections." But taking them overseas, he added, still "raises so many pitfalls" that Iraq is not yet ready to agree.

The degree to which Iraqis are trying to declare common cause with Blix's inspection team has been striking. Saadi chastised Secretary of State Colin L. Powell and British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw today, accusing them of impeding the inspections. "Why don't they let the specialized organs of the United Nations get on with their task? Why interfere in their work in this crude fashion?"

If it were left up to the inspectors, Saadi said, Iraq could work out a peaceful settlement of the issue. "If, as we are given to understand, they are professional, they are not in anybody's pocket and they would look at all questions objectively, we believe we can reach understanding."

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A27239-2002Dec22.html>

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New York Times  
December 23, 2002  
Pg. 1

## **North Korea Says It Regains Access To Its Plutonium**

By David E. Sanger and James Dao

WASHINGTON, Dec. 22 — North Korea said today that it had removed the equipment that international inspectors installed more than eight years ago to make sure that it would not make use of its large stockpile of plutonium to produce nuclear weapons. Bush administration officials said they feared that North Korea could use that plutonium to manufacture five or six nuclear weapons within months.

The action, coming one day after North Korea took similar monitoring equipment off a nuclear reactor, intensifies the crisis over North Korea's nuclear capability, at a moment when President Bush has tried to focus the world's attention on the threat posed by Iraq. It also poses a challenge to the newly elected government in South Korea.

Several outside experts — and a few Bush administration officials speaking on background this evening — said North Korea might now be able to create a small nuclear arsenal in the coming year, assuming it has the technical ability to engineer a working nuclear weapon.

The removal of surveillance cameras and seals from a pond where spent nuclear fuel rods are stored essentially puts Mr. Bush in the same position where President Bill Clinton was in 1994, when North Korea threatened to turn its plutonium into additional weaponry. By that time, the Central Intelligence Agency already believed that North Korea had separated enough plutonium to produce two nuclear weapons.

Mr. Clinton responded to the threat by reinforcing American troops on the Korean Peninsula and considered a plan to bomb the nuclear site at Yongbyon, before the situation was defused in a negotiated settlement. That settlement is now shattered, and some administration officials are clearly worried that Mr. Bush may face a crisis in North Korea at the very moment he is sending tens of thousands of troops to the Middle East. "We still think Saddam is the bigger threat," one senior official said tonight, "but there is no question that the North Koreans, who already have superior firepower, may soon be in a position to threaten to deploy or sell its nuclear capability. Iraq is a long way from that."

North Korea's move was immediately condemned by the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency, which acknowledged that without the surveillance equipment it could not guarantee that the plutonium "has not been diverted to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices."

The Bush administration's public reaction was far more muted, consistent with its effort in recent weeks to play down the North Korean threat and to say nothing that might provoke a military crisis in the region. Still, several senior officials seemed stunned that North Korea had moved so quickly to escalate its confrontation with the West, and particularly with the United States.

"The 8,000-odd spent fuel rods are of particular concern because they could be reprocessed to recover plutonium for nuclear weapons," Louis Fintor, a State Department spokesman, said today, referring to the fuel rods that the Central Intelligence Agency estimates contain a total of about 30 kilograms, or 66 pounds, of plutonium. "They have no relevance for the generation of electricity."

Mr. Fintor was referring to North Korea's claims last week that it would have to restart its nuclear reactor to make up for energy lost because oil shipments from the West had been suspended. Under pressure from Washington, Japan, South Korea and the European Union decided last month to hold up those shipments because North Korea had admitted to violating the nuclear freeze agreement it signed in 1994.

North Korea's acknowledgment of its program came in October, when American officials visiting Pyongyang, North Korea's capital, confronted their hosts with evidence that the country was trying to enrich uranium. North Korea has so far refused to allow inspectors to see that program in operation, demanding that that United States first negotiate a new accord with it.

So far, Mr. Bush has refused. But the action today creates new pressure on the administration either to negotiate with North Korea or risk a military confrontation. In 1994, Mr. Clinton considered a military strike on the nuclear complex at Yongbyon if it appeared that North Korea was trying to reprocess its spent fuel rods into bomb-grade plutonium.

"There was every indication at that time that President Clinton would have used force rather than allow the North Koreans to separate more plutonium to produce nuclear weapons," Robert L. Gallucci, Mr. Clinton's chief negotiator with North Korea, said today.

"I wouldn't advocate the use of military force now," said Mr. Gallucci, dean of the school of foreign service at Georgetown University. "But the administration has put itself in a very difficult spot, because its philosophical position against negotiations, its embrace of moral clarity, denies them the option of dealing with this issue through negotiations."

Speaking on "Fox News Sunday," Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr., Democrat of Delaware and the departing chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said "this is a greater danger immediately to U.S. interests at this very moment, in my view, than Saddam Hussein is."

He added: "If they lift the seals on these canisters, they're going to be able to build four to five additional nuclear weapons within months if they begin that reprocessing operation."

A senior administration official said today that no one was looking at tougher measures against North Korea, like a blockade or economic penalties. But he warned, despite Mr. Bush's recent assurances that he had no intention of invading North Korea, that the United States might have to consider "nondiplomatic" actions if the North moved much closer to building new weapons.

Even before the announcement today, the administration was concerned about North Korea's actions, though there is disagreement within the administration about whether Kim Jong Il, the North Korean leader, is seeking to force

Washington to the negotiating table, or to exploit a growing disagreement between Washington and South Korea over how to handle the North.

Secretary of State Colin L. Powell called his counterparts in China, Russia and South Korea on Saturday to seek support for the administration's strategy. So far, that strategy has been one of insisting that North Korea give up its nuclear ambitions, and allow international inspectors full run of the country, before the United States would enter into talks about improving relations.

At the time Mr. Powell spoke, North Korea had already told the I.A.E.A. that it was removing surveillance devices from its nuclear reactor. Administration officials considered that move a carefully modulated effort to raise the stakes, because it would take a year to 18 months before the reactor was back online and able to produce enough plutonium to begin a bomb project.

This morning, administration officials were saying they doubted North Korea would take the provocative step of disabling the monitors and seals at the pond where spent fuel is stored. However, within hours, North Korea had done exactly that.

Just how quickly North Korea could turn that spent fuel into reprocessed plutonium is debated among technical experts. But Mr. Gallucci noted today that in 1994, "the top priority I was given was to get hold of that spent fuel and get it shipped out of the country, because it represented the biggest risk."

South Korean analysts noted North Korea's history of trying to drive a wedge between South Korea and the United States. And they predicted even more provocative actions in the coming weeks, as North Korea seems emboldened by growing anti-American sentiment in South Korea. "In the past, confrontation tactics by the North Korean government would typically drive the South Korean government into the arms of the United States," said Nicholas Eberstadt, a Korea expert at the American Enterprise Institute. "It hasn't been happening that way in the last few months. So why not try more?"

Until this weekend, supporters of re-engaging North Korea had been heartened by the victory of Roh Moo Hyun in South Korea's presidential election. Mr. Roh has been a strong advocate of the reconciliation policy toward North Korea and a frequent critic of American power. But the North's latest actions may have tipped the balance decisively against the engagement camp, administration officials said.

On Capitol Hill, pressure is coming from both sides of the debate.

On Sunday, Senator Richard G. Lugar, a centrist Republican from Indiana who will become chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in January, argued that renewing talks with North Korea was the best way to defuse tensions. But on Friday, even before North Korea's actions were known, Arizona's Republican senators, Jon Kyl and John McCain, urged the Bush administration to avoid new negotiations until North Korea eliminates its weapons program.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/12/23/international/asia/23KORE.html?todaysh headlines>

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Washington Times  
December 22, 2002  
Pg. 1

## **Pakistani Offered Nuke Aid To Iraq**

By Dafna Linzer, Associated Press

NEW YORK — A middleman claiming to represent the father of Pakistan's nuclear program offered Iraq help in building an atomic bomb on the eve of the Persian Gulf war, according to U.N. documents, diplomats and former weapons inspectors.

Former inspectors, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, said Pakistani officials did not cooperate when the U.N. nuclear agency tried in the mid-1990s to investigate whether the scientist was behind the proposal.

The former inspectors stopped short of saying Pakistan's government was involved in the offer to help Iraq build a nuclear weapon.

The offer, made by an unidentified agent purportedly speaking on behalf of nuclear scientist Abdul Qadeer Khan, was shown to the Associated Press. The revelation follows news reports in the fall that Pakistan had assisted North Korea's nuclear program.

U.N. inspectors currently are poring over Iraq's latest arms declaration, looking for clues to its nuclear, chemical and biological weapons programs and any omissions in its report.

Pakistan denies any link to Pyongyang or Baghdad, and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Christina Rocca last week said President Pervez Musharraf has given his assurance that nothing is being given to North Korea.

Mr. Khan is in Pakistan and serves as a special adviser to Gen. Musharraf. Calls for comment from Mr. Khan in Islamabad went unanswered yesterday.

Pakistan is one of three Asian nations known to have nuclear arms. China and India are the others. Pakistan, a key U.S. ally in the war against terrorism, is poised to join the U.N. Security Council next month.

"This is a blatant lie," said Mansoor Suhail, spokesman for the Pakistani mission to the United Nations, speaking about the pre-war offer to aid Iraq's nuclear effort.

In a statement issued later, Mr. Suhail's office said: "Many of the actual truths may never come out," because Iraq's recent nuclear-arms declaration to the United Nations has been circulated only to the Security Council's five permanent members: the United States, Russia, France, China and Britain.

U.N. officials, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, said Iraq didn't accept the offer from Pakistan and didn't mention it in its latest arms declaration. The offer also is not mentioned in a previous declaration that Iraq made in 1996, which AP recently reviewed.

U.N. inspectors discovered the offer in 1995 in more than 1 million Iraqi intelligence documents they found at an Iraqi storage facility.

Among the documents was a letter dated Oct. 6, 1990 — two months after Iraq invaded Kuwait — in which Iraq's secret service wrote to Iraq's nuclear-weapons department: "We've enclosed for you the following proposal from Pakistani scientist, Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, regarding the possibility of helping Iraq establish a project to enrich uranium and manufacture nuclear weapons."

According to the letter, the Iraqis were told by a middleman that Mr. Khan was "prepared to give us project designs for nuclear bombs." The middleman would "ensure any requirements of materials from Western European companies, via a company he owns in Dubai," in the United Arab Emirates, it added.

According to the letter, the motive was profit for the Pakistani nuclear scientist and the middleman. Such sales and help would have violated U.N. sanctions, imposed after the Iraqi invasion, and international nuclear controls.

The International Atomic Energy Agency said it never has identified the middleman because Iraq would not provide more details. The agency tried to track down Mr. Khan and interview him after it discovered the letter, but former inspectors on the team said Pakistan repeatedly frustrated those attempts.

Pakistan said it had investigated on its own and determined that the letter was a fraud by an individual with no connection to the government.

