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InsideDefense.com June 8, 2001

Daschle 'Troubled' By Possible 2004 NMD Deployment Date

Sen. Tom Daschle (D-SD) said today he was "troubled" by news reports indicating that the Bush administration was contemplating deploying a rudimentary National Missile Defense by 2004.

"I don't understand. They would never allow that for anything else in any aspect of social policy," the Senate majority leader told reporters on Capitol Hill today. "They wouldn't say 'let's commit \$100 billion and see if it works,' but that's what they want to do with missile defense. They wouldn't commit to something in foreign policy without making sure that we could work it through with our allies."

The Washington Post today cited administration and industry officials as saying the administration was looking into options like deploying five interceptor missiles at a site in Alaska before the installation of the X-band radar system that would also be based there before the end of President Bush's first term.

"The system doesn't even work without radar," Daschle said. "I mean, there is such a rush to deploy that I think it's going to be an embarrassment to them, to the country, if we rush to judgment, rush to the commitment of resources."

He added a budgetary consideration: "Here we are talking about whether we can live within the appropriations caps and they want to go out and deploy something that clearly has not been shown yet to even work."

Speaking to reporters in Brussels following his speech to the North Atlantic Council, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld today rebutted doubts about the viability of an NMD system. "Does your car work? If it doesn't work 100 percent of the time, do you want to get rid of it and walk? Not really. Is there a single weapons system in any country on the face of the earth that works 100 percent of the time? Answer: not to my knowledge," he said. "Now, I've heard the criticism of missile defense technology, that there have been some failures. I don't know a single advanced research and development project in the history of mankind that didn't suffer a series of failures," Rumsfeld said. "I mean, if the Wright brothers had stopped after the first 30 or 40 attempts at getting an airplane in the air, we wouldn't have airplanes. There is no question that in any R&D activity, you end up learning something by trying it."

-- John Liang

International Herald Tribune June 9-10, 2001

Missile Threat To U.S. 'Hypothetical'

Russian Defense Chief Discounts Bush Shield, Citing Other Perils

By The Associated Press

BRUSSELS -- The heart of President George W. Bush's case for building a missile defense - that the United States is threatened by long-range missiles - is "entirely hypothetical," the Russian defense minister said Friday. There are plenty of other threats, he added.

The comments here by Defense Minister Sergei Ivanov indicated that, while Moscow was willing to discuss the issue, it remains opposed to lifting legal restraints on defenses against long-range attack.

Missile defense is expected to be one of the main focuses of Mr. Bush's trip to Europe this coming week, including a meeting Wednesday in Brussels of presidents and prime ministers from all 19 NATO countries as well as Mr. Bush's first face-to-face meeting with President Vladimir Putin of Russia on June 16.

In Iowa on Friday, Mr. Bush said he wanted to persuade Russia as well as missile defense critics in Congress that "it's time to think differently about defense."

"Russia is no longer our enemy, and therefore we shouldn't be locked into a Cold War mentality that says we keep the peace by blowing each other up. In my attitude, that's old, that's tired, that's stale," Mr. Bush said. "Our United States and our allies ought to develop the capacity to address the true threats of the 21st century. The true threats are biological and informational warfare."

"The true threats are the fact that some rogue nations who can't stand America, our allies or our freedoms or our successes will try to point a missile at us, and we must have the capacity to shoot that missile down," he added. Laying groundwork for the Bush-Putin session, Mr. Ivanov and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld met Friday at NATO headquarters for 90 minutes. They agreed that both their countries face serious new threats, but they disagreed on how best to defend against them.

"How to parry these threats or how to approach them in the future, we don't have absolutely identical views," Mr. Ivanov said. "There is nothing terrible, nothing tragic, about that."

In remarks before the meeting, Mr. Ivanov was more blunt. He said religious extremism, terrorism and drug trafficking are the chief threats of today, while adding that in the longer term Russia would take "very, very seriously" the threat of medium-range ballistic missiles from "unstable regimes" - an apparent reference to countries like North Korea or Iraq.

As for the threat of attack by intercontinental ballistic missiles - those capable of reaching U.S. territory - "that is nowadays an entirely hypothetical problem," Mr. Ivanov said. "There is no chance of it coming back onto the agenda for a long while." In a view shared by some NATO countries, Russia argues that missile defenses could trigger a new arms race. Russia also fears that a limited defensive system as envisioned by Mr. Bush could be expanded later.

In Washington on Friday, Senator Tom Daschle, the Senate majority leader, said he cannot see the logic of going forward with missile defense before proving that it works.

"We're not opposed to research, but to commit that level of revenue to a concept that may or may not prove to be practical or even do-able is something that I'm mystified by," Mr. Daschle said.

Asked in Brussels whether Mr. Rumsfeld had made progress toward persuading Russia to amend or abandon the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which expressly forbids an anti-missile system designed to defend the whole

United States, Mr. Ivanov said, "Maybe Secretary Rumsfeld will correct me, but I did not get the impression that he was trying to convince me to tear up the 1972 ABM Treaty."

In response, Mr. Rumsfeld said his goal was to put in place a means of creating a "framework that will make sense for the 21st century." He was not more specific, but he and Mr. Bush have said before that they want to establish a new, broader basis for U.S.-Russian relations, including agreement to permit missile defenses and make further cuts in offensive nuclear arms.

"I told the minister something that I believe very deeply: The interests of the Russian people and the people of the United States are very much the same, and it's to have a stable world, a peaceful world," Mr. Rumsfeld said. Mr. Rumsfeld flew on to Turku, Finland, to attend a meeting Saturday of defense ministers from the Nordic countries, of which two - Norway and Denmark - are NATO members, and from the Baltic states, all three of which - Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania - want to joint the alliance.

Russia strongly opposes NATO taking in the Baltic states, which were part of the Soviet Union.

Korea Times June 11, 2001

US Seeks To Control N. Korean Missile Program: Hubbard

By Son Key-young, Korea Times Correspondent

WASHINGTON -- The United States is seeking to restrict North Korea's production and deployment of missiles exceeding certain ranges, as well as a complete ban on its exports of missiles, a senior U.S. official said recently.

"We had talks with them before. We made clear what we would like to see, which is an end to their exports of missiles, curtailment of production and deployment of missiles with certain ranges," Thomas Hubbard, who has been designated as U.S. ambassador to Seoul, told The Korea Times.

During the waning months of the Clinton administration, the United States and North Korea held intensive talks on missiles, almost nearing a breakthrough. Bush's security advisors complained that the breakneck pace of the Clinton administration's negotiations with North Korea lacked sufficient verification guarantees.

Although he didn't specify the ceilings of North Korea's missile ranges Washington hopes to enforce, Hubbard apparently referred to the permissible level set by the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR).

The international regime aims to restrict the export of delivery systems and related technology of systems capable of carrying a 500 kilogram payload at least 300 kilometers.

A South Korean official said that the United States is seeking to have North Korea join the MTCR as an ultimate goal of its missile nonproliferation policy.

However, it will not be easy for Washington to curtail Pyongyang's deployment of medium- and long-range missiles, as it insists that it is a matter of national sovereignty.

Hubbard indicated that the United States will try to strike a deal on missile issues in exchange for incentives, such as the improvement of bilateral relations.

"I think North Koreans are interested in a better relationship with the United States," he said.

Asked whether Washington will hold a separate meeting with Pyongyang to address missile issues, Hubbard said, "I think we are going to start by having comprehensive talks, as Secretary (of State Colin Powell) has indicated, and then see what will be next."

In Wednesday's statement, President Bush vowed to seek ``verifiable constraints on North Korea's missile programs and a ban on its missile exports."

According to the South Korean official, Bush's proposal includes inspections of the North's military facilities, as the United States and the former Soviet Union did on a reciprocal basis following their advance declaration on the number of missiles.

Los Angeles Times June 9, 2001

Russians Renew Pledge To Destroy Chemical Arsenal

Weapons: Moscow's commitment to ridding its stockpile comes under scrutiny as the U.S. reconsiders its financial support for the task.

By Maura Reynolds, Times Staff Writer

SHCHUCHYE, Russia--The flags of the United States and nine other countries went up here Friday over the planned site of a chemical weapons destruction facility as part of a new campaign to demonstrate that Russia has finally gotten serious about eliminating its stockpiles of nerve gas and other lethal agents.

Washington has pledged \$888 million to help Russia destroy its 40,000 tons of chemical weapons and has already paid about \$260 million. But, complaining of a lack of commitment by the Russians, the U.S. Congress has blocked further appropriations.