Mr. Khan was employed until 1975 at Urenco, a European consortium that worked on uranium enrichment in the Netherlands. Iraq said in its nuclear declaration that German experts had sold it several centrifuge drawings stolen from Urenco.

Mr. Khan later worked for the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission. In 1976, he took control of the uranium-enrichment project, reporting directly to the prime minister's office.

Under Mr. Khan's supervision, Pakistani scientists completed the necessary enrichment work that led to the successful detonation of Pakistan's first nuclear device in May 1998.

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Washington Post  
December 22, 2002  
Pg. 11

## **Bush Receives Smallpox Vaccination**

By Mike Allen, Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush, following through on a startling vow he made a week earlier, was vaccinated against smallpox in private yesterday and showed no immediate side effects, the White House said.

The military began administering 500,000 smallpox inoculations this month, and Bush said he took the shot in his role as commander in chief but does not recommend it for the general public.

"He understands there are a lot of things we ask our military to do that the commander in chief doesn't do," a senior administration official said. "But he felt this was unique and thought it would send a good signal to the troops -- that he understands the sacrifices that they make."

The official said Bush's decision was also an effort to head off a repeat of the resistance among some members of the military to anthrax vaccinations after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001.



Routine smallpox vaccinations were discontinued in the United States in 1972, and the virus, deadly and highly contagious, was declared eradicated in 1980. But the war on terrorism has revived government fears about its use as a biological weapon. United Nations weapons inspectors have investigated whether Iraq has tried to turn the virus into a weapon.

The administration is suggesting the shots for medical professionals and emergency workers who could come into contact with smallpox. It plans to make the vaccine available by summer to healthy American adults who want it. But the administration is discouraging inoculations for the general public because of the potential side effects, which can be fatal.

Administration officials announced Bush's vaccination after he arrived at Camp David, where he will remain through Christmas. Bush was vaccinated in the White House's medical unit, an official said.

News organizations were not invited to photograph the vaccination, and the official said that was to avoid undermining the message that health and national security experts do not believe vaccination is necessary for the general public.

Bush said on Dec. 13 that his staff and his family would not get the shot.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A23379-2002Dec21.html>

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Washington Post  
December 24, 2002  
Pg. 1

## **Iran, N. Korea Nuclear Plans Pose New Risk**

### ***Both Achieved Progress That Went Undetected***

By Joby Warrick, Washington Post Staff Writer

The recent disclosures of secret nuclear facilities in Iran and North Korea -- combined with the North's threat this week to resume plutonium production -- have presented the United States with its most serious nuclear challenge since the early 1990s. The episodes have not only forced a reassessment of when the two countries could become nuclear powers but also exposed widening gaps in the international fire walls built decades ago to halt the spread of nuclear materials and technology, weapons experts say.

U.S. officials had long suspected Iran and North Korea of quietly seeking uranium-based nuclear arms. But what was most startling about the revelations of the past few weeks was how much the two countries managed to achieve before anyone noticed, the experts added.

For example, Iran's secret nuclear program was disguised for two years as a water irrigation project in the country's northern desert. Two weeks ago, satellite photos revealed construction near the town of Natanz that U.S. officials say apparently is designed not for pumping water but for enriching uranium.

North Korea agreed in a 1994 pact with the Clinton administration to stop pursuit of a plutonium bomb. But then it created a hidden uranium program and disguised it so well that intelligence officials are still not sure of its location. Accounts by defectors in a recent congressional report point to at least one underground factory in tunnels in Mount Chonma, on the Chinese border. Production of enriched uranium, which would be necessary to make a weapon, appears to be underway, according to the defectors cited by the Congressional Research Service.

The disclosures have spawned new worries that other countries will be drawn into an accelerating arms race just as the Bush administration prepares for a possible conflict with Iraq. The United States has accused Iraq of trying to develop weapons of mass destruction, which Iraq has denied. While the scope of any Iraqi nuclear program is still not known, U.S. officials acknowledge that, if it exists, it is probably far less advanced than those in Iran or North Korea.

"For everyone who hoped that nuclear weapons were somehow receding from international politics, we're now seeing them come back again, in part because of our own failed policies," said Graham Allison, director of Harvard University's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. "If North Korea becomes a nuclear state, you can predict that in short order South Korea and Japan may become nuclear states also. After that you've got a devil's brew."

"Just try to imagine," Allison added, "what the Middle East will be like with another nuclear actor."

Even before the recent disclosures, many weapons experts were alarmed by nuclear tests conducted by India and Pakistan in May 1998. The experts have also expressed concern about recent U.S. willingness to consider new uses for nuclear bombs, such as the destruction of heavily fortified bunkers.

"The nuclear issue is back again in a way it hasn't been around since the 1950s," said Andrei Kokoshin, a Russian legislator and an adviser to former president Boris Yeltsin on military and security issues. "There is a great probability that arsenals will grow and new countries will acquire weapons. And we are simply not prepared for it." In the early 1960s, President John F. Kennedy's advisers made fearful predictions of a world perpetually on the brink, as nuclear weapons and know-how spread to dozens of nations on every continent. But in the decades since, membership in the nuclear club has been restrained, thanks to a combination of international monitoring, superpower pressure and strict controls on the export of sensitive technology and material.

Today, in addition to the original five nuclear powers -- the United States, Russia, Britain, France and China -- only India and Pakistan have declared arsenals of nuclear weapons. Israel is widely assumed to have the bomb, and North Korea is believed to have one or two nuclear devices, according to CIA analysts. South Africa built a bomb in the 1970s but later renounced its nuclear program.

Other nations have sought nuclear weapons, including Iran, Iraq and North Korea. But the technical difficulties inherent in creating fissile material -- plutonium or enriched uranium -- combined with restrictions on nuclear-related exports, helped put the bomb out of their reach. Although clandestine development of nuclear weapons was possible, as Iraq demonstrated in the early 1990s with its crash program to build a bomb, Western intelligence agencies were proficient at spotting the distinctive nuclear reactors and large reprocessing facilities required for making plutonium-based weapons.

Strikingly, both North Korea and Iran managed to fool Western spy satellites by apparently choosing uranium as their fissile material. European technology for enriching uranium for bombs has spread globally in recent years. The technology requires less production space and thus is easier to conceal, weapons experts and intelligence officials say.

"With plutonium you have big production reactors and lots of signs and signals that give you away," said Rose Gottemoeller, formerly deputy undersecretary for defense nuclear non-proliferation in the Department of Energy and now a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "It is possible to build a uranium plant without giving off any signals to the outside world."

In addition, both countries appear to be benefiting from relationships with other countries that possess nuclear know-how and are increasingly willing to share it, weapons experts said.

"The spread of enrichment technology was predicted 25 years ago, and now it seems to be happening," said Leonard S. Spector, a deputy director of the Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies. "There seems to be networking among the bad guys -- the technology holders who are perceived as proliferation threats. They're not just keeping it at home, they're sharing it. We haven't seen that before."

U.S. intelligence officials believe North Korea obtained uranium-enrichment technology and equipment from Pakistan in exchange for missiles. The reclusive North Korean government, which had halted its pursuit of a plutonium bomb under the agreement with the Clinton administration, is believed to have begun secretly building a uranium enrichment plant in the late 1990s using hundreds of fast-spinning devices known as gas centrifuges. Pakistan has denied aiding North Korea's nuclear efforts.

In late September, the North Koreans acknowledged the existence of a secret uranium program after Assistant Secretary of States James A. Kelly confronted them with evidence during a meeting in Pyongyang. Tensions have risen in recent weeks, culminating in North Korea's decision to rescind its agreement not to develop plutonium bombs.

If North Korea begins full production of nuclear weapons, it could develop up to five plutonium bombs from its existing stocks of reactor fuel, and could begin production of uranium-based weapons as early as 2004, according to a recent analysis by the Washington-based Nonproliferation Policy Education Center.

Iran's suppliers are less well-known, although U.S. intelligence officials suspect the Tehran government received help from Russian and Ukrainian companies, and possibly from China. The evidence of Iran's program came in the form of commercial satellite photos depicting two suspicious construction projects. One of them -- the "desert eradication" project near the town of Natanz -- has all the markings of a uranium enrichment plant, including eight-foot concrete outer walls to protect the facility against an attack, said David Albright, a former nuclear inspector for the International Atomic Energy Agency, the U.N.-chartered agency that monitors nuclear facilities in scores of nations. The Natanz site and another facility near the town of Arak were first reported by opponents of the Iranian government outside the country in August.

Albright said he believes that strengthened international inspections requested by the IAEA in the 1990s could have detected the facilities sooner, and might prevent others from being developed.



"There's nothing that Iran is doing that would not be caught under [enhanced] inspections," said Albright, whose nonprofit Institute for Science and International Security released the satellite photos.

Other weapons experts say current international controls on proliferation are inadequate to prevent the kinds of violations committed by Iran and North Korea. Not only do the rules allow cheating, but they offer few tools for dealing with problem states, said Henry D. Sokolski, director of the Nonproliferation Policy Education Center. For example, it is currently difficult to prevent such nations as Iran from acquiring the capacity to develop nuclear weapons as long as they do not cross the line into production, he said.

"There is no handbook, no clear enforcement features in the treaties," Sokolski said. "Now that we have, or are about to have, violations, we have to decide what to do. And what we decide to do today will decide what, if anything, will be done with future violators -- and indeed, the fate of the treaties being violated."

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A31490-2002Dec23.html>

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Washington Post  
December 24, 2002  
Pg. 10

## **Iraqi Scientists Quizzed In Private**

### ***U.N. Inspectors Try to Discover Extent of Nuclear Weapons Work***

By Colum Lynch, Washington Post Staff Writer

UNITED NATIONS, Dec. 23 -- The United Nations' nuclear arms watchdog has begun conducting closed-door interviews with Iraq's atomic energy experts, marking a critical new stage in the U.N. effort to verify Baghdad's claims that it has destroyed its most lethal weapons of mass destruction, according to a spokesman for the agency. Drawing from a list of hundreds of Iraqi officials linked to Iraq's former nuclear weapons program, officials from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) are seeking to determine whether Baghdad secretly began rebuilding that program after U.N. inspectors left the country in December 1998 on the eve of a U.S.-British bombing campaign.

While IAEA inspectors have routinely questioned Iraqi scientists at former nuclear weapons sites since they resumed inspections last month, this is the first time that they have asserted their right to conduct face-to-face interviews with individuals without the presence of an Iraqi government minder. It sets the U.N.'s nuclear sleuths ahead of their counterparts at the U.N. Monitoring Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC), who have yet to conduct confidential interviews with Iraq's biological, chemical weapons and ballistic missile experts.

"We are moving from an information-gathering phase to a more probing, investigative phase," the IAEA's chief spokesman, Mark Gwozdecki, said in a telephone interview from the agency's Vienna headquarters. "We can't talk about who, how or how many," he said of the scientists being questioned.

White House and State Department officials, meanwhile, dismissed an offer by Iraq this weekend to let CIA officials visit Iraq to participate in inspections and therefore, presumably, interviews. "It's nonsense," said one U.S. official. "The focus should be on Iraq coming clean."

But Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld would not rule out the possibility. "I don't know what the United States might consider doing," he said. "I suppose they invited intelligence people. And as I recall, I suppose the [intelligence] community is thinking about that at the present time."

The Bush administration has stepped up pressure on Mohammed ElBaradei, the Egyptian director general of the IAEA, and Hans Blix, the Swedish executive chairman of UNMOVIC, to speed the pace of inspections and to exercise their authority to question some Iraqi specialists outside the country, where they can speak freely without the fear of reprisals.

ElBaradei said in a recent interview that he would interview Iraqi scientists abroad if he received assurances from Washington that they could obtain political asylum or return safely to Iraq. "We are now in the process of interviewing people inside Iraq in private," ElBaradei added today in an interview with CNN. "But we are also working on the practical arrangements to take people out of Iraq."

Although Iraq's nuclear weapons program was largely destroyed by U.N. inspectors after the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the CIA and Britain's Joint Intelligence Committee believe that Baghdad has resumed its efforts, engaging in an intensive covert operation since 1998 to procure uranium and components that could be used in a nuclear weapons program. They have also raised concerns that Iraq has brought its nuclear weapons team back together.

"In the absence of inspections, however, most analysts assess that Iraq is reconstituting its nuclear program -- unraveling the IAEA's hard-earned accomplishments," according to a recent CIA report.

While the IAEA declined to name Iraqi specialists who have been questioned, officials said several individuals would be obvious subjects. Jaafar Dhia Jaafar, credited by U.N. specialists with heading up Iraq's covert nuclear weapons program, and Mahdi Obeidi, a uranium enrichment specialist, are central figures in Iraq's secret nuclear weapons program.

Jaafar was part of a senior Iraqi delegation that met numerous times with ElBaradei and Blix in New York and Vienna this year. Following one of those visits, Iraq's U.N. ambassador, Mohammed Douri, complained that the United States approached three members of the Iraqi delegation with an offer of political asylum. The offer was rejected, he said. But it remains unclear whether Jaafar was among those who had been contacted by the United States.

Pakistan, meanwhile, denied reports that the father of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program, Abdul Qadeer Khan, offered to help Iraq build a nuclear weapon in 1990. The Associated Press and the Times of London, citing U.N. documents, reported that an unidentified middleman, claiming to represent Khan, made the offer on the eve of the Gulf War. The IAEA maintained that Iraq never accepted the offer, according to the reports.

"We find it preposterous," said Mansoor Suhail, a spokesman for the Pakistani mission to the United Nations. "No responsible Pakistani scientist would enter into a nuclear deal with any country."

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A31456-2002Dec23.html>

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Washington Times  
December 24, 2002  
Pg. 1

## **As War Nears, Israel Prepares For Iraq Hits**

By Abraham Rabinovich, The Washington Times

JERUSALEM — The radar waves scanning the eastern sky from the Holy Land this Christmas season are not searching for a star guiding the three wise men; they are warming up to detect missiles from Saddam Hussein. In the coming days, Israel will decide whether to inoculate the entire population against smallpox, and this week it began distributing gas masks to schoolchildren, all in preparation for a U.S. war against Iraq.

With war increasingly likely, the Jewish state is preparing for Iraq to strike as it did in the 1991 Gulf war, when it fired 39 Scud missiles at Israeli population centers.

Then, all the missiles had conventional warheads, but Israel fears this time Saddam will use chemical or biological weapons.

The Health Ministry has inoculated 15,000 to 20,000 medical and rescue workers against the smallpox virus and has enough immunizations to vaccinate the 6.6 million population, Boaz Lev, the ministry's director-general, told Army Radio yesterday. He said the ministry can inoculate the population in a few days.

"The Cabinet will have to decide in the next few days. It all depends on how possible the scenario is," said Raanan Gissin, an aide to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. "We are now covering all possible contingencies, and this is another element of it."

Israeli officials reportedly have been notified by Washington that an allied strike against Iraq can be expected between the end of January and the end of February. The Israeli Home Front Command, responsible for the civilian population, is expected to go on full alert in mid-January.

More than 1,000 American soldiers have arrived in Israel in the past few days to set up Patriot missile batteries that would attempt to destroy Iraqi missiles fired at Israel.

The Patriots would serve as backup to the Arrow anti-missile missiles developed by Israel.

The Arrow, never yet used operationally, has a longer range than the Patriot and could, theoretically, intercept missiles long before they enter Israeli airspace.

This is of particular importance if chemical or biological warheads are involved because the fallout would not be on Israeli territory. If the Arrows miss, the Patriots would be a backup.

Israeli newspapers were plastered yesterday with headlines on preparations for an Iraqi attack.

"The Israeli army has chosen targets to attack in Iraq," a front-page headline in the Maariv newspaper declared, using "Preparing for Red Hail" logos on several pages dedicated to the issue.

Yediot Ahronot, another mass-circulation Israeli newspaper, dedicated the first half of the newspaper to stories on Israel's preparations, including a nearly full-page graphic instructing the public on what to do in different scenarios, among them a chemical attack.

Defense Minister Shaul Mofaz said Israel would be warned by the United States of an impending attack. He said Israel is better prepared than it was in 1991 to deal with an Iraqi threat.

"We are on the outside of this war, at least at this stage, but it must be remembered that if the United States decides to attack, there are also dangers to the state of Israel," Mr. Mofaz told Israeli radio.

With the threat of war with Iraq and the ongoing Palestinian uprising, the West Bank town of Bethlehem, where the Christmas story began, has not even permitted itself the illusion of holiday spirit this year.

Manger Square, in the heart of Bethlehem, is without decoration. Dozens of souvenir shops and restaurants remain shut. Hotels and inns are empty.

The Israeli army has lifted the curfew on the city for the holiday, and arrangements have been made to permit Christians from outside the city to pass through the military checkpoints for the day.

"I hope that God will help us have a peaceful celebration," said Bishop Aristorchus of the Jerusalem Inter-Church Committee.

<http://www.washtimes.com/world/20021224-37138500.htm>

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## Israeli Public Won't Get Smallpox Vaccine

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Filed at 3:26 p.m. ET

JERUSALEM (AP) -- Israel's Health Ministry decided Wednesday not to vaccinate the public against smallpox, citing security services' determination that there is no strong threat of an Iraqi biological attack now.

Israel has vaccinated about 15,000 health and rescue personnel against smallpox in recent weeks because of the growing threat of war between the United States and Iraq.

There are fears a U.S. attack would lead Saddam Hussein's regime to strike at Israel, possibly with biological or chemical weapons. The Iraqis fired 39 Scud missiles at Israel during the 1991 Gulf War, but none carried chemical or biological warheads.

However, after consultations with Israeli and American security officials, the Health Ministry concluded Iraq probably does not have both the smallpox virus and the capability to use it in an attack on Israel, director Boaz Lev said Wednesday.

"In all the models we built and checked, the possibility of a strike ... if there any such possibility at all, is very low," Lev said.

Despite the decision, the ministry will complete a plan for handling a public vaccination in case the situation changes, spokesman Ido Hadari said. He said an outbreak of smallpox somewhere in the world or new security findings about Iraq's capabilities would prompt a reconsideration.

Officials say Israel has enough smallpox vaccine for the entire population of 6.6 million.

Smallpox, once one of the most feared epidemic diseases in the world, killed hundreds of millions of people over the centuries before an international vaccination campaign ended outbreaks. The last case was reported in 1977.

<http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/international/AP-Israel-Smallpox.html>

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Christian Science Monitor

December 24, 2002

## Risk Of Terrorism To Nation's Food Supply

*New research shows how easily livestock and crops could be hit by 'agroterrorists.'*

By Brad Knickerbocker, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Terrorist attacks typically are thought of as coming in the form of high explosives or poisonous chemicals aimed at persons and symbols of power - military and government facilities, economic centerpieces.

But what if the targets were ranchers or farmers, those tending lonely herds of cattle or amber waves of grain? How vulnerable is the US to "agroterrorism," and what's being done to prevent it?

Experts say US crops and livestock - a \$193 billion industry - could easily be attacked by devastating diseases.

"Biological agents that could be used to harm crops or livestock are widely available and pose a major threat to US agriculture," says Harley Moon, professor of veterinary medicine at Iowa State University and chair of the National Research Council (NRC) committee that wrote a recent report on the subject.

Many farmers are concerned as well.

"I am not worried about weapons of mass destruction," says Wayne Hooks, who raises cattle and sheep and grows tobacco, corn, soybeans and other crops near Myrtle Beach, S.C. "I am concerned about the vulnerability of our food supply to low-tech assaults."

Compared with airliners-turned-into-bombs or weapons of mass destruction, biological attacks on crops and farms animals would be easy to carry out.

Plant viruses, fungi, and bacteria are easier to obtain than, say, "weaponized" anthrax aimed at people, and they're easier to spread via winds and carrier insects. A few doses of foot-and-mouth disease could spread quickly, appearing as a natural occurrence and without the moral taint of attacking innocent civilians.

"Although an attack with such agents is highly unlikely to result in famine or malnutrition, the possible damage includes major direct and indirect costs to agricultural and national economy, adverse public-health effects ... loss of public confidence in the food system and in public officials, and widespread public concern and confusion," the NRC report concluded recently after two years of studying the issue.

There has been one case of bioterrorism in the US in recent years. In 1984, an outbreak of salmonella food poisoning at 10 salad bars in rural Oregon eventually was linked to cult leader Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh. The group had hoped to take over county government by preventing local citizens from voting.

#### **The cost to society**

Germany, Japan, Britain, the United States - all experimented with biological weapons aimed at crops and livestock during the world wars of the 20th century. More recently, the former Soviet Union had a large agroterrorism program, and some fear that Russian scientists - notoriously underpaid - may be tempted to share their knowledge with terrorist organizations.

The idea was to attack an enemy's food sources in wartime, but it proved difficult on a large scale. But it's easier when the goal is to terrorize a society by creating a health scare.

That was certainly the case with Britain's experience with foot-and-mouth disease (FMD), reports the NRC:

"The social and psychological effects of the FMD outbreak in Great Britain on farmers, rural communities, children, and the general public were traumatic. The stresses on individuals, families, and communities are both immediate and long-term and include the uncertainty and fear of what the future may bring, distrust of government and science, isolation ... and feelings of hopelessness."

Such weapons have never been widely used - fear of retaliation in kind, for one thing. But with stateless terrorism now a major threat to the US and other countries, concern is mounting that such an attack could be aimed at disrupting economies and sowing public fear.

Not just farmers and ranchers would be affected.

"A single intentional event could ripple through agriculture and cripple it, costing billions of dollars," says John Shutske, farm safety and health specialist with the University of Minnesota Extension Service.

There's also concern that agroterrorism could harm nature and humans as well.