The Bush administration is conducting a wide-ranging review of assistance programs to Russia and is expected to announce in coming weeks whether it will continue to support such programs, including construction of the destruction facility in Shchuchye, a town in the Ural Mountains that has one of Russia's largest stockpiles. "Last year, Russia wasn't fulfilling its obligations and wasn't supplying enough money," Sergei V. Kiriyenko, a former prime minister who is chairing a new presidential commission on chemical weapons, acknowledged Friday. Dozens of officials from Western Europe and the United States had come here for the flag-raising and a daylong series of events.

"The situation has changed markedly this year," Kiriyenko said. "We can present a fully developed program. This year, the Congress has a real reason to change its policy."

Under the programs agreed to by the United States and Russia in the early 1990s, the Shchuchye plant was to be the centerpiece of Russian efforts to dismantle and destroy its chemical agents.

During the Cold War, Russia stockpiled about 40,000 tons of such weapons, much of it lethal nerve gas like the sarin that killed 12 people in a Tokyo subway in 1995. The United States had stockpiled about 30,000 tons. By the 1980s, both countries had realized that the stockpiles were militarily useless, since an attempt by either nation to use the weapons would pose unacceptable dangers to its own troops. That's when Washington and Moscow started talks on eliminating their hoards.

In 1997, Russia ratified the international Chemical Weapons Convention and promised to destroy its arsenal by 2007. Plans called for the construction of destruction facilities at each of its seven major stockpile sites, to be built jointly by Russia and international partners.

The facility in Shchuchye is expected to be the largest, capable of destroying at least 800 tons of nerve gas a year. It will start with the arsenal of 2 million artillery shells and several thousand rockets stored here. Just one of the shells could kill a football stadium full of people; the rockets could take out a metropolitan area the size of Los Angeles. And Shchuchye accounts for only about 14% of Russia's stockpile.

"The elimination of these weapons is absolutely in the interest of all nations," Kiriyenko said.

Russian officials acknowledge that, until now, chemical weapons destruction had a low priority. American inspectors say Russia's arsenal is in better condition than U.S. weapons, with comparatively little deterioration and a safe shelf life of several more decades. And the cost of eliminating the stockpiles--between \$4 billion and \$6 billion-is prohibitive for a country with Russia's economic problems.

However, concern has grown that the sheer size of the stockpiles and their storage in poorly guarded facilities in rural areas make them vulnerable to theft by would-be terrorists. Although beefing up security would be a temporary solution, in the long term, destruction is the only safe option.

Last November, Russian President Vladimir V. Putin signed an order transferring chemical, nuclear and biological weapons disposal from the Defense Ministry to the civilian Russian Munitions Agency, and Russian work on the program accelerated. This year, the Kremlin has put \$120 million into the project, a figure that Russian officials say is six times their previous appropriation.

"I'm convinced they have the intent to do everything possible to comply with the treaty," said Thomas Kuenning, a retired Army general who directs the U.S. Cooperative Threat Reduction Program.

There is little to see at the site of the planned facility in Shchuchye, whose lead contractor is a division of Pasadena-based Parsons Corp. The ground has been graded and some of the birch forest cleared; a crane stands idle. The U.S. has committed only to completing the design and other preparations for construction--ground will not be broken without a decision in Washington.

Congress imposed several conditions to resuming funding. The most important is a greater commitment to funding by both the Russian government and international allies.

So far, nine countries have committed \$70 million, mostly for programs to improve the infrastructure around Shchuchye. But new pledges are unlikely without a renewed commitment from the United States, experts say. "They are all on the fence waiting to see what happens in our government," said Paul McNelly, the chemical weapons program manager in the threat reduction agency.

Aviation Week & Space Technology June 11, 2001 Pg. 48

Real-World Limits Constrain Missile Defense Choices

By Robert Wall, Washington

The Bush Administration's evolving missile defense plan is running into technical and political hurdles that will restrict the extent to which the new architecture can differ from the Clinton-era design.

Those limits came into sharp focus last week in two forms: first, an assessment by U.S. Air Force Gen. (ret.) Larry Welch, who concluded that boost-phase intercept (BPI) of an ICBM doesn't represent a near-term option for a national missile defense (NMD) system; and second, an opening salvo by Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.), now chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, in his battle to preserve the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. Critics of the mid-course intercept approach the Pentagon has been pursuing have argued that a BPI option would make more sense and could be accomplished faster than the existing plan. But Welch, who has chaired several panels reviewing missile defense programs, disagreed. BPI is "technically very challenging," he said. "It is inherently a very difficult task," he added, noting that he doesn't believe it can be developed any faster than the current system.

AMONG THE PROBLEMS such a system would encounter are short engagement timelines and the need for a very high-velocity interceptor, which could catch a boosting ICBM. One concern about the short time available to achieve a BPI kill is that it requires an almost instantaneous decision to launch the interceptor. That could pose a political dilemma, Welch said. The interceptor could be fired before the trajectory of the missile is determined, making it more difficult to distinguish a hostile act from a missile test or a space launch.

One of the advantages of a BPI system is that it would kill the missile before it could release its warhead or countermeasures. However, Welch, who said he "would be very happy, personally, for the country to have a boost-phase capability," warned that new countermeasures not conceived at this point would likely emerge to thwart a BPI system.

The topic of countermeasures has been one of the main areas of criticism for the current land-based NMD system, with critics charging the defensive shield can be spoofed using relatively simple decoys. Welch confirms that the current system is limited in its ability to handle countermeasures, mainly because the Pentagon set a low requirement in this area.

However, more stringent demands are likely to emerge in the coming months. "It seems fairly obvious to all of us that the set of countermeasures was too constrained," Welch said at a National Defense University Foundation meeting.

The Ballistic Missile Defense Organization has established a number of groups to assess what countermeasures an NMD system might face and how to counter them. Three teams have been set up. A red team to devise countermeasures; a blue team trying to defeat them; and a white team, headed by Welch, acting as an impartial arbiter. The white team, which includes representatives critical to national missile defense, will also try to ensure that all potential countermeasures are considered. Some of those countermeasures would then be built and used in flight testing. A review team headed by Welch reported last year that it believes the current system could be bolstered to defeat more advanced countermeasures.

Other weaknesses of the current system are the continued single track development of a kill vehicle, by Raytheon, and an interceptor, by Boeing, Welch stated. Problems in engineering the interceptor have caused repeated delays in the program. Nevertheless, Welch said the existing program is "technically the most mature" with existing complexities well understood. A different approach would bring it new problems that could take some time to understand.

THE PENTAGON PLANS to conduct the next intercept attempt of the national missile defense system next month. The test (IFT-6) will follow about a year after the last intercept attempt, which failed because of a problem with the surrogate booster being used. The target will be launched from Vandenberg AFB, Calif., and the interceptor from the Army's Kwajalein missile range in the Pacific.

The next test will essentially be a repeat of the last intercept attempt, featuring limited decoys. The Pentagon was hoping to conduct quarterly tests, but the pace has slowed drastically because of technical problems. Welch said he isn't perturbed by the slow progress. "It seems to me that it is time well spent," he maintained.

Asked whether the Administration could field a national missile defense system by 2004 before its term expires, Welch said that it would be feasible to deploy "some" system. However, he declined to assess how effective such a system would be, saying guardedly that "effectiveness is in the eye of the beholder."

In addition to this dose of technical realism, Administration officials got a first glimpse of what it will be like to deal with a Democratic-controlled Senate. President Bush has said he wants to move beyond the ABM Treaty to establish a new arms control framework. In a confirmation hearing last week for Douglas J. Feith to become undersecretary of Defense for policy, several Democrats on the panel grilled the nominee on his views regarding arms control agreements, including the ABM Treaty.

"MY DIFFERENCE, I think the difference that a number of us have with you relative to ABM, does not relate to the question of whether or not it would be wise to deploy a missile defense system unilaterally and withdraw from the ABM Treaty. That's a separate issue, an important issue. The problem is, you don't think there is an ABM Treaty," Levin blasted the nominee. The senator was referring to a 1999 article authored by Feith that states the ABM Treaty-along with other U.S.-Soviet bilateral treaties--ceased to exist with the disbanding of the Soviet Union. Feith stood by his interpretation. But he countered that what he rendered at the time was a strict legal opinion. "If I am confirmed for this position," he added, "I will be providing policy advice, not legal advice, to the secretary of defense."

Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld said last week that he expects missile defense research and development to "bump up against" ABM Treaty restrictions.

Washington Post June 12, 2001 Pg. 7

Distribution Of Vaccine For Anthrax Curtailed

Low supplies of the anthrax vaccine are forcing the U.S. military to further tighten distribution, using it only to inoculate special mission forces and for government research, the Pentagon said.

The available vaccine was released by the Food and Drug Administration from a lot made before the renovation of the Lansing, Mich., facilities of BioPort Corp., the sole source of the vaccine for the U.S. military.