"The use of biological weapons against livestock populations or agricultural crops could have potentially disastrous spillover effects on wild species of plants and animals," warn Joseph Dudley and Michael Woodford, writing in last July's issue of the journal *BioScience*.

"Many of the currently available bioweapon pathogens are broad-spectrum diseases that are capable of causing high levels of mortality or morbidity among wild and domesticated species of animals, as well as human beings."

#### **Potential responses**

The Bush administration (and the Clinton administration before it) has taken several steps to counter the threat, including more money for US Department of Agriculture (USDA) research programs under the Bioterrorism Protection Act of 2002.

Adding to the importance of the issue, the USDA's Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service is being shifted to the new Department of Homeland Security.

For farmers, says Mr. Shutske, protecting against agroterrorism can include such simple steps as checking the background of farm workers and locking gates.

Still, it may not be enough.

"These diseases can be very scary, and they can cause a loss of consumer confidence," says California state veterinarian Richard Breitmeyer.

"But we have to be realistic. We can't spend enough to completely lock down agriculture." At the moment, California - one of the nation's largest farm states - has only 30 state veterinarians to assess and deal with the threat of bioterrorism.

But it may require more than defensive measures.

The way of American agriculture has meant fewer and fewer genetic strains along with massive agrobusinesses that pack together tens of thousands of animals - increasing vulnerability to disease.

"Imagine the impact if terrorists could introduce cholera to just a few hog farms or could introduce corn blight," says Mr. Hooks.

"While terrorism has seemingly focused on spectacular attempts such as the World Trade Center or the bombing in Bali, I think we are underrating our adversaries if we do not think they are subtle," says Hooks.

"While we are protecting against the overt acts of terrorism, bioterrorism has the potential to do so much more damage than a thousand suicide bombers."

[http://www.csmonitor.com/search\\_content/1224/p02s01-usgn.html](http://www.csmonitor.com/search_content/1224/p02s01-usgn.html)

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Washington Times  
December 26, 2002  
Pg. 1

## **North Korea Readies Nuclear Reactor**

### ***U.S. insists facility must not be brought on line to produce weapons***

By Combined Dispatches

VIENNA, Austria — The U.N. nuclear watchdog agency said yesterday North Korea had moved fresh fuel to a reactor that the United States says must stay mothballed because it can be used to produce plutonium for nuclear weapons.

The announcement by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) heightens a tense international confrontation that has followed the breakdown of an 8-year-old agreement restricting North Korea's nuclear program.

On Tuesday, North Korea's defense minister accused Washington of pushing the Korean Peninsula to the brink of nuclear war.

"We had noticed yesterday that they were carrying out work at the 5-megawatt reactor in Yongbyon," IAEA spokesman Mark Gwozdecky told Reuters news agency. "And we noticed that they were moving fresh fuel to the reactor."

He added that North Korean technicians had broken most of the seals and disabled U.N. surveillance devices at all four nuclear facilities at Yongbyon. The cameras had been monitoring the secretive Stalinist state's compliance with a 1994 shutdown of the plants.

"North Korea estimates that [the 5-megawatt reactor] could be up and running in one to two months," he said, adding that the U.N. agency believes it would take longer.

The IAEA is also worried about the plutonium storage and reprocessing facilities at the Yongbyon complex. A storage pond there holds some 8,000 spent irradiated fuel rods that contain large amounts of plutonium.

"The reprocessing plant could have absolutely no civilian use for North Korea," Mr. Gwozdecky said.

But he said no work was being done at the plant, capable of separating plutonium from other substances in the spent fuel. However, the South Korean news agency Yonhap quoted an unidentified South Korean government official as saying: "North Koreans are freely moving in and out of the unsealed nuclear reactor" at Yongbyon.

The facilities at Yongbyon were frozen under a 1994 agreement with the United States under which North Korea halted its nuclear arms program in exchange for oil shipments and the construction of two atomic reactors that are difficult to use for military purposes.

But the United States, South Korea and other states suspended oil shipments to North Korea this month after revelations in October that the North was operating a separate nuclear-weapons program using highly enriched uranium.

U.S. intelligence officials say enough weapons-grade plutonium had already been produced at Yongbyon to build two nuclear weapons by the time the plant was closed down in 1994.

On Saturday, North Koreans began removing the seals and disabling U.N. monitoring cameras at the 5-megawatt Yongbyon reactor after the IAEA failed to meet Pyongyang's demand that it take away the gear so it could revive the reactor.

Mr. Gwozdecky said the IAEA was keeping two inspectors in North Korea to keep an eye on the situation.

It has carried out limited inspections of North Korea's nuclear facilities since the early 1990s.

The Associated Press, quoting South Korean officials, said the North has allowed the IAEA to increase the number of inspectors at the facility to three, but the claim could not be verified.

"The organization took the step to strengthen eye checks of nuclear facilities," Chon Young-woo, a Foreign Ministry official, was quoted as saying by the Korea Times newspaper.

Mr. Chon said that the inspectors were conducting daily checks without interference from North Korean authorities.

U.N. sources meanwhile told Reuters yesterday that the IAEA governing board was tentatively planning to meet on Jan. 6 to discuss North Korea.

The board would either decide to give Pyongyang a chance to begin cooperating and hold high-level talks with the IAEA or it might decide to put the matter to the United Nations Security Council.

Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld on Monday warned North Korea not to take advantage of the Iraq crisis to further its nuclear ambitions, and he said U.S. forces were capable of fighting two wars at once.

North Korean Defense Minister Kim Il-chol was quoted on Tuesday by the North's official KCNA news agency as attacking "U.S. hawks who are pushing the situation on the Korean Peninsula to the brink of nuclear war."

North Korea maintains it has a right to possess nuclear weapons and insists that Washington sign a nonaggression pact as a basis for talks on their differences.

President Bush and South Korea's president-elect, Roh Moo-hyun, will exchange special envoys next month to discuss North Korea, Mr. Roh's chief spokesman, Lee Nak-yon, said yesterday.

Assistant Secretary of State James Kelly is likely to visit South Korea, and Mr. Roh's envoy will return the visit, he said.

In Russia, which has maintained friendly ties with North Korea, Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Losyukov expressed concern over the North's nuclear program, saying it "negatively affects the situation on the Korean Peninsula."

"In these conditions, Pyongyang's cooperation with the IAEA takes on special significance. We call on North Korea to cooperate with the agency," he said, according to the Itar-Tass news agency.

<http://www.washtimes.com/world/20021226-71336036.htm>

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New York Times  
December 25, 2002  
Pg. 1

## **U.S. Gets Warning From North Korea**

By Howard W. French

SEOUL, South Korea, Dec. 24 — North Korea warned today of an "uncontrollable catastrophe" unless the United States agrees to a negotiated solution to a tense standoff over its nuclear energy and weapons programs.

The statement, made amid mounting tensions with the United States, came as a stiff pre-emptive rebuff to a conciliation-minded newly elected president in South Korea, and a warning to other countries that their efforts to mediate the crisis will be futile.

"There is no need for any third party to meddle in the nuclear issue on the peninsula," said North Korea's ruling-party newspaper, the Rodong Sinmun. Referring to the North Korean government by its Korean initials, the paper said: "The issue should be settled between the DPRK and the U.S., the parties responsible for it. If the U.S. persistently tries to internationalize the pending issue between the DPRK and the U.S. in a bid to flee from its responsibility, it will push the situation to an uncontrollable catastrophe."

The North Korean defense minister, Kim Il Chol, went further, warning of "merciless punishment" to the United States if it pursued a confrontational approach to the emerging nuclear crisis.

"The U.S. hawks are arrogant enough to groundlessly claim that North Korea has pushed ahead with a 'nuclear program,' bringing its hostile policy toward the DPRK to an extremely dangerous phase," the state-run Korean Central News Agency quoted Mr. Kim as saying.



Some analysts here saw the defense minister's statement as a defiant response to comments by his American counterpart, Donald H. Rumsfeld, who said on Monday that the United States had enough military power to prevail over North Korea even if such a conflict occurred during a war with Iraq.

The North's incendiary comments came as Pyongyang accelerated its takeover of nuclear fuel and reactors placed under international surveillance under a 1994 agreement with the United States. That pact, known as the Agreed Framework, was forged after a standoff remarkably similar to the current one.

Today, South Korean officials said North Korea had begun taking steps to reactivate a five-megawatt nuclear reactor that had been mothballed under the agreement. North Korea completed the removal of the last International Atomic Energy Agency seals and disabling surveillance cameras at a fuel fabrication plant in Yongbyon, South Korean officials said on Tuesday.

The facility is known technically as a "research reactor," but Western arms control experts say its true purpose is to produce plutonium for nuclear weapons.

"There are varying estimates on how long it would take them to reprocess the spent fuel, but they probably have plans to do it a lot faster than outsiders imagine — and will do so if their equipment works," said an American official who has studied North Korea's nuclear programs for years.

"Here are a few of the ugly signposts we might whiz past: asking the inspectors to leave, starting up the reprocessing line, finalizing their withdrawal from the Nonproliferation Treaty and declaring themselves a nuclear power with a 'Korean bomb' intended to protect the whole of the Korean people by keeping the Americans from starting a war." Reflecting the sharp increase in distrust between the United States and South Korea amid a series of major demonstrations against the presence of 37,000 American troops in the country, the official added, "This will cause some secret shivers of pride amongst some in the South."

Both South Korea's outgoing president, Kim Dae Jung, and the man who will succeed him in February, Roh Moo Hyun, spent most of the day struggling to contain the crisis, which threatens to nullify the engagement policies they embrace.

"South Korea, the United States, Japan, China, Russia and the European Union are all strongly calling on North Korea to abandon the nuclear program, but the North is not listening now," Mr. Kim said during a cabinet meeting. Amid concerns over tensions between Washington and Seoul, Mr. Kim appeared to draw closer to the American position on the North, saying there could be no major cooperation between the two countries unless Pyongyang agreed to international controls on its weapons of mass destruction. "We can never join hands in the development of nuclear weapons, missiles and other weapons," Mr. Kim said.

The new president, Mr. Roh, meanwhile, spent much of the day meeting with ambassadors of countries that have been involved in the region's crisis. "The president-elect requested cooperation from those concerned countries to help resolve the North's nuclear issue peacefully," said Mr. Roh's spokesman, Lee Nak Hyun.

Mr. Roh also spoke by telephone to the Japanese prime minister, Junichiro Koizumi. The two leaders "agreed to continue close cooperation among Japan, the United States and South Korea to bring about a peaceful solution to nuclear and other security issues regarding North Korea," a ministry statement said.

In Washington, the State Department said it was following developments closely. "Again, we urge North Korea not to restart any of its frozen nuclear facilities," said Tara Rigler, a department spokeswoman. Ms. Rigler said the State Department's stance was unchanged since Monday, when the department's spokesman, Philip Reeker, said that there could be no negotiations while North Korea is pursuing its nuclear program, and that the United States "will not give in to blackmail."

President Bush was said to be monitoring developments from the presidential retreat at Camp David, Md., where he is spending the Christmas holiday with his family.

Ms. Rigler reiterated the administration's position that the spent fuel rods are "of particular concern because they could be processed to recover plutonium for nuclear weapons."

"They have no relevance for the generation of electricity," she said.

Recently, China, which has been North Korea's closest ally since the two countries fought the United States during the Korean War from 1950 to 1953, also expressed concern over the reported pursuit of nuclear weapons. Today, Beijing urged Washington and Pyongyang to negotiate a solution of the crisis that would leave the Korean peninsula free from nuclear weapons.

"We hope relevant sides can proceed in the overall interest of safeguarding peace and stability on the peninsula and reach a resolution to the issue through dialogue," the Chinese Foreign Ministry said in a statement.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/12/25/international/asia/25KORE.html?todayshdlines>

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New York Times  
December 26, 2002

## **Iran And Russia Sign Accord To Speed Nuclear Power Project**

By Nazila Fathi

TEHRAN, Dec. 25 — Iran and Russia signed an agreement today to speed up the completion of a nuclear power plant that the United States fears could help Iran build nuclear weapons, the official Islamic Republic News Agency Reported.

They also agreed to set up a commission to examine building another one, and Russia said that for the next 10 years it would provide fuel for the reactor at Bushire in southern Iran.

The agreement was signed by Gholamreza Aghazadeh, head of Iran's atomic organization, and Russia's atomic energy minister, Aleksandr Rumyantsev, who came to Tehran on Sunday for a four-day visit.

Washington has urged Russia to refrain from doing business with Iran in the nuclear field because it fears Iran is seeking to develop nuclear weapons.

Last week American officials said they were concerned about newly disclosed plans for two other nuclear plants, at Arak and Natanz in central Iran, which showed up in recent satellite photos.

Iran has large oil and gas reserves and Washington believes it has no need to develop nuclear energy.

Mr. Rumyantsev brushed off American pressure today and said that the cooperation between Iran and Russia was based on international regulations and the resolutions of the International Atomic Energy Agency, according to the news agency.

Mr. Aghazadeh added that Iran had nothing to hide and has asked the the atomic agency to inspect its nuclear activity.

He urged the United States to rely on the agency's reports, saying that otherwise Washington's assertions were mere propaganda.

The director general of the agency, Mohamed ElBaradei, is expected to visit Iran in February.

In a separate news conference today, the cabinet spokesman, Abdullah Ramezanzadeh, said Iran was determined to continue its program to develop nuclear power and benefit from foreign technology.

"We consider it our legal right to make peaceful use of nuclear energy," he said.

He added that existing power plants were not sufficient to meet the growing domestic need for electricity.

Iran has argued that it needs to generate an additional 6,000 megawatts of electricity and that the nuclear plants are intended to produce the power.

West Germans began building two reactors in Bushire before the 1979 revolution.

The projects were interrupted by the revolution and the eight-year war with Iraq, which ended in 1988. Iran signed an agreement with Russia to complete one of the reactors.

Russia was to complete the work on the project by 2005. But Mr. Aghazadeh said today that it would produce 1,000 megawatts of electricity by the end of next year.

He also said that the countries "hope to start a joint study in the next few months" on the possibility of building a second reactor.

President Mohammad Khatami said on Tuesday during a visit to Pakistan that Iran was committed to its obligations and had no intention to develop nuclear weapons.

He added that the nuclear waste from Bushire plant would be taken to Russia for safekeeping.

He said that Iran's willingness to send spent fuel back to Russia showed that it did not want to use it for weapons.

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Washington Post  
December 26, 2002  
Pg. 2

## **Nuclear Plants Are Secure, Study Says** *Industry Critics Dismiss the Report as Flawed*

By John Mintz, Washington Post Staff Writer

U.S. nuclear power plants would survive a direct hit by a fully fueled passenger airliner piloted by suicide hijackers bent on repeating the catastrophic attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, according to a new scientific study by a utility industry research group.

Critics of the nuclear industry said the study released earlier this week by the Electric Power Research Institute (EPRI) was skewed to draw a preordained conclusion proclaiming the safety of the nation's 103 nuclear power plants. The danger exists that a direct strike could cause the meltdown of a plant's nuclear core that would spread wind-borne radiation to thousands of people, skeptics of the report said.

"They knew the answers they wanted and worked backwards," said Edwin Lyman, president of the Nuclear Control Institute, an organization critical of the industry's safety claims. "We can't take anything the industry says at face value."

Nuclear industry officials insist the study was scientifically sound, and was conducted by highly reputable engineering consultants using real-life scenarios involving a terrorist strike on a nuclear plant. Only a 10-page summary of the lengthier study was released publicly, with the rest withheld for security reasons.

"The results of this study validate the industry's confidence that nuclear power plants are robust and protect the [nuclear] fuel from impacts of a large commercial aircraft," said Joe F. Colvin, president of the Nuclear Energy Institute, a trade association of utilities and nuclear energy firms that asked the research institute to conduct the report. "Public health and safety would be protected" in such an attack, he said.

"Confidence is predicated on the fact that nuclear plant structures have thick concrete walls with heavy reinforcing steel, and are designed to withstand large earthquakes, extreme overpressures and hurricane force winds," the EPRI report said.

The study considered what would happen if the relatively large Boeing 767 squarely crashed into a power plant's nuclear containment building -- the structure where nuclear reactors are located, with a tank full of fuel. The assumption was the plane was traveling at 350 miles an hour, the approximate speed of the jet that hit the Pentagon and the velocity that the consultants believe a pilot would maintain to maneuver a plane into a site built low to the ground.

Yet nuclear industry critic Lyman said it would be feasible for a highly trained al Qaeda pilot to fly at as much as 600 miles an hour, the approximate speed of the first plane to strike the World Trade Center -- a scenario that would worsen the damage at a crash site. Furthermore, the study apparently did not consider the effect of two or more aircraft strikes on the same plant, he said.

The study, mostly employing computer modeling, was performed for EPRI by ABS Consulting and ANATECH engineering specialists, and was peer reviewed by other experts with decades of experience in structural analysis, the Nuclear Energy Institute said.

Nuclear plants were not designed to withstand direct hits by passenger airliners, although some that were built beneath jetliner flight paths and that were approved in the 1970s had to show they could survive glancing blows from the relatively small 727, said Lyman, who has a doctorate in physics.

Lyman said the gravest danger if an aircraft slammed into a nuclear containment site is that the extremely hard steel shafts in the jet's engines would penetrate all the way through the four feet of reinforced concrete that makes up the side walls, and well beyond the three feet of concrete that he said makes up the structure's dome.

Safety specialists fear that a massive "insult" or breaching of a containment building's walls could cause the nuclear fuel to melt, setting off a cascade of events ending in the release of dangerous radioactivity that could be carried by winds for hundreds of miles. Among the plants that nuclear industry critics say pose the greatest risk in such a scenario is Indian Point nuclear power plant in Peekskill, N.Y. Twenty million people live within 50 miles, and 300,000 within 10 miles.

A study by a Washington think tank in October suggested the nuclear industry does a better job of protecting itself than many others.

In a mock exercise simulating the response to a vague report of a terrorist threat to East Coast energy installations, nuclear industry executives showed their plants are "the best defended targets" of any in the energy business, in part because they are in such close contact with local and federal officials, said John J. Hamre, president of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, which helped run the exercise.

The center said that while commercial airlines have massively tightened their security since Sept. 11, 2001, the general aviation sector, including operators of large corporate jets, and companies flying cargo aircraft still need to improve security measures.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A38042-2002Dec25.html>

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## **N. Korea Moves To Activate Complex**

### ***U.N. Levies Charge Of 'Nuclear Brinkmanship'***

By Peter S. Goodman, Washington Post Foreign Service

SEOUL, Dec. 26 -- The head of the U.N. nuclear monitoring agency accused North Korea of "nuclear brinkmanship" today as it took further steps toward reactivating a nuclear complex, and the president of South Korea declared that the North's actions would not be tolerated.

"We can never go along with North Korea's nuclear weapons development," said President Kim Dae Jung, emerging from a special cabinet meeting here in South Korea's capital. "We must closely cooperate with the United States, Japan and other friendly countries to prevent the situation from further deteriorating into a crisis."

A South Korean Foreign Ministry official said his government has been communicating regularly with North Korea in recent months through informal channels and remains hopeful that it can broker a face-saving agreement that will end the standoff short of military confrontation.

North Korea "used to deny any conversation with us on this issue," said the official, speaking on condition he not be identified. "But when we talk about the nuclear issue with them now, at least they listen."

Days after breaking seals on its Yongbyon nuclear facilities and taping over the lenses on U.N. surveillance cameras, North Korea today moved about 1,000 fresh fuel rods into its nuclear reactor plant in preparation for turning it back on, according to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the U.N. nuclear watchdog. North Korea has declared publicly that it intends to restart the reactor, which it shuttered in 1994 under a deal with the Clinton administration, maintaining that its purpose is to generate electricity. Though the reactor produces very little power, it has yielded some 8,000 spent fuel rods, which continue to be stored in an adjacent pool. They contain enough plutonium to produce as many as five nuclear weapons, according to experts.

The head of the IAEA, Mohamed ElBaradei, pilloried North Korea's explanation today, asserting that the Yongbyon reactor was "irrelevant" to electricity production and that North Korea had "no current legitimate peaceful use for plutonium."

"Moving toward restarting its nuclear facilities without appropriate safeguards, and toward producing plutonium, raises serious nonproliferation concerns and is tantamount to nuclear brinkmanship," ElBaradei said.

The U.N. body has scheduled a meeting of its board of governors, now tentatively planned for Jan. 6. ElBaradei said he will warn the board that North Korea's actions have left his inspectors -- two of whom remain at the scene -- unable to verify "that there has been no diversion of nuclear material to nuclear weapons or other nuclear devices."

Today's developments further escalated a standoff that has produced echoes the last major crisis on the Korean Peninsula, eight years ago. That confrontation was averted when North Korea promised to halt its plutonium-based weapons development program in exchange for shipments of fuel oil from the United States and its allies. In October, following disclosures that North Korea has been secretly pursuing the development of uranium-enriched nuclear weapons at a different site, the Bush administration ordered the fuel shipments halted. North Korea responded with steps to revive its Yongbyon reactor.

Arms control experts assert that North Korea, which is desperately poor and increasingly isolated, is seeking to use the only diplomatic lever it possesses -- the threat of becoming a certifiable nuclear power -- in a bid to force the United States to engage in negotiations on resuming aid and establishing diplomatic relations. Analysts say North Korea came to feel particularly insecure when President Bush labeled it part of an "axis of evil," along with Iraq and Iran.

But if North Korea's actions began as a kind of bluff designed to force the United States to talk, its decision to revive the reactor has taken matters to a new level, analysts said.

"North Korea is upgrading its actions," said Kim Sung Han, a North Korea expert at the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security in Seoul. "Now North Korea seems to be sending dual messages: 'Okay, you guys talk to me or we'll really go and produce nuclear bombs.'"