BioPort Corp. is awaiting approval by the FDA for its renovated plant.

The Pentagon's anthrax vaccination program has generated controversy since it was launched in May 1998, with some service members refusing to take the shots because of concerns about health consequences.

Los Angeles Times June 12, 2001

Majority In U.S. Backs Missile Shield, Poll Finds

By Paul Richter, Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON--A just-released poll has found that a majority of Americans supports proposals to build a missile defense system, even if the system is costly.

As President Bush arrived in Europe to try to sell his missile defense proposal to allies, the Council on Foreign Relations released the survey, which showed 51% of Americans in favor of an anti-missile shield and 38% against. It found that even liberal Democrats were nearly split on the proposal and showed that views didn't change much after respondents were given the basic arguments for and against the system.

"The default position of the American public is: Protect us," said Andrew Kohut, director of the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, which prepared the survey for the Council on Foreign Relations.

The public's views on the issue have become more important this year in light of the Bush administration's desire to develop a system for deployment by 2004. Administration officials describe the system as a keystone of its national security policy and have signaled that they intend sharp increases in spending to explore promising antimissile technologies.

The results showed that the public has reservations and holds some seemingly contradictory views on the issue, researchers said.

For example, though building a system could force abandonment of arms-control treaties, the poll showed that 54% of Americans believe that arms control treaties are the best protection against a missile attack. In contrast, 34% thought an anti-missile system would be better protection.

The poll was conducted May 15 to 28 and involved 1,468 adults.

It indicated that, overall, arguments in favor of a missile defense system were less well known by the public than arguments against one. Yet the supportive arguments "are regarded as somewhat more compelling than the arguments against creation of a system," Pew researchers wrote.

A majority of respondents saw merit in three major arguments in favor of a system: that a system could protect against accidental missile launches; that it could protect allies; and that current defenses are inadequate.

None of five arguments against building a shield was viewed by a majority as a convincing reason to oppose its creation, Pew researchers said. The arguments were: A system would be too costly; a system could trigger an arms race; the technology isn't available; building a system could damage relations with China and Russia; and that no real threat exists.

Only 41% said the cost of a system was a reason to oppose it. And 34% said the threat to relations with Russia and China was grounds to oppose construction.

Among self-described liberal Democrats, 45% said they favored building a system, while 47% opposed the idea. Moderates were 55% to 34% in favor; it was 70% to 22% among conservatives.

Nevertheless, the public believes by 77% to 10% that terrorism is a greater threat than a long-range missile attack. And 53% said having treaties that would limit the arms race and help control the spread of nuclear weapons is the best way to protect the U.S.

Morton H. Halperin, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and a former senior official in the Clinton administration, stressed the importance of the public's reservations. He noted that only 29% of those surveyed said "we have a pressing need for this system now."

USA Today June 13, 2001 Pg. 10

Senator To Lead Charge Against Missile-Defense Plan

By Bill Nichols, USA Today

WASHINGTON — Just hours before President Bush left for Europe on Monday, he met with Sen. Joseph Biden, D-Del., the new chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The meeting was mainly a courtesy call, but it underscored a new reality for Bush: Even as the president tries to coax reluctant NATO allies in Brussels Wednesday to endorse his goal of building a national missile defense, he will face stiff resistance to his plan from a Senate that has fallen into control of the Democrats. And Biden will be using his new power to lead the opposition.

"I can think of no more important decision that I could take part in," Biden said in a recent interview. "This is one of those things worth losing an election over."

Together with new Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle, D-S.D., and Armed Services Chairman Carl Levin, D-Mich., Biden could become a formidable roadblock for Bush's missile-defense plan. By contrast, Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., who had been Foreign Relations chairman, was a big booster of a missile-defense program.

Bush has called for using U.S. air-, sea- and land-based defenses to protect against missile attacks from hostile nations such as Iran or North Korea. He has yet to spell out how such a system would work or what it would cost. Critics say a broad system envisioned by Bush could cost into the hundreds of billions of dollars.

When the administration makes a specific proposal, "you can expect Joe Biden to go over it with a fine-tooth comb," says Joseph Cirincione, director of the Non-Proliferation Project at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which is based in Washington.

Analysts say many European leaders, who fear a U.S. missile-defense system would spark a new arms race, seem to have strengthened their resolve to oppose the plan since last week's Democratic takeover of the Senate. On Capitol Hill, meanwhile, sentiment is growing that Congress can't afford to finance an expensive missile-defense program after passing a 10-year, \$1.35 trillion tax cut sought by Bush. Lawmakers have provided \$55 billion since 1984 for research and testing. The Bush administration wants to ramp up spending from \$5 billion this year to as much as \$8 billion next year.

Biden, long a Democratic leader in foreign affairs, supports continued research into missile-defense technology, and he says he might support a scaled-down system but not Bush's ambitious plan.

"If you ask people where they are on national missile defense ... they say they are for it," Biden says. "When you ask them if they are for a national missile defense that a lot of scientists say won't work, that support starts to drops off a cliff. Or if you tell them it could cost tens of billions if not hundreds of billions of dollars."

Political analysts say Biden's leading role in this debate might play nicely into a presidential run in 2004, which Biden is considering, according to his aides. "This is an issue you can use to draw a clear distinction with the White House," says Jennifer Duffy, Senate editor for the Cook Political Report.

But there also might be a political downside to opposing a system that Bush argues will make America secure. Analysts say that a Democrat who opposes missile defense risks being branded "soft" on military issues. What's more, national missile defense isn't exactly a topic most Americans discuss at the dinner table.

Some senior Democratic Senate aides don't relish the prospect of a more visible Biden flirting with a race for the White House. He ran for the 1988 Democratic nomination but quit after negative publicity over his admission that he plagiarized passages of speeches given by a British politician, Neil Kinnock. Biden is also known as one of the Senate's most long-winded orators.

Despite his detractors, Biden is in a position to make life difficult for Bush on missile defense and other foreign policy matters:

- * A Biden-led committee might block the confirmation of Otto Reich, Bush's choice to head the State Department's Latin America bureau. Reich has been criticized for overseeing a covert campaign to boost public support for U.S. aid to Nicaraguan rebels during the Reagan administration.
- * Biden will push the Bush administration to remain committed to arms-control treaties, particularly the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which bars most missile defense system. The president says the ABM Treaty between the United States and Soviet Union is invalid and should be scrapped because the Soviet Union no longer exists.
- * Biden has taken a leading role in shaping U.S. policy in the Balkans, and he says he will resist administration moves to pull U.S. troops out of Bosnia-Herzegovina or Kosovo. Biden's first hearing as Foreign Relations chairman Wednesday looks at the unrest in Macedonia and U.S. involvement in the Balkan region. *Contributing: Barbara Slavin and Andrea Stone*.

Washington Times June 13, 2001 Pg. 15 Embassy Row

Friend In Romania

By James Morrison

If President Bush wants support in Europe for his missile-defense plan, Romania is there for him.

Romanian Defense Minister Ioan Mircea Pascu yesterday said he understands the U.S. desire to protect itself against missile attacks from rogue nations or terrorist organizations.

Romania, meanwhile, hopes the Bush administration understands its desire to join NATO in the next round of expansion.

Mr. Pascu told reporters that Romania would have "no objection at all" even if the United States proceeded unilaterally to develop the defense shield.

"For the U.S., I see the value in it," he said.

"Politically speaking, the moment [missile defense] gets a European dimension, Romania will have to evaluate it very seriously," he added, when asked whether Romania would want to be covered by the defensive system.

Mr. Bush, now on his first official European visit, is offering to share missile-defense technology with U.S. allies and Russia, in order to get their support.

Mr. Pascu said some European leaders dismiss Mr. Bush's concerns about missile attacks because they want to ignore the threat.

"It is a real danger. To some, it is not because they don't want it done," he said.

Mr. Pascu is visiting Washington to meet the new administration, members of Congress and think tanks to press Romania's case for NATO membership. He said Romania could act as a stabilizing force in southern Europe.

"The problem in our area is that we have a generating force that produces conflict. ... It is like that lethal cocktail that was injected [Monday] morning," he said, referring to the execution of Timothy McVeigh.

The international force should remain in Bosnia-Herzegovina to ensure stability, and Macedonia must be saved from the threat of rebel Albanian separatists, he said.

Romania, with a \$981.5 million defense budget, is reorganizing its military of 100,000 troops, reducing its top-heavy officer corps and creating more noncommissioned officers.

Romania is also buying Western weapons and teaching the troops to speak English, he said.

Mr. Pascu met yesterday with Marc Grossman, undersecretary of state for political affairs, and Paul Wolfowitz, deputy secretary of defense.

Washington Post June 13, 2001 Pg. 21

North Korea, U.S. To Hold Talks Today On Missiles

By Steven Mufson, Washington Post Staff Writer

North Korea has agreed to a meeting today in New York with State Department special envoy Jack Pritchard to renew negotiations over ending North Korea's missile development and export programs, a State Department official said.

Pritchard will meet with North Korea's permanent representative to the United Nations, Li Hyong Chol, "to make arrangements for bilateral talks," the State Department said in a statement.

It will be the first substantive meeting since President Bush took office and put talks on hold while reviewing U.S. policy toward North Korea. The session comes less than a week after the administration decided to press ahead with contacts on ballistic missiles and conventional forces.

Pritchard, who served on the National Security Council staff in the Clinton administration, is the new special envoy for Korean peace talks, replacing Charles Kartman. Kartman now runs the organization set up to provide North Korea with fuel oil and light-water nuclear reactors for power plants in exchange for its 1994 agreement to abandon its nuclear reactor and fissile material program.

In testimony yesterday before the House International Relations Committee, James Kelly, assistant secretary of state for East Asia and Pacific affairs, said, "We have some important interests to pursue and we're going to do so without any preconditions in beginning a negotiation process that I expect will be protracted, but will be a very serious one." Kelly said Bush administration officials "want to see an end to the North's missile program and its proliferation activity." He added that "we also want to explore ways of reducing tension on the Korean peninsula caused by confrontation of conventional forces."

The administration has been heavily criticized during its North Korea policy review. While most Korea experts have praised its decision to reengage with North Korea, many were still offering advice to the Bush administration this week.

South Korean Foreign Minister Han Seung-soo said in a speech at the American Enterprise Institute on Monday that the Bush administration should take note of "positive signs of change in North Korea" since June 2000.

A task force organized by the Council on Foreign Relations urged the administration on Monday to continue diplomacy with North Korean leader Kim Jong II, "who surfaces as a serious public political figure embarking on a remarkable diplomatic offensive." The group said the United States should work with South Korea and Japan, let South Korea take the lead in engagement with the North, involve top-level leaders in North Korea who are the only ones able to make important decisions, focus on priorities and demand reciprocity where it applies.

New York Times June 13, 2001 Pg. 1

Life For Terrorist In Embassy Attack

By Benjamin Weiser

A terrorist convicted of 213 counts of murder in the 1998 bombing of the American Embassy in Kenya will be sentenced to life in prison without the possibility of parole because a federal jury in Manhattan said it was deadlocked yesterday on whether to impose the death penalty.

Under the law, a unanimous verdict was required before the bomber, Mohamed Rashed Daoud al-'Owhali, 24, could be sentenced to death.

The jury of seven women and five men, which was in its fifth day of deliberations, did not reveal how its vote was split on capital punishment. But it did offer tantalizing hints that its deliberations were marked by disagreements that went beyond a single holdout juror.

In announcing the verdict, the jury forewoman said in court that 10 of the 12 jurors had concluded that "executing al-'Owhali could make him a martyr."

She also said that five of the jurors found that "life in prison is a greater punishment since his freedom is severely curtailed."

These and other findings suggested that the jury, which for security reasons is anonymous, was splintered on moral and political grounds as it weighed the arguments for and against the death penalty.

Mr. al-'Owhali was convicted last month by the same jury in the Nairobi attack, and of conspiring with the Saudi exile Osama bin Laden in a terrorist conspiracy to kill Americans anywhere in the world.

The trial testimony showed that Mr. al-'Owhali helped deliver the bomb to the Embassy in Nairobi, and later confessed his role to F.B.I. agents after his arrest, saying he had expected to die in the "martyrdom operation." Judge Leonard B. Sand will impose Mr. al-'Owhali's sentence on Sept. 12.

A second death penalty hearing is to begin Tuesday before the same jury against Khalfan Khamis Mohamed, 27, who helped assemble and deliver the bomb used in the attack on the American Embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, which killed 11 people. Yesterday, Judge Sand ruled over government objections that Mr. Mohamed's lawyers may cite a recent ruling by South Africa's highest court that he was illegally sent to the United States after his arrest in Cape Town in 1999.

Two other defendants convicted last month in the embassy bombings trial face sentences of life in prison. The jury's deadlock and verdict in Mr. al-'Owhali's case came one day after Timothy J. McVeigh was executed in Indiana for bombing the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City in 1995, killing 168 people. Judge Sand had earlier warned the jury to "make every effort" to avoid publicity about the McVeigh case.

Mary Jo White, the United States attorney in Manhattan, said yesterday that in Mr. al-'Owhali's case: "The government sought the death penalty because it concluded that it was the just punishment for this defendant and his crimes. But the imposition of the death penalty is uniquely a matter for the jury to decide, and we respect their verdict."

Mr. al-'Owhali sat quietly holding a Koran as the verdict was delivered.

Outside court, one of his lawyers, Frederick H. Cohn, said: "This is an extraordinary victory for a system that was really put to the test. And that a jury in New York could make the findings it could in the face of real human tragedy that was well presented by the government is a credit to the system."

Another of his lawyers, David P. Baugh, concurred, saying that "in light of the McVeigh situation and all else that's going on, I think it says a lot of very positive things about our country."

But some victims who had testified at the death penalty hearing reacted with anger and sadness.

Howard Kavaler, an American diplomat who had described for the jury his vain search through the embassy rubble for his wife, Prabhi G. Kavaler, also a diplomat, who was killed in the explosion, said he was extremely disappointed "that the jury accepted some or all of the patently false and dishonest arguments advanced by the defense to save the life of a convicted mass murderer."

"Unfortunately, an opportunity was missed to send an unambiguous message to the malcontents of the world intent on terrorizing the United States and its citizens abroad," Mr. Kavaler said.

Mr. Kavaler's 12-year-old daughter, Tara, who had sat with her father in court, added: "I'm pretty angry and disappointed that he was not given the death penalty. He really — he deserved it. He killed so many people. I would have felt a lot better."

The jury sent a note to Judge Sand on Monday suggesting it might be deadlocked, and sent another note yesterday at 11:20 a.m., making what it called "an unusual request," for a copy of the oath the jurors had taken.

That note suggested that some jurors might be accusing others of not following their oath to deliver a just verdict. Later, when the jury emerged at around 2:30, and the forewoman read aloud from an 18-page verdict form, the possible areas of conflict emerged more clearly.

The verdict form had been prepared for the jury to register its votes on the aggravating factors offered by the government in favor of execution, and on mitigating factors offered by the defense.

The form is part of a process required under federal law that tries to ensure that juries do not make arbitrary and capricious decisions on executions, a critical reason earlier death penalty laws were invalidated.

There was also space for any mitigating factors the jurors themselves came up with against execution. The form also asked the jury for the number of votes for each mitigating factor. The 12 jurors had to be unanimous to find an aggravating factor.

The jury was then to weigh all the factors in coming up with a verdict.

The form did not, however, ask the jurors to specify how they weighed the factors against one another.

The form shows that all 12 jurors agreed that prosecutors had proven as an aggravating factor that the bombing had caused a devastating impact on victims and their families, causing physical, emotional and economic hardships.

But nine jurors also voted for a mitigating factor, which they developed on their own, that "executing al- 'Owhali may not necessarily alleviate the victims' or victims' families' suffering."

The jury also found unanimously that prosecutors had proved other aggravating factors, such as the planning and premeditation that went into the attack; that Mr. al- 'Owhali intended to kill more than one person; and that his victims included high-ranking American officials.

But the jury could not reach unanimity on another aggravating factor advanced by the government, that Mr. al-'Owhali, if sentenced to life imprisonment, would present a serious and continuing threat to prison guards. In voting for mitigating factors offered by the defense, five of the jurors found that Mr. al-'Owhali had at an early age been indoctrinated in conservative Muslim teachings that promoted jihad and martyrdom.

Members of the jury came up with a total of five mitigating factors on their own against executing Mr. al-'Owhali. Four jurors, for example, found that lethal injection — the method used by the federal government — "is very humane and the defendant will not suffer," the forewoman said.

Four jurors developed another mitigating factor, that "al-'Owhali was raised in a completely different culture, society, and belief system."

That was one of the many arguments prosecutors had sought to rebut in the death penalty hearing, telling the jury that Mr. al-'Owhali came from a privileged and educated background, had made his life's choices freely and was not brainwashed. A prosecutor, Patrick J. Fitzgerald, told the jury last week that the embassy bombing was the rare case in which execution was the just punishment, adding, "If not this case, then when?"

New York Times June 13, 2001

Charges Near In Bombing At Saudi Base, U.S. Aides Say

By David Johnston

WASHINGTON, June 12 — After a five-year inquiry that at times seemed near collapse because of disagreements with Saudi Arabia, American authorities said today that they were close to bringing charges against Saudi militants for the 1996 truck bombing at the Khobar Towers apartment building that killed 19 American airmen.