The Bush administration, focused on preparing for possible war with Iraq, wants to solve the Korea crisis through diplomatic means. Still, administration officials have publicly ruled out any negotiations unless North Korea abandons its nuclear weapons programs and again submits to inspections. Senior officials have said the administration reserves the military option.

The problem for the Bush administration is that the U.S. threat of force is undercut by the reality that Washington lacks the regional support it would need to conduct a war. South Korea last week elected a new president who advocates continuing dialogue and engagement with North Korea, placing him at odds with Bush. The Japanese public, already largely opposed to a war with Iraq, would likely have a harder time stomaching a war with a potential nuclear adversary on its doorstep.

Security experts say this context is emboldening North Korea to press ahead with its nuclear plans, ratcheting up the threat in hopes of eventually extracting U.S. concessions.

"They're going to go as far as they can go," said Seongwhun Cheon, an arms control expert at the Korea Institute for National Unification, a government research group. "There are only two choices: deal or war."

Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.), incoming chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, today added fuel to the view that the United States cannot use force to solve the standoff, saying during an interview on NBC's "Today" show that military action against the North would invite a "devastating" reprisal against South Korea. "Our strategy now has to be one of multilateral engagement," Lugar said.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A41913-2002Dec26.html>

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Washington Post  
December 27, 2002  
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## **Iraq To Let Scientists Leave For Interviews**

### ***Baghdad Hints Arms Experts Should Elect to Stay***

By Peter Baker, Washington Post Foreign Service

BAGHDAD, Iraq, Dec. 26 -- Iraq agreed today to allow its weapons scientists to leave the country for interviews with a U.N. inspection team, but despite calling it their "personal decision," the government seemed to signal that they should refuse to go, saying "it's not necessary" to leave Iraq to conduct the interviews.

The government promised to deliver to the United Nations by Sunday a list of scientists and technicians who have worked in fields related to ballistic missiles or chemical, biological or nuclear weapons. A senior Iraqi official said the list, requested by the U.N. Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission, would include hundreds of names.

The issue of interviewing weapons scientists has become particularly sensitive in the confrontation between Iraq and the United States, and tens of thousands of additional U.S. troops are reportedly ready to move to the region for possible military action to destroy President Saddam Hussein's rule. U.S. officials have said an Iraqi refusal to allow the scientists to leave would violate the Nov. 8 Security Council resolution requiring full cooperation with weapons inspectors -- and thus could be construed as a reason for war.

The Bush administration has pressured U.N. inspectors to take key scientists and their families out of Iraq, saying they would offer more candid disclosures without the fear of retaliation. For weeks, Iraq declined to commit to the idea, citing concerns about human rights and international law and pushing for interviews to be conducted here, even if government witnesses were not permitted.

At a news conference today, the chief Iraqi liaison to the inspectors said the government would not block scientists from traveling abroad for interviews. But he left little doubt that he thought they should decline to go.

"It's up to them. You can ask the scientists one by one," said Gen. Hussam Mohammed Amin, head of the National Monitoring Directorate and a weapons specialist. "I'm one of them. I can answer you on my case only. I will not go." Asked why, he said, "Because I don't like to leave my country. If there is any important question to be addressed to me, let them address it to me here in Iraq. Why this complicated procedure? I don't believe in this complicated procedure."

Amin added, "It's not necessary to meet scientists outside Iraq. The issue of meeting is a personal one, and the National Monitoring Directorate cannot force anyone to do this because everyone is free to do what he wants and we as the National Monitoring Directorate are not supporting or refusing this."

U.S. warplanes, meanwhile, attacked several sites in southern Iraq's "no-fly" zone. The Pentagon said it acted after Iraqi airplanes violated the zone, imposed after the end of the Persian Gulf War in 1991. Iraq said the bombing killed three civilians, injured 16 others and damaged a mosque. U.S. officers said their planes hit military command-and-control facilities, not civilian sites.

In apparent preparation for a military conflict, Iraq's trade minister announced the government would help Iraqis stockpile food. The government has been providing Iraqis with two months of rations at a time instead of the usual one. "We are going to increase the quantity in the coming months so that everybody is secured in this regard," Trade Minister Mohammed Mehdi Saleh told the Reuters news agency.

Military preparations are also underway, with militia units staging exercises in central Iraq to prepare to defend against a U.S. invasion. Just as U.S. troops have conducted high-profile war games in the Middle East, in part to pressure Iraq, the militias advertised their dress rehearsals. Troops practiced fighting in urban and rural areas, according to the newspaper Al-Qadissiya, which is published by the Iraqi army.

The moves appeared to reflect a conclusion that war may be inevitable. "It's coming," Mohammed Muthafar Adhami, dean of political science at Baghdad University and a member of the Iraqi parliament, said in an interview. "All the evidence shows they are going to attack."

U.N. inspectors are scheduled to report to the Security Council Jan. 27 on the progress of their search for banned weapons or weapons production programs. U.S. officials have said that could be a date for President Bush to decide on moving further toward war.

Inspectors returned to work here on Nov. 27 after a four-year absence and have reported cooperation by Iraq without drawing any conclusions about their findings. Amin, the Iraqi liaison, took the inspectors' silence to mean they have not uncovered anything suspicious, and he asserted that the first month of inspections has exonerated Iraq. Inspectors have visited 188 sites, he said, including munitions factories, chemical facilities, university complexes, laboratories, hospitals and distilleries.

"All these activities did not support any direct or indirect evidence that the American and British allegations are correct," Amin said. "On the contrary, the results of the inspections reiterate the credibility of the Iraqi declaration" on its weapons programs submitted to the Security Council. "Iraq is clean of weapons of mass destruction," he said. Amin said that if the inspection teams turn up no evidence of Iraqi weapons development in three to six months, the United Nations should lift the economic sanctions imposed after Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990. Amin dismissed a suggestion by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon of Israel that Iraq has hidden banned weapons in neighboring Syria, calling it "just absolute lying" for domestic consumption during Israel's election campaign.

Inspectors returned to Baghdad Technology University to talk with its dean about specialists on his staff and the school's activities. On Tuesday, inspectors sought to interview a member of the staff, Sabah Abdul Nour, in private, the first time they have made such a request, according to Amin. He said no scientist has reported being asked to leave Iraq.

Abdul Nour refused to meet with the inspectors without an Iraqi government official present. He said he told inspectors that Iraq has made no effort to reconstitute its nuclear program in the four years of their absence. Amin expressed approval of how Abdul Nour handled the matter, saying scientists might be worried about meeting with inspectors without a government official. Simply having a tape recorder would not be good enough, he said, "because it can be manufactured or can be changed. But if there is a human being in the role of witness this will keep the rights" of the scientists.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A41897-2002Dec26.html>

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Washington Post  
December 30, 2002  
Pg. 1

## **U.S. Open To Informal Talks With N. Korea**

### ***No Attack Over Arms Considered, Powell Says***

By Dana Milbank, Washington Post Staff Writer

WACO, Tex., Dec. 29 -- Secretary of State Colin L. Powell today sought to defuse a nuclear confrontation in Asia, declaring that the United States is seeking communication with North Korea and that the administration is not contemplating military action in response to that country's move to restart its nuclear weapons program.

Powell, designated as the administration spokesman today while President Bush vacationed on his ranch near here, confirmed that he would dispatch to South Korea the top American diplomat for the region and said that the Bush administration is dropping a Clinton administration policy vowing an attack if Pyongyang resumed nuclear weapon production.



Appearing on all five major Sunday television news talk shows, Powell repeatedly sought to play down a sense of crisis on the Korean peninsula even as he asserted the government's view that North Korea already has two nuclear weapons. Wrapping up a week of alarming developments in the region that shifted attention away from the showdown with Iraq, Powell said the matter with North Korea requires patience and will "play out in the weeks and months ahead."

North Korea evicted international weapons inspectors last week and said it would restart a plutonium reactor that had been shuttered as part of a 1994 accord brokered by the Clinton administration.

American officials believe the vow to restart the Yongbyon facility, which is of little non-military use, may be a bluff to produce more international economic concessions, but they believe North Korea is serious about expanding nuclear weapon production.

The International Atomic Energy Agency, which led the nuclear inspections for the United Nations, will decide Jan. 6 whether to seek action from the U.N. Security Council. The administration is encouraging that step, but Powell said there are no plans yet for an American-authored resolution; the administration has been eager to demonstrate that North Korea is defying the world, not just the United States.

Powell indicated that the United States is open to talks with North Korea but not to anything that would appear to be a negotiation. James A. Kelly, the assistant secretary of state for East Asia, will go to the region in the next week or two but has no plans to speak to the North Koreans.

"We are looking for ways to communicate with the North Koreans so some sense can prevail," Powell said on NBC's "Meet the Press." He said that there are "channels open" and "ways of communicating with the North Koreans," but that the United States would not capitulate to provocations by saying, "Let's have a negotiation because we want to appease your misbehavior."

North Korean officials, for their part, urged the United States to negotiate with them.

"It is quite self-evident that dialogue is impossible without sitting face to face and a peaceful settlement of the issue would be unthinkable without dialogue," said a government spokesman quoted on KCNA, North Korea's state-run news agency.

Although officials said Powell's offer to talk was not a change in the administration's refusal to yield to nuclear blackmail, the gesture came after many Democrats and a few Republicans urged Bush to engage North Korea directly. Sen. Carl M. Levin (D-Mich.), outgoing chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said today on ABC's "This Week" that North Korea "should hear from our lips just how significant their missteps have been." Powell, in all his appearances, objected to describing the Korean situation as a crisis. "It suggests we're about to move forces or there's a war about to break out, and that's not the case at all," he said on CNN's "Late Edition." Although he described the situation at times as "serious" and "grave," Powell, citing American intelligence, said North Korea has probably had two nuclear weapons for a decade.

By restarting the plutonium facility, North Korea could have four more nuclear weapons in six months, he said. "But it is not yet a crisis that requires mobilization or for us to be threatening North Korea," he said. "Quite the contrary. We have been saying to North Korea that we have no plans to invade you. We have no hostile intent towards you." Powell typically has a softer touch than administration hawks, but the White House's selection of him as its point man was an indication that the North Korea matter would be handled with diplomacy rather than confrontation. Powell explicitly set aside the Clinton administration's stated commitment to attack if Yongbyon were to reopen. "In fact, the Clinton administration did have a declaratory policy that if anything else happened at Yongbyon, they would attack it," he said on ABC. "We don't have that policy. We don't -- we're not saying what we might or might not do. We think it's best to try to use diplomacy."

Powell, on NBC, said he did not "want to prejudge" what the administration would do if North Korea built more bombs -- but he committed to action if the country shipped nuclear weapons. "This, I think, would be a red line that would definitely be crossed," he said.