It was unclear when the indictments might be returned or whether any of the dozens of Saudis already in jail in connection with the bombing would be among them. It was also uncertain whether any of those likely to be cited in the charges could actually be brought to the United States to stand trial.

The federal grand jury investigation has been conducted by the F.B.I and prosecutors in the Eastern District of Virginia. The possible indictments were first reported tonight by CBS News.

For years, the case has been swept up in the changing relationship between the United States and Iran, which some counterterorism officials have blamed at least in part for helping to mastermind the attack, through officers of its state intelligence service.

Some officials said that it now appeared unlikely that any Iranian officials would be accused of complicity in the bombing, although the complete list of people to be charged, their nationalities and possible links to foreign governments remained unclear.

In recent years, as relations improved with the moderate government of President Mohammad Khatami, American diplomats have demanded what law enforcement officials have described as direct and specific evidence of Iranian involvement before they would accuse Iran of responsibility.

A charge of state sponsorship against Iran could provoke politically unpalatable demands for military retaliation, which the Clinton administration initially threatened against the perpetrators.

The case has been a high priority for the outgoing F.B.I. director, Louis J. Freeh. He pledged a full investigation and traveled to Saudi Arabia frequently, often on frustrating missions to obtain its government's reluctant cooperation in solving the bombing.

Three years ago, angry over the unwillingness of the Saudis to allow the F.B.I. greater access, Mr. Freeh quietly pulled out the dozens of investigators initially sent to the scene of the bombing, an apartment complex in eastern Saudi Arabia, leaving behind only a single agent as a legal attaché and liaison to the Saudis.

But the F.B.I. along with the Departments of Justice and Defense vowed that they would never abandon the inquiry, which began after a fuel truck packed with tons of explosives detonated outside the apartment complex. About 500 people were wounded in the blast.

Federal officials complained that the Saudis refused to allow agents to interrogate dozens of suspects arrested by the Saudis and to review critical evidence. It took months after the bombing, they said, for the Saudis to agree to allow the F.B.I. to examine a car used by the bombers during their escape.

Some American business executives and others close to the Saudi government said the Saudis were equally frustrated by the F.B.I. They said the Saudis complained that the bureau was reluctant to accept the validity of evidence gathered by the Saudis, suggesting that the attack was carried out by Saudi dissidents with the help of Iran. The evidence, they said, included videotapes of confessions by some suspects and wiretaps.

Washington Times June 14, 2001 Pg. 1

Software Likely In Hands Of Terrorist

By Jerry Seper, The Washington Times

Accused spy Robert P. Hanssen gave secret U.S. software to his Russian handlers that later went to terrorist Osama bin Laden, allowing him to monitor U.S. efforts to track him down, federal law enforcement officials said. The sophisticated software gives bin Laden access to databases on specific targets of his choosing and the ability to monitor electronic banking transactions, easing money-laundering operations for himself or others, according to the sources.

Believed to be an upgraded version of a program known as "Promis" developed in the 1980s by a Washington firm, the software originally was designed by Inslaw Inc. to give U.S. attorneys the ability to keep tabs on their caseloads. The program has since been heavily modified and revised.

The sources, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, believe Mr. Hanssen, a former FBI agent now awaiting trial on federal espionage charges, delivered upgraded versions of the software to his Russian handlers, who then sold it for \$2 million to bin Laden, now being sought in the bombing of two U.S. embassies in Africa.

Federal prosecutors have declined comment on the Hanssen case.

But the government charged in its complaint against the former FBI agent that he made extensive use of the bureau's computerized case management systems -- Field Office Information Management Systems (FOIMS) and Community On-Line Intelligence Systems (COINS) -- as part of his espionage activities for his Russian handlers. The government also said Mr. Hanssen gave his handlers a technical manual on the U.S. intelligence community's secure network for online access to intelligence databases.

The sources said FOIMS and COINS are believed to be upgraded versions of the Promis software program. Inslaw President William A. Hamilton said he had no specific information on the Hanssen case, but noted that government sources told the firm a modified version of the Promis software had been deployed in the mid 1980s as the "standard on-line database software for the gathering and dissemination of intelligence information by U.S. intelligence agencies, the intelligence components of the U.S. armed forces and U.S. law enforcement agencies." "The technical manual the FBI alleges Hanssen gave to the Soviet Union may, therefore, have been related to the use of Promis as the standard software of the U.S. intelligence community," Mr. Hamilton said, noting that Mr. Hanssen was a "computer savvy FBI agent" who reportedly was instrumental in introducing the FOIMS system into his foreign counterintelligence division.

Inslaw battled the Justice Department for more than a decade over a \$10 million, three-year contract to install the Promis program. A federal court initially ruled the department used "trickery, fraud and deceit" to steal the Promis program, but that ruling later was overturned in the government's favor.

The House Judiciary Committee, following a three-year investigation, ruled in 1992 there was "strong evidence" the Justice Department had conspired to steal the Promis program.

Washington attorney Plato Cacheris, who represents Mr. Hanssen, was not available yesterday for comment. Mr. Hanssen pleaded not guilty May 30 to federal charges of passing highly classified U.S. secrets to the Russians over a 15-year period. He faces trial tentatively scheduled for Oct. 29, and could be sentenced to death if convicted. Arrested by FBI agents Feb. 18 as he tried to leave a package of classified documents at a secret drop-off location in a park near his Vienna, Va., home, he was indicted by a federal grand jury May 16 on charges of selling U.S. intelligence secrets to the Soviet Union and Russia beginning in October 1985. Fourteen of the 21 counts carry the death penalty.

The indictment said Mr. Hanssen "betrayed his country for over 15 years and knowingly caused grave injury to the security of the United States." It said he conspired with agents from the Soviet KGB and its successor intelligence agency, the SVR, to deliver to Moscow "information relating to the national defense of the United States."

The 27-year FBI counterintelligence agent is accused of giving his Russian handlers classified information concerning satellites, early-warning systems, means of defense or retaliation against large-scale attacks, communications intelligence and major elements of defense strategy.

Bin Laden, now believed to be in Afghanistan, is a self-proclaimed international terrorist being sought in the bombing of two U.S. embassies in Africa that killed 224 persons, including 12 Americans.

The 41-year-old fugitive millionaire was indicted in November by a federal grand jury in New York in the simultaneous explosions Aug. 7 at the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. U.S. authorities believe he directed the attacks as part of a campaign aimed at changing U.S. foreign policy by killing U.S. civilians and military personnel worldwide.

His organization, known as al-Qaeda, is believed to have targeted U.S. embassies and American soldiers stationed in Saudi Arabia and Somalia.

The organization also is accused of housing and training terrorists and of raising money to support its cause.

Los Angeles Times June 14, 2001 Pg. 1

NATO Cool To Missile Shield

Defense: In Brussels, Bush reports "progress" in trying to sell his plan. Most alliance members, however, appear to remain opposed to the president's proposal.

By Robin Wright and Edwin Chen, Times Staff Writers

BRUSSELS--After his debut before the world's most powerful military alliance Wednesday, President Bush said he made "good progress" in convincing U.S. allies in Europe about the need for a new approach to strategic defense based on his controversial proposal to create a missile shield.

But a majority of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's 19 member states still appeared to be resisting the U.S. plan.

At least four countries in the 19-member NATO--Italy, Hungary, Poland and Spain--expressed interest in exploring development of a missile defense system, according to U.S. officials.

Bush said his inaugural meeting here, called to introduce the new administration and its ideas to NATO, proved that the United States remains committed to joint efforts.

"I hope the notion of a unilateral approach died in some people's minds today here. Unilateralists don't come around the table to listen to others and to share opinion," Bush told a news conference after four hours of meetings with his 18 counterparts in the transatlantic alliance.

"People know I'm intent on doing what I think is the right thing," Bush added.

For all the polite diplomatic exchanges, however, resistance to the plan remains strong among the majority of NATO countries. U.S. allies here want extensive discussions before making any formal decision, according to European envoys.

In blunt language, French President Jacques Chirac told the summit that while France was ready to discuss the proposed shield, it was not prepared to abandon treaties and disarmament efforts that have formed the basis of defense for almost three decades.

One fundamental is "the need to preserve the strategic balances, of which the Antiballistic Missile Treaty is a pillar," Chirac said.

Prime Minister Wim Kok of the Netherlands also said abrogating the 1972 ABM Treaty, which many see as a necessary consequence of building the missile shield, would be wrong. Germany repeatedly has made clear its reservations about both missile defense and walking away from an effective arms control regime, which could trigger a new global arms race.

Most important, NATO allies still challenge the Bush administration's justification for missile defense: that the major post-Cold War threat is from missiles fired by "rogue" nations. The gap was evident last month at a NATO

conference in Budapest, Hungary, when the allies refused to sign on to a statement affirming the threat, except as a possible danger down the road.

"We're still in the same position. Bush's visit didn't change our doubts about this supposed common threat," said a senior European official in Brussels who asked to remain anonymous. "We don't think there should be a common response. And we don't think the sole method of response is an antimissile defense."

The only thing Bush clearly gained in Brussels was an audience, and even that was due largely to the well-orchestrated format. Each head of state gave a written five-minute speech, which precluded any serious debate. The luncheon discussion focused on the crisis in the Balkan nation of Macedonia, European envoys said.

The undercurrent of opposition was evident on the streets in and near the Belgian capital as Bush was greeted by small waves of protest. At a military airport where Air Force One landed, about two dozen Greenpeace protesters dressed in white jumpsuits chained themselves together in front of an exit gate.

Demonstrators deployed along the president's limousine route into town, blocking some roads, chaining themselves to traffic lights and snarling traffic. Banners carried by environmental groups read, "Bush--Wanted for crimes against the planet." Police estimated that 400 protesters were gathered outside NATO headquarters.

The most imaginative protester was a parachutist propelled by a small motor who waved a banner--"Stop Star Wars"--as he dropped over NATO headquarters. He was arrested after landing. By day's end, about 30 demonstrators had been arrested, police said.

U.S. officials tried to sound unperturbed about the protests and negative press throughout Europe. "Every president is a caricature until his first trip," White House Chief of Staff Andrew H. Card Jr. told reporters en route to Brussels from Madrid, the first stop on Bush's five-nation tour.

The Bush team was generally upbeat Wednesday about the president's trip. "I think they've given the president a good listen," Card said. "There's a recognition that the paradigm of the past is something we should move away from."

The alliance did find common ground Wednesday in pledging to work harder to help end the rapidly deteriorating conflict in Macedonia.

"NATO must play a more visible and active role" in helping Macedonia deal with the escalating challenge from ethnic Albanian militants, Bush said.

Talks in the conference rooms and smoke-filled corridors of NATO headquarters included the possible need for alliance peacekeepers to separate the Slav-dominated government troops from the rebels and prevent a new round of ethnic warfare in the volatile Balkans.

"Our history of engagement in that part of the world has taught us that it is better to make preparations and to stabilize the situation rather than to wait and let the situation deteriorate," British Prime Minister Tony Blair said. Chirac warned that failure to take action would jeopardize stability throughout the Balkans--including in Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina, where altogether NATO has about 56,000 troops. France has been the most active proponent of the idea of a NATO force in Macedonia, but Germany, the Netherlands and the Czech Republic also are calling for a wider alliance role, U.S. and European officials said.

But Bush deferred questions about such a deployment, saying he believes that most countries are troubled at the prospect of sending forces to the former Yugoslav republic.

"Most people believe there's still a political solution available before troops are committed," he said.

NATO Secretary-General George Robertson and European Union foreign policy chief Javier Solana are scheduled to visit Macedonia today for talks with President Boris Trajkovski. As part of Trajkovski's latest cease-fire proposal, all of Macedonia's political parties are to meet this week to discuss national reconciliation.

Secretary of State Colin L. Powell met Wednesday with Robertson and Solana to discuss steps to shore up the peace process. Powell said the U.S., EU and NATO "want to create momentum for Trajkovski's peace plan, momentum for the political process and momentum for results in political discussions," according to State Department spokesman Richard Boucher.

Wall Street Journal June 14, 2001

Bush Defends Missile Plan To Allies, But Skepticism Remains In Europe

By Jeanne Cummings and Matthew Kaminski, Staff Reporters of The Wall Street Journal

BRUSSELS -- U.S. President Bush offered a forceful explanation for his proposed missile-defense program to European allies, but skepticism remained even as it became plain he will move forward with or without them. "I don't think we are going to have to move, as they say, unilaterally. I think people are coming our way," Mr. Bush said in a news conference. "But people know that I'm intent upon doing what I think is the right thing in order to make the world more peaceful." The president's first face-to-face meeting with major European allies took place at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization meeting here.

While more consultations are expected on missile defense, a "shield" designed to block missile attacks, NATO reached a consensus on expanding membership next year by one nation, despite Russia's objections, and hinted that military intervention can't be ruled out in the worsening situation in the Balkan state of Macedonia. Mr. Bush said, "NATO must play a more visible and active role."

British Prime Minister Tony Blair went further, saying, "Our history of engagement in that part of the world has taught us that it is better to make preparations soon and stabilize the situation, rather than wait and let the situation deteriorate."

Mr. Bush comes away from his maiden summit, something of a tradition for every incoming U.S. leader, with tempers cooled on missile defense, but not much progress toward a deal. In an upbeat appearance after the closed meeting with the allies, Mr. Bush said he is "making good progress" on building support for his missile-defense program. "There's some nervousness, and I understand that. But it's beginning to be allayed when they hear the logic behind the rationale."

But the president's progress could also simply be the result of the low bar he set for his initial round of talks -- asking allies to hear him out, rather than signing on to a specific plan for a creating a complex antimissile system that could involve land-, sea- and space-based components.

"What the president asked for and what the president got was an open mind from the other allied countries," said Lord Robertson, the secretary-general of NATO.

In addition, buying time through consultations may well be part of the agenda of some reluctant allies and Russia, an opponent of the system. The recent shift in power in the U.S. Senate to Democrats means missile defense skeptics and opponents in Congress could squeeze off funding or slow down the defense system that Mr. Bush says he hopes to implement "as soon as possible."

During Wednesday's meeting, Mr. Bush took an incremental approach, seeking only to convince NATO allies to rethink the world's reliance to maintain peace on a series of longstanding arms treaties, most notably the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty that neutralized the nuclear threat between the U.S. and Russia. In the post-Cold War environment, Mr. Bush argued that new threats come from rogue states capable of building long-range missiles and, thus, require new defenses that the U.S. is forbidden to explore under the ABM treaty.

While the allies were willing to listen, that didn't translate into unanimity of opinion. European leaders say they agree with the U.S. that certain countries are looking to develop ballistic missiles. Their disagreement is over how serious the threat is and the best way to meet the challenge.

French President Jacques Chirac, who along with several key European leaders recently softened his public opposition to the plan, said France wanted the U.S. not to disrupt the nuclear balance of power, "of which the ABM treaty is a pillar." He also underscored European commitment to nuclear deterrence, rather than missile defense, as the guarantor of stability on the Continent. A missile shield is "a fantastic incentive to proliferate," he said. America's closest ally, the U.K., also isn't ready to commit. "We should be prepared to sit down and discuss the real concerns over this issue," Prime Minister Blair told BBC radio.

Another British official said flatly: "Until there is a specific proposal -- whether it is a land- or a sea-based system -- it doesn't make sense for us to reach judgment on something that may not even happen." He added the U.K. would be closely watching Saturday's meeting between the U.S. leader and Russian President Vladimir Putin for signs of where the diplomacy is headed next.

German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder and others also questioned whether a complex missile-defense system can even be built, and asserted that "Russia and China need to be involved." Mr. Bush's pledge not to deploy a system that isn't fully tested and operational, as was once suggested by Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, eased their minds, one official said.

In the brief exchanges between the leaders, Mr. Bush stuck to his script, officials said. They said the meeting was subdued and the heads of state were just getting to know each other. Unlike his predecessor, this president didn't ad lib and spoke carefully, said Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski. "Like any dancer who doesn't feel comfortable on the European dance floor he prefers to take careful and slow steps," Mr. Kwasniewski said. Still, White House officials were clearly buoyed by their reception, which included strong statements of support from Spain, Hungary, Italy and Poland, a senior administration official reported. "To expect, after just a couple of

months ... the idea that allies would stand up and salute without thinking about it is not even unrealistic, it's not a fair objective," he added.

Aerospace Daily June 14, 2001

DoD Exploring Possible Speedup For THAAD, According To Sen. Cochran

Sen. Thad Cochran (R-Miss.) said June 13 he has received indications from military officials that they are exploring whether boosting funding for the Army's Theater High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system would allow the system to be fielded a year or two earlier than the planned date of 2007.

The examination is believed to be part of the Bush Administration's broad review of defense programs.

Cochran, a staunch missile defense advocate who sits on the Senate Appropriations Committee's defense subcommittee, said at the panel's hearing on Army programs that the original schedule called for THAAD to be fielded in 2002, five years earlier than the current date.

He said he wonders whether progress on missile defense would occur more quickly if funding for missile defense programs went through the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, since missile defense programs now have to compete for funding with other priorities within the individual services.