The secretary said a strike on the North Korean facility, now that it is operational, would cause radioactive contamination. Though not ruling out military actions, he said: "Nobody's going to attack North Korea. We have no plans to attack North Korea. We've said it repeatedly, the president has said it repeatedly. Why would we want to attack North Korea?" The solution, he said, was in pressure supplied in cooperation with China, Russia, Japan and South Korea.

The relaxed response to the Korean provocation has been in marked contrast to Bush's determination to disarm or depose Iraqi President Saddam Hussein because of that leader's weapons program. Both nations are part of Bush's "axis of evil," and the president has said repeatedly that it is unacceptable to allow such powers to have nuclear weapons. The disparity in treatment has come even though North Korea has expelled inspectors while Iraq has admitted them.

"By any measure, in my view, if things get out of hand in North Korea, a lot more damage can be done to U.S. interests than can be done in the near term in Iraq," Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.), the outgoing chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said on NBC.

Powell acknowledged that North Korea has a larger army and more active nuclear weapons program than Iraq. But while he called the Korean situation "emerging," he said Iraq has been defying international will for 12 years and has a history of using its weapons of mass destruction. Powell also expressed amusement that the Bush administration, often accused of being "unilateralist" and militarily aggressive, is now "being criticized for not threatening somebody with a gun."

In another Iraq-related matter, Powell declined to comment on reports that Saudi Arabia had agreed to allow the United States to use its air bases and key operations center at Prince Sultan air base outside Riyadh for defensive purposes. "I'm not unhappy with the level of cooperation we've received from the Saudis," he said.

*Staff writer Peter Slevin in Washington contributed to this report.*

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A52068-2002Dec29.html>

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New York Times  
December 30, 2002  
Pg. 1

## **U.S. Eases Threat On Nuclear Arms For North Korea**

By David E. Sanger

CRAWFORD, Tex., Dec. 29 — The Bush administration backed away today from a longstanding declaration by the United States that it would not tolerate a North Korean nuclear arsenal, as Secretary of State Colin L. Powell and other officials insisted that it would be counterproductive to set deadlines for North Korea to meet American demands or make threats to take military action.

Appearing on several Sunday television news programs, Mr. Powell refused to characterize as a crisis North Korea's expulsion of nuclear inspectors and its declaration that it would begin manufacturing plutonium from spent nuclear fuel, insisting instead that it was a "serious situation." He acknowledged on the ABC News program "This Week" that the Clinton administration had what he called "a declaratory policy" that if North Korea began to reactivate its nuclear facilities at Yongbyon, the country's main nuclear facility, "they would attack it."

"We don't have that policy," said Mr. Powell, who served as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under President Bill Clinton during the start of the previous North Korean nuclear crisis. "We're not saying what we might or might not do."

The ambiguous signal to North Korea, made after lengthy consultations with President Bush at his ranch here, represents a major strategic gamble. The C.I.A. has warned that once the North begins reprocessing nuclear fuel into plutonium, it could produce five or six weapons by early summer. The C.I.A. has estimated that it already has two. But Mr. Bush and his aides have concluded that warning North Korea that it would not be allowed to produce more weapons would only create a sense of crisis, exactly what officials say the North seeks, and what they want to avoid. The administration has opted to pursue economic isolation of a country that is already one of the world's most isolated. The administration's position was met with considerable skepticism today by Democrats and Republicans alike.

The Republican who is about to take over the chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Richard G. Lugar of Indiana, declared during an appearance on the NBC News program "Meet the Press" that "This is a crisis," and he was mildly critical of the administration for refusing to negotiate directly with the North Korean government. But he welcomed Mr. Powell's announcement that the administration would work through the United Nations Security Council, saying that approach was working in Iraq, and "it's got to work in Korea."

Several of Mr. Bush's national security aides said in interviews that Mr. Powell was simply giving voice to the military reality that the United States has no effective way of protecting South Korea or Japan from a North Korean counterattack if the nuclear facilities at Yongbyon were bombed.

"I'm not saying we don't have military options," one of Mr. Bush's most senior advisers said in an interview. "I'm just saying we don't have good ones."

Still, the diplomatic, nonconfrontational approach the administration has taken has clearly put Mr. Bush's aides in the odd position of explaining why they are massing troops around Iraq, as it lets inspectors roam the country and

releases lists of weapons scientists, while insisting on patient diplomacy with a country that has expelled those inspectors and announced that it will restart plutonium production immediately.

Mr. Powell argued today that the approach makes sense because intelligence officials believe that North Korea has probably been an undeclared nuclear power for some time but has never used any weapons or threatened to use them. President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, by contrast, has used chemical weapons before and, Mr. Powell says, has demonstrated far more evil intent, seeking to dominate the Middle East.

He also argued that the administration was actually listening to those who urge it to work with allies, rather than act unilaterally.

Mr. Powell said repeatedly today that the administration was willing to communicate with North Korea, even if it rejected direct talks. He seemed to suggest that messages would be sent through China and Russia, or through the North Korean mission to the United Nations.

But he insisted the North would receive no benefits while its nuclear programs remained active. "They want us to give them something for them to stop their bad behavior," he said. "What we can't do is enter into a negotiation right away where we are appeasing them."

It is unclear what Mr. Powell meant by "right away." Mr. Lugar suggested that, directly or indirectly, negotiations were inevitable.

When not speaking for attribution, some administration officials concede that the argument for confronting Iraq militarily while slowly squeezing North Korea economically seems, in the word of one senior diplomat,

"considerably harder to explain on TV than it was a month ago."

"The best you can say about it," he added, "is that North Korea is an example of why we cannot allow Saddam to hold on to his weapons of mass destruction.

"Once he gets them, he'll have the same power to intimidate his neighbors that Kim Jong Il enjoys today," he said, referring to the reclusive and unpredictable North Korean leader.

There are several theories here and in Washington about the underlying strategy Mr. Bush is pursuing.

One is that he simply cannot afford a confrontation with North Korea when the United States military is preparing for a possible war with Iraq.

But Mr. Powell strongly argued that the United States was capable of handling both situations at once, and one of Mr. Bush's senior advisers called a reporter this weekend to argue that if Mr. Bush was seeking to play down the seriousness of the North Korean threat, he would not have ordered the State Department to confront the North Korean government in October with evidence that it was secretly developing a nuclear weapons program.

A second theory is that the administration has calculated that Mr. Kim, even if he adds to his nuclear arsenal, is essentially more predictable and less dangerous than Mr. Hussein, who has never successfully produced a nuclear bomb.

Mr. Powell made that argument today. "This is a country that's in desperate condition," Mr. Powell said. "What are they going to do with another two or three more nuclear weapons when they're starving, when they have no energy, when they have no economy that's functioning?"

For the Bush strategy to work, China and South Korea must go along, officials acknowledge, and for now both are balking. The Chinese fear an economic crisis in the North will lead to a flood of starving refugees. The South Koreans fear Mr. Bush's economic squeeze could lead to a collapse in the North and perhaps a political explosion.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/12/30/international/30DIPL.html>

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Washington Post  
December 29, 2002  
Pg. 1

## **North Korea Possesses Wide Range Of Threats**

### ***Missiles, Large Army Bolster Nuclear Option***

By Peter S. Goodman, Washington Post Foreign Service

In its escalating conflict with the United States, North Korea possesses a vast array of potential threats which U.S. and South Korean officials fear could soon be employed to ratchet up the tension beyond the current dispute over the reactivation of the mothballed Yongbyon nuclear reactor complex.

"This game can be done in so many ways," said Kim Tae Woo, an arms control expert at the Korea Institute for Defense Analyses in Seoul, a research group affiliated with the South Korean military. "They can threaten to resume

test-firing missiles, and then they could follow through with those threats. They could put their military forces on higher alerts. The question is, will the United States offer a big enough quid pro quo to shut down the game? If not, North Korea can prolong it. All the possibilities are out there."

Some 600 to 750 missiles capable of hitting South Korea and Japan with nuclear and conventional weapons lie inside reinforced bunkers and atop launchers that can be driven from one place to another to avoid detection, according to South Korean and U.S. military intelligence.

Rocket launchers capable of pounding South Korea's capital with conventional artillery, as well as chemical and biological weapons, are clustered near the demilitarized zone that has separated the two halves of the Korean peninsula since the end of the Korean War.

About 3,700 tanks are deployed throughout North Korea, according to U.S. and South Korean estimates. About 700 outmoded but effective 1960s-era Soviet-built fighter jets could easily bomb Seoul, and a small but historically confrontational North Korean navy patrols disputed waters west of the peninsula. Not least, North Korea has roughly 1 million uniformed soldiers -- the third-largest standing army in the world. Its reserves swell its total fighting strength to 8 million, according to South Korean estimates.

Finally, at scattered sites throughout the country, North Korea is pursuing a project about which the outside world knows little, though enough to cause alarm: building a facility that could produce enriched uranium for a nuclear weapon, according to U.S. intelligence officials.

Disclosures about this project in October prompted the Bush administration to cut off fuel shipments to North Korea, which responded by reactivating the nuclear reactor. The confrontation escalated on Friday when North Korea said it would expel U.N. inspectors and reopen a plant capable of extracting weapons-grade plutonium. The Yongbyon facility had been closed under a 1994 agreement with the Clinton administration.

North Korea has not shifted its military forces in any noticeable way since resuming activity at the reactor, according to a senior U.S. military intelligence officer in Seoul who spoke on condition of anonymity.

But defense experts say North Korea has many options if it wants to prolong and deepen the confrontation. It could shift troops, mass armaments near the demilitarized zone or conduct naval exercises. It could threaten to lift a moratorium on missile tests in place since 1999, or merely appear to be preparing for new tests for the benefit of U.S. intelligence satellites. This would generate unease and uncertainty in Seoul, Tokyo and Washington, increasing pressure on the Bush administration to talk.

"North Korea started with the intention of pressing the United States to come to the negotiating table," said Kim Sung Han, an arms control expert at the Institute for Foreign Affairs and National Security, a government-affiliated research group in Seoul. "But the United States has not responded, and now North Korea is upgrading its actions." If the nuclear card does not succeed in engaging the United States, he added, North Korea might then shift into other areas, such as breaching waters claimed by South Korea or test-firing a missile in the hope of forcing dialogue. For now, the tension is concentrated at the Yongbyon complex of more than 200 buildings some 55 miles north of North Korea's capital, Pyongyang. At least one month of work is required, perhaps two, before the five-megawatt reactor can be switched back on, according to Shin Sung Taek, a nuclear expert at the Korea Institute for Defense Analyses.

Two larger reactors -- a 200-megawatt plant and a 50-megawatt plant -- were frozen in the early stages of construction in 1994 and will not be useable anytime soon, according to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the U.N. nuclear watchdog whose inspectors remained at the plant through Friday.