Army Secretary Thomas White said the Administration's defense review will likely assess the way in which missile defense programs are funded.

THAAD is a land-based, upper-tier system designed to protect U.S. forces deployed overseas from short, medium and long range theater ballistic missiles.

Lockheed Martin is the prime contractor for THAAD, which consists of truck-mounted launches, interceptors, a radar system, and a battle management and command, control, communications and intelligence system.

-- Marc Selinger

DefenseNews.com June 13, 2001

U.S. Lawmaker Accuses Pentagon Of Suppressing Adverse NMD Report

By Gail Kaufman and Gopal Ratnam, DefenseNews.com Staff Writers

WASHINGTON — A key U.S. lawmaker asserts in a June 12 letter to top congressional leaders that the Pentagon repeatedly has suppressed an internal report that "highlights severe deficiencies" revealed in tests of the U.S. National Missile Defense program.

Rep. John Tierney, D-Mass., a House Government Reform Committee member has asked U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld to explain why the Pentagon will not allow the public release of last August's National Missile Defense (NMD) Deployment Readiness Review written by Philip Coyle, former director of operational test and evaluation at the Pentagon.

Tierney asserts that Coyle's report has never been classified by the Department of Defense.

The Massachusetts legislator said in a separate June 12 letter to Rumsfeld that he wants by June 15 a "detailed justification of the Department's rationale for the continued suppression of the document." DefenseNews.com obtained a copy of Tierney's letter.

After formally requesting six times that the Pentagon provide Congress a copy of Coyle's report on NMD, Tierney and members of congressional defense committees, received the 80-page report May 31. The cover letter of the report, signed by Stewart Aly, acting deputy general counsel, warns Congress that the Pentagon has not approved the release of the report and that it should be disclosed only to those who "have an official need to see it." A congressional source told DefenseNews.com that Tierney will release the report to the public early next week if Rumsfeld does not provide this information.

In a June 12 letter to Rep. Christopher Shays, R-Conn., chairman of the Government Reform subcommittee on national security, vetarans affairs and international relations, Tierney quotes Coyle's report, which lays out the hazards of deploying an imperfect missile defense system.

For example, in simulated tests, Coyle describes a malfunction of the NMD's command and control system, during which it was confused by signals from different radars tracking the same incoming missile. The command and control system mistakenly identified the signal of a second tracking radar as that of a second incoming missile. During the simulated test, the command and control system then launched interceptors at the nonexistent missile, Tierney wrote in referring to Coyle's report.

Tierney noted that phantom radar tracks arise when radar coverage makes a transition from one radar to another. The system recognized the tracks as a second missile.

"Efforts to manually override such launches, moreover, were unsuccessful," Tierney quoted the report as saying. "One can imagine the potential hazards that could arise in future deployment scenarios if the United States launches multiple interceptors against missiles that do not exist," Tierney said. "One immediate danger in these types of situations is that adversaries may interpret these launches as a hostile first strike and respond accordingly." Tierney also told Shays that if the administration of President George W. Bush wants to implement a system by 2004, it only strengthens the need to hold more congressional hearings and for the General Accounting Office to conduct an investigation.

Wall Street Journal June 14, 2001

U.S. Considers Mentioning Iran In '96 Saudi Bombing Indictment

By David S. Cloud, Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

WASHINGTON -- The Justice Department is weighing whether to mention Iran in a U.S. indictment being prepared against Saudi militants allegedly involved in the 1996 Khobar Towers bombing that killed 19 U.S. airmen in Saudi Arabia.

U.S. prosecutors are preparing to bring charges in federal court in Virginia within weeks against a dozen or more Saudis jailed in Saudi Arabia in connection with the attack, a Lebanese man believed to have constructed the bomb, and others who are still fugitives, officials say.

Some U.S. law-enforcement officials believe that evidence pointing to Iran's alleged role in the truck bombing should be cited in the indictment, even if no charges are lodged against Iranian officials. A five-year probe has produced information that members of Iran's Revolutionary Guard, a segment of the Iranian military loyal to the nation's clerical leaders, ordered and helped fund the operation. But some officials say evidence may be lacking to support a prosecution.

"There's a lot of discussion about how far into the Iran question the indictment will go," one official said. The issue is sensitive enough that it will probably have to be settled by Attorney General John Ashcroft, according to officials. He is expected to consult with White House officials before making a decision.

Implicating Iran could have diplomatic reverberations, but not mentioning its alleged role could open the Bush administration to criticism that it was ignoring an important thread of the conspiracy.

The debate over indictments in the Khobar case appears to be coming to a head because Federal Bureau of Investigation Director Louis Freeh, who had made the case a personal priority, is stepping down. There are also questions about whether the statute of limitations might limit U.S. options, unless some charges are filed this month. For some terrorism charges the limit is five years, for others it is eight.

Mr. Freeh is making plans to meet with families of the Khobar Towers victims on June 25, the five-year anniversary of the bombing, people involved said. The gathering is expected to include a ceremony at Arlington National Cemetery and a briefing on the case at bureau headquarters.

It is unclear whether the U.S. will be able to get custody of any of the Saudis it intends to charge. They are believed to be members of that country's Hezbollah extremist group, which considers the Saudi monarchy illegitimate and has ties to members of Hezbollah in Iran. Extraditing Saudi citizens to the U.S. to face trial may not be possible, since the two countries don't have an extradition treaty.

The Saudi government has delayed its proceedings against dozens of people it rounded up in the case as part of an agreement with the FBI to hold off until the U.S. had issued indictments. Once the U.S. brings charges, the Saudi government is believed to be ready to move forward with trials there, people involved said.

The servicemen were killed in Dahran, Saudi Arabia, on June 25, 1996, when a truck loaded with explosives detonated outside their apartment building.

Strategic Review Spring 2001 Pg. 5

Homeland Defense: State Of The Union

By Colonel Randall J. Larsen, USAF-Ret. and Ruth A. David IN BRIEF

During the past twelve months homeland defense (a.k.a. homeland security) has moved from obscurity into the spotlight among most government agencies and private think tanks. This article reviews recently released commission reports, think tank studies, and the legislative initiatives which have resulted. Are we making progress? How do we define progress?

What a difference a year makes. Or does it? During the past twelve months homeland defense (a.k.a. homeland security) has moved from obscurity into the spotlight. A year ago the Joint Staff showed little interest in homeland defense. By early summer, a Homeland Security/North American Division will be created in J-5. Joint Forces Command and Space Command are creating similar organizations. Research institutions and presidential commissions have produced a flurry of reports calling for wide-ranging budgetary and organizational changes. These studies have led to nearly a dozen congressional hearings in the first four months of 2001, and two bills have been introduced that call for sweeping changes. In an article published in *Strategic Review* last fall, we called for early action by the new administration to establish a national strategy for homeland defense. By naming Ambassador Robert Joseph as a Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Proliferation Policy, Counterproliferation, and Homeland Defense, the new President has taken a first step. But does activity translate into progress? Or is this all thrust and no rudder? This article provides a brief overview and an assessment of the past year's homeland defense activity. Are we making progress or just spinning our wheels?

Definitional Issues

The first issue is one of semantics, as the battle for the "definitional high ground" continues. The term "homeland defense" was first used in the 1997 Report of the National Defense Panel, and is generally the preferred term in the civilian community. ¹However, many in the Department of Defense now argue that homeland defense is merely a subset of homeland security. Much credit for DoD's engagement in this definitional issue goes to the USAF Assistant Vice Chief of Staff, Lt. Gen. William J. Begert, the USAF Quadrennial Defense Review Office, and Cdr. Mike Dobbs from the Joint Staff. ² In July of 2000, Cdr. Dobbs and the QDR team began to wrestle with the issues of definition, role, and mission for homeland security/homeland defense. Their early work is clearly reflected in the definitions currently used by many inside and outside of DoD. ³

For the complete text go to: http://ebird.dtic.mil/Jun2001/s20010614homeland.htm

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Study Says Russia Might Keep Missiles In Face Of U.S. Shield

By Walter Pincus, Washington Post Staff Writer

If efforts by the United States to build missile defenses lead Russia to stop reducing its long-range missiles, Moscow could end up in 2010 with 3,500 strategic warheads, three times the number now projected for the end of the decade, according to the directors of a new study of Russian nuclear weapons.

The "Nuclear Status Report on the Former Soviet Union," due for release today, is a nearly 200-page compendium of data on Russia's nuclear arsenal and the state of security at dozens of former Soviet nuclear plants. It was compiled by researchers at two think tanks, the Monterey Institute of International Studies in Monterey, Calif., and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington.

If current trends continue and U.S.-Russian relations remain stable, they project that Russia's long-range missile and bomber forces will shrink dramatically, from nearly 6,000 warheads today to between 1,086 and 1,546 warheads by the end of the decade.

The authors do not take a position on whether President Bush's missile defense plan will prompt Moscow to reverse that course, or whether the Russian government could come up with enough money to do so. The report does, however, describe some steps that Russian leaders would be likely to take if they decided to begin rebuilding their arsenal.

"The Bush policy counts on Russia going down to 1,000 warheads no matter what the U.S. does, but missile defense may force them to make their deterrent secure by putting more warheads on missiles and stepping up production of new ones," said Joseph Cirincione, director of the nonproliferation project at Carnegie.

The report notes that only 20 of Russia's newest SS-27 ballistic missiles, each of which carries a single warhead, have been deployed since they became operational in 1999. Production has been "greatly lagging behind projections, fewer than 10 missiles per year instead of the planned 30-40," it says. Moreover, although the missile is designed to be mobile, all those deployed are in fixed silos, the report says.

At the current production rate, Russia would have only 100 SS-27s by the end of 2007. But if Moscow is determined to be able to overwhelm a U.S. missile defense, it could increase funding to produce 20 a year and could easily modify the SS-27 to carry three or four warheads each, giving Russia 600 to 800 warheads on 200 advanced, land-based ICBMs by 2010, the report says.

The SS-18, granddaddy of all big missiles with 10 warheads on each launcher, originally was deployed by the Soviet Union in 1975. About 180 remain at four locations in Russia. But because the SS-18 was designed and built in Ukraine, new ones are not available, and under the START II agreement, the existing ones are to be eliminated by 2007.

According to the report, the Russians could extend their lives and keep 90 missiles (with a total of 900 warheads) operational -- if Moscow follows through on its threats to stop adhering to the START II treaty should the United States pursue missile defenses and withdraw from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

"That shows there is a real national security cost to be paid for missile defense," Cirincione said.

To encourage Russia to continue reducing its nuclear forces, Bush has held out the prospect that the United States will unilaterally cut its own arsenal, although he has not proposed any specific reductions.

The report credits U.S.-Russian cooperative programs, funded by more than \$3 billion from the U.S. government over the past decade, with helping Russia to dismantle and destroy 258 intercontinental ballistic missiles, at least 50 ICBM silos, 42 strategic bombers and 17 nuclear-powered submarines containing 256 ballistic missile launchers. In the next few years, the cooperative programs are expected to eliminate an additional 700 Russian land- and submarine-based ICBMs, including Moscow's largest, the SS-18s and SS-24s that each carry 10 warheads. The new study also credits U.S.-Russian cooperative programs with improving security over Moscow's nuclear

storage sites, which contain both warheads and materials such as plutonium and highly enriched uranium. Although more than 45 sites with weapons-usable materials have been secured, at least 24 remain untouched, in part because the Russians have refused to provide U.S. experts direct access to those facilities.

For example, the reports says, security upgrades have not begun at the nuclear warhead assembly and disassembly plant at Sarov. Although U.S.-supplied monitoring devices and other security equipment were delivered in 1998, installation has been delayed because of the access issue.

Jon B. Wolfsthal, one of the report's three principal authors, said that "tens to hundreds of tons of Russian nuclear materials" remain in facilities without upgraded security. He also noted that this is one of several Energy Department programs whose funds are slated to be cut in Bush's fiscal 2002 budget.

Another Energy program facing a deep budget cut provides aid to Russian scientists who formerly worked on nuclear weapons in closed cities. A National Security Council study of several U.S.-Russia programs is underway, one part of which is to review charges by some members of Congress that the so-called Nuclear Cities program has not been successful in developing nonmilitary businesses and instead has provided support to scientists who still work on Russian military programs.

In a news conference Saturday after his meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin, Bush said Russia "has got a resource that's invaluable in this new era, and that's brain power." Without mentioning the U.S. budget cuts, Bush added that "Russia has got great mathematicians and engineers who can just as easily participate in the high-tech

world as American engineers and American mathematicians. That's an area of great interest to me. . . . It's an area where we can begin fruitful dialogue."

Another program that is under review calls for each country to dispose of 34 metric tons of excess, weapons-grade plutonium -- enough to build thousands of warheads. A multibillion-dollar plan to turn the weapons material into fuel for nuclear reactors, signed in June 2000, has been stalled, partly for lack of funds.

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Bush's Stance On North Korea Is Key Concern In Policy Talks

By Jay Solomon, Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

CHEJU, South Korea -- Principal players involved in developing U.S. policy toward North Korea advised the Bush administration to adopt a flexible-but-cautious approach in renewed negotiations to reduce Pyongyang's missile and nuclear programs.

Many voiced fears that the talks, which resumed last week in New York, could stall before making much ground if the Bush camp takes a hard-line.

This consensus was drawn up over the weekend at a gathering of some of the world's most important players involved in the Korean saga over the past two decades, including South Korean President Kim Dae Jung, former U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry, and former U.S. Ambassador to Korea Donald Gregg. Among the chief concerns the participants expressed was that conservatives in the Bush camp would seek to exact too broad a list of concessions from North Korea, thus killing off dialogue.

In particular, they voiced reservations about calls by U.S. officials for the North Koreans to pull back their ground troops from the 38th parallel, the demilitarized zone that has divided the two Koreas for half a century.

"I have recommended that the priority for conventional arms should be lowered," Mr. Perry said Saturday as part of three recommendations the former secretary of defense offered to the Bush administration. "That is to say, it should have a lower priority than nuclear weapons or missiles." Mr. Perry also advised the new U.S. administration to work closely with Japan and South Korea in formulating its policies toward North Korea and to continue seeking economic engagement with the communist country. In 1994, Mr. Perry was one of the principal architects of the Agreed Framework, a controversial pact whereby North Korea would shut down its nuclear-power program in exchange for two light-water nuclear reactors built by an international consortium.

Mr. Gregg, who served as a foreign-affairs adviser to the Reagan administration, also said he was concerned that the Bush administration might be viewing the North Korean situation through a Cold War lens. He said it was imperative for U.S. officials to appreciate the historic changes over the past year on the Korean Peninsula, particularly the first-ever meeting between the leaders of the two Koreas and their pledges to reduce tension in North Asia.

"We need to be careful not to be too harsh in demanding reciprocity," Mr. Gregg told the Cheju Peace Forum. "We need to be imaginative ... and find new ways to proceed."

U.S. officials described last week's meeting between U.S. and North Korean officials in New York as "businesslike and useful," but offered few details as to how talks would proceed. North Korea has offered no public statement about the meeting.

"We expect to fully re-engage North Korea," Evans Revere, charge d'affaires at the U.S. embassy in Seoul, said on Saturday.

The gathering in Cheju served to lend support to President Kim Dae Jung's peace initiative toward the North, which has wavered in recent months. Last Friday marked the anniversary of Mr. Kim's historic trip to Pyongyang, and he used the occasion to ask his North Korean counterpart, Kim Jong II, to make good on his promise to visit Seoul. "Chairman Kim Jong II should come, and he should come within this year," President Kim Dae Jung said during a meeting with local religious leaders on Friday. Many aides of the South Korean president said growing skepticism at home over the North Korean leader complicated Seoul's efforts to engage Pyongyang and aid it in combating drought and famine.

Last week's meeting between negotiators of the U.S. and North Korea in New York is perceived as potentially facilitating Chairman Kim's trip to the South. Kim Jong Il told European emissaries in April that he'd put off visiting

South Korea until Mr. Bush resumed the talks initiated by the Clinton administration, which had focused on his government scrapping its weapons capabilities in exchange for financial aid.

"Improvements in South-North relations will be realized when there is parallel progress in U.S.-North Korean ties," President Kim told the Cheju conference

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U.S. Investigates Report Of Embassy Bomb Plot

The State Department on Sunday was playing down reports out of India of an alleged plot by Osama bin Laden operatives to blow up the U.S. embassies in India and Bangladesh. A State Department spokeswoman said U.S. officials were looking into the reports but had no independent confirmation. Security was tightened around the embassy in New Delhi, but no new advisories were issued to U.S. citizens in India. Authorities in New Delhi said they were holding three men, including two who were arrested carrying explosives. Bin Laden has been indicted in New York in connection with the bombings of U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in 1998, which killed more than 200 people. He has taken refuge in Afghanistan.

In Yemen, the U.S. Navy and FBI team investigating a suicide bombing of the warship USS Cole on Oct. 12 was withdrawn from the country because of a specific and credible security threat, FBI spokesman John Collingwood said. He declined to give details. The threat follows a recent State Department warning of an increased terrorist threat to U.S. citizens and interests in the Middle Eastern nation. The FBI-Navy team was moved to a neighboring country.