Once the existing reactor is operational again, fresh fuel rods could be inserted and left to burn for about three months, according to Shin. At that point, they would contain plutonium. After being removed and placed in an adjacent cooling pond -- essentially, a big swimming pool -- the spent fuel rods could be transferred to a nearby reprocessing plant designed to extract weapons-grade plutonium. The pool is already stocked with enough spent fuel rods to build three to six nuclear bombs, Shin said. In 1994, the Clinton administration pressed for a provision in its agreement with North Korea that would have removed this cache to a third country. But North Korea refused, and the Clinton administration signed off on the deal anyway, seeing it as the best chance to halt the spread of nuclear weapons.

Extracting plutonium from spent fuel rods is a complicated process that would take several months, Shin said. Inside the reprocessing plant -- a linked series of large buildings -- the rods are chopped into pieces, then broken down with chemicals.

How long that process would take depends on the condition of the reprocessing plant, Shin said, and that is unclear. When it was shut down in 1994, the facility was only partially completed but already operational. North Korea told the IAEA that it had successfully extracted a small quantity of plutonium, though far less than that needed to build a single bomb. An investigation by the IAEA found evidence that North Korea had extracted a lot more. But before the inspectors could determine how much more, North Korea restricted their access.

The CIA estimates that North Korea produced enough plutonium for one or two bombs before the plant was shut down. North Korea is believed to have used the plutonium to manufacture warheads now stored at the Yongbyon complex, the U.S. intelligence official said.

Once North Korea extracts enough plutonium for new weapons, it could fashion warheads in two to three months, Shin said. North Korea has already logged more than 130 successful tests of the high-power explosives that must be built into a bomb to make the plutonium detonate, according to Kim Tae Woo.

Each stage in North Korea's continuing move toward restarting the reactor amounts to an opportunity to intensify the concerns of its neighbors and the United States. "They will keep us guessing," said Han Sung Joo, South Korea's foreign minister during the last outbreak of nuclear brinkmanship eight years ago. "In all probability, it will get worse before it gets better." Negotiations probably cannot take place until "it becomes obvious to everyone there's no alternative to a showdown of some kind," he said.

Some defense experts say North Korea is not merely using its reactor complex as a diplomatic lever, but now genuinely wants to produce plutonium-based weapons to better deter any potential U.S. attacks.

"This whole series of events this last week shows that they are really committed to moving beyond the red line if they are not checked," said Seongwhun Cheon, an arms control expert at the Korea Institute for National Unification, a government-affiliated research group in Seoul. "They're going to go as far as they can go."

The United States and its allies know far less about events at the uranium-enrichment site, and are not even certain of the location. Uranium enrichment requires vast quantities of energy. According to the U.S. military intelligence officer, North Korea appears to have buried much of the infrastructure for the program, including electrical generators, making it difficult to detect the surges of energy that might reveal its location. The United States believes the project cannot render any useable fissile material for a bomb until at least the end of 2004, he said.

North Korea's military capabilities place great emphasis on chemical and biological agents, including deadly sarin gas, anthrax and smallpox, according to South Korean and U.S. defense experts. North Korea holds large-scale chemical warfare exercises each year in the northwestern province of Pyungnam, according to Kim Tae Woo.

"They consider chemical [weapons] as a normal tool in their arsenal," said the U.S. military intelligence officer. He estimated that about one-fourth of North Korea's missiles carry such weapons.

Those facts, combined with leaps in North Korean ballistics technology, make missiles a particularly useful tool for Pyongyang in raising alarm among its neighbors.

According to South Korean and U.S. intelligence, North Korea has 500 to 600 Scud missiles, which were developed in the 1980s and can reach targets 150 and 300 miles away. In 1993, North Korea first tested its No Dong missile, expanding its reach to 800 miles, thus bringing Japan into range.

On Aug. 31, 1998, North Korea test-fired the three-stage Taepo Dong-1 missile, with a range of approximately 1,250 miles, over Japan. The missile's first stage splashed down in the Sea of Japan, and a second stage crossed over Japan's main island of Honshu and landed in the Pacific Ocean.

A third stage, which U.S. intelligence agencies detected only a few weeks later, broke into pieces and traveled 3,450 miles downrange. Another such test would reverberate loudly in Asia and the United States.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A48894-2002Dec28.html>

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Baltimore Sun  
December 30, 2002

## **Bin Laden Said To Have Sought Nuclear Arms**

***Top Pakistani scientist rebuffed approaches in 2000 and 2001, son says***

By Associated Press

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan - A leading Pakistani nuclear scientist, barred by his government from talking to reporters, has made it known through his son that Osama bin Laden approached him before the Sept. 11 attacks for help in making nuclear weapons.

The al-Qaida leader was rebuffed, the son, Azim Mahmood, told the Associated Press.

"Basically, Osama asked my father, 'How can a nuclear bomb be made, and can you help us make one?'" he said.

"My father said, 'No, and, secondly, you must understand it is not child's play for you to build a nuclear bomb.'"

The scientist, Sultan Bashiruddin Mahmood, is under a gag order from Pakistani intelligence officials, but his conversations with bin Laden in meetings in 2000 and as late as July 2001 were reconstructed for the Associated Press by his son.

The conversations as described by Azim Mahmood clearly show that bin Laden was interested in developing nuclear weapons. They don't, however, shed any light on whether the terrorist mastermind had taken even the first steps on that complex technological challenge.

The U.S. Embassy declined to discuss Mahmood's account. U.S. officials in Washington also declined to comment. There has been previous evidence of al-Qaida's interest in nuclear weapons.

The conversations related by Azim Mahmood confirm bin Laden's nuclear ambitions. But they also offer a glimpse at the nexus of science and conservative Islam at a high level in Pakistan, one of the world's newest nuclear powers along with neighboring India, whose leaders follow a Hindu fundamentalist philosophy.

The elder Mahmood, who has been questioned by the FBI and is under close Pakistani surveillance, is a conservative Muslim who espouses the same puritanical brand of Islam as Afghanistan's former Taliban rulers. Enraged over Pakistan's plans in 1998 to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, he resigned from the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission and devoted his time to his charity, the Holy Quran Research Foundation. Last December, President Bush labeled the charity a terrorist group and Mahmood a terrorist. His assets and those of his charity were frozen.

"Even my father's pension is blocked. At the moment he has nothing," said Azim Mahmood, a physician in his 30s who also adheres to a strict Islam.

For years, Pakistani peace activists and liberal academics have fretted about Islamic hard-liners in Pakistan's nuclear organization.

"We have always expressed our fear that a large number of people in the nuclear establishment would be ideologically motivated to share Pakistan's nuclear weapons technology," said Dr. A.H. Nayyar, a nuclear physicist and research fellow at the Sustainable Development Policy Institute, an independent Pakistani group.

Azim Mahmood said his father met with bin Laden in Afghanistan several times. "Definitely, this question of building a nuclear bomb came up."

The father was detained in November 2001, questioned and freed in February, but has to carry a mobile phone at all times so Pakistani intelligence can track his movements, the son said.

He said his father's American interrogators were particularly intrigued by one of his father's books, *Doomsday and Life After Death*, and wanted to know whether it meant he had some kind of inside knowledge of what al-Qaida was planning.

Sultan Mahmood met bin Laden in 2000 while visiting Afghanistan to build a school, the son said. He wanted to help the Taliban, because he was angry at the international criticism of its brand of Islam, the son recalled.

"My father shared the Taliban thinking. He liked their system of government. He wanted to help them."

When bin Laden learned that a nuclear scientist was in Kabul, he sent an al-Qaida operative, Abu Bilal, to the Pakistani's hotel to arrange a meeting, the son said.

"My father went to meet him and he said, 'Why don't you come and help us build these things?'" Azim Mahmood said, adding that the two men met several times in the Afghan capital and that the discussion invariably returned to nuclear weapons.

The al-Qaida leader wanted a nuclear device, Azim Mahmood said. "Al-Qaida also wanted a person who could train their people, and who could get them enriched material for their weapons."

Experts say, however, that making a nuclear bomb requires a cadre of highly trained, experienced scientists and technicians.

<http://www.sunspot.net/news/printedition/bal-te.pakistan30dec30.story>

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Pg. 3

## **Iraq's Germ Weaponry Upgraded**

By Associated Press

Biological weapons are among the few capabilities Iraq has improved since being defeated by a U.S.-led coalition in the 1991 Persian Gulf war, government officials say.

Working under the noses of U.N. inspectors from 1991 to 1998, President Saddam Hussein's government probably developed mobile germ-warfare labs and processes to create dried bacteria for deadlier and longer-lasting weapons, U.S. officials and former weapons inspectors say.



Pentagon officials say Iraq's biological arsenal could do the most damage, physical and psychological, if it were used to retaliate immediately against a U.S. invasion rather than in later stages of battle.

Although U.S. troops are being vaccinated against anthrax and smallpox and have protective gear, a biological attack cannot be detected until after exposure. Even if a biological attack did not kill U.S. troops, it could kill many civilians and create a logistical mess that would slow an American advance and strain the military's medical capabilities.

"The most frightening thing is Iraq's biological program," said David Kay, a former chief weapons inspector for the United Nations. "Even in my inspection days, it was the program we knew the least about."

What inspectors eventually learned was disturbing. After the 1995 defection of Saddam's son-in-law, who ran the germ-weapons program, Iraq acknowledged brewing thousands of gallons of deadly germs and toxins and loading some of them in bombs, missile warheads and rockets.

The weapons included anthrax, the germ that killed seven persons in last year's U.S. mail attacks; botulinum toxin, nature's most deadly poison; Clostridium perfringens, a flesh-eating bacterium that causes gas gangrene; and aflatoxin, a fungal poison that causes liver cancer.

In late 1998, frustrated by Iraq's refusal to cooperate, the inspectors withdrew shortly before the United States and Britain began "Operation Desert Fox," a bombing campaign to compel compliance by Iraq. Saddam refused to let the inspectors return.

Iraq claimed it destroyed all its biological weapons. U.N. inspectors concluded in 1999 that probably was a lie, because Saddam's scientists could have made thousands of gallons of biological weapons without declaring them. U.S. officials say Iraq's latest weapons declaration does not clear up discrepancies.

"Before the inspectors were forced to leave Iraq, they concluded that Iraq could have produced 26,000 liters of anthrax. That is three times the amount Iraq had declared," Secretary of State Colin L. Powell said recently. "Yet the Iraqi declaration is silent on this stockpile, which alone would be enough to kill several million people."

The omissions, U.S. officials and former inspectors say, are strong evidence that Iraq has retained at least some of its biological arsenal.

Iraq's development of anthrax-drying technology makes that arsenal even more dangerous than it was during the Gulf war. Its earlier biological-weapons efforts relied on a liquid slurry of anthrax, which let the spores clump together and made it difficult to get the fine aerosol needed to get the germs into people's lungs.

U.N. inspectors in the late 1990s found Iraq had drying machines that could be used to make a powdered form of anthrax.

The Iraqis claimed they were making a biological pesticide from a worm-killing bacteria known as BT, said former inspector Jonathan Tucker. But they were making particles so small they would float through the air, not settle onto crops like a biopesticide should, Mr. Tucker said.

<http://www.washtimes.com/national/20021228-22052970.htm>

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