

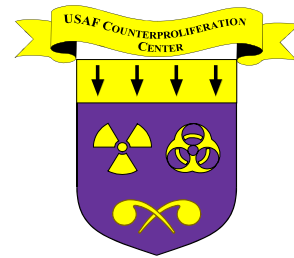
#91

15 Aug 2001

USAF COUNTERPROLIFERATION CENTER

CPC OUTREACH JOURNAL

*Air University
Air War College
Maxwell AFB, Alabama*



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

Established here at the Air War College in 1998, the USAF/CPC provides education and research to present and future leaders of the Air Force, as well as to members of other branches of the armed services and Department of Defense. Our purpose is to help those agencies better prepare to counter the threat from weapons of mass destruction. Please feel free to visit our web site at 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 Lt. Col. Michael W. Ritz, CPC Intelligence/Public Affairs or JoAnn Eddy, CPC Outreach Editor, at (334) 953-7538 or DSN 493-7538.

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

Annual USAF Counterproliferation Conference 7-8 November 2001

The USAF Counterproliferation Center will host the annual USAF Counterproliferation Conference on 7-8 November 2001 at the William F. Bolger Center for Leadership and Development in Potomac, Maryland. This facility has on-site billeting and provides both the meals and room costs at a package price. The theme of this year's conference is "**Countering the Asymmetric Threat of NBC Warfare and Terrorism**" and will focus on the operational and strategic response to WMD events. As with prior conferences, renowned experts will address the threat, present and future efforts to prepare the DoD and Federal government for mitigating these effects, and provide an update on DoD and USAF counterproliferation programs. We are inviting the directors and assistant directors of the Civil Engineers, Security Forces, Intelligence, Counterproliferation, and Surgeon Generals from the CINCs, MAJCOMs, OSD, Air Staff and selected Air War College students to the conference.

The 7th of November is a travel day with conference registration starting at 1500-1730 and followed by a dinner and guest speaker at 1830. The conference will conclude at 1700 on 8 November. We will send you an agenda and invite to this conference in mid September, meanwhile this is a heads-up to plan for attendance!

Russians Hold Firm To '72 Pact

Putin Links Missile Defense To Nuclear Arms Reductions

By Vernon Loeb, Washington Post Staff Writer

MOSCOW, Aug. 13 -- President Vladimir Putin and other Russian officials rebuffed Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld's efforts to secure joint withdrawal from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty today, telling him that treaty commitments on national missile defense and on reducing strategic nuclear arsenals are "unconditionally linked."

After meeting with Putin and Defense Minister Sergei Ivanov at the Kremlin, Rumsfeld said the talks focused on ways both nations could "move beyond" the ABM Treaty so the Bush administration could pursue its ambitious missile defense agenda.

But Putin told reporters that Russia would not withdraw from the treaty and said he wanted to "underline" its connection with both the first and second Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties (START).

Ivanov, who held additional talks with Rumsfeld at the Ministry of Defense, said Russia feels "no compunction to leave one or any other treaty or accord which we currently have signed" and called for comprehensive negotiations on a new "series of limits."

Putin noted that he and President Bush had agreed last month in Genoa, Italy, to link consideration of the administration's missile defense plan with steep reductions in both countries' massive nuclear stockpiles.

He called today for clearly defined "thresholds" for missile defenses and cuts in offensive warheads, and said any new agreement would require provisions to assure transparency and verification.

"We now have to look at how we limit offensive systems, and how we link it very carefully to defensive systems," Ivanov said. "And it becomes a very, very complicated algorithm. . . . I don't see any possible way to take something that complicated and do it in only a couple of months," He added, however that the sides were "talking very energetically and actively about it."

Rumsfeld and other senior U.S. officials have said the administration's plans for missile defense tests and construction of testing facilities in Alaska would "bump up against" the ABM Treaty within months, not years. Rumsfeld said today the administration will announce within a month or two how sharply it plans to reduce the U.S. arsenal of approximately 7,000 strategic nuclear warheads and added that he had no problem simultaneously discussing both nuclear reductions and missile defenses with the Russians. But he made it clear that the issues were merely related, not linked -- meaning that the United States would not promise to eliminate a certain number of warheads in return for Russia's agreement to change or scrap the ABM Treaty to allow further missile defense research, development and testing.

Last month, John R. Bolton, undersecretary of state for arms control and international security, told Congress that a new security framework with Russia would not involve "formal agreements with hundreds of pages that count every warhead and pound of throw-weight. These are not going to be traditional arms control negotiations with small armies of negotiators inhabiting the best hotels in Geneva for months at a time."

The ABM Treaty was negotiated by Presidents Richard M. Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev to prohibit precisely the kind of nationwide defenses against long-range missiles that the Bush administration wants to construct. During the Cold War, missile defenses were seen as destabilizing in that they encouraged the United States and the Soviet Union to build more and more missiles to overwhelm those defenses.

President George H.W. Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev signed START I in 1991 that called for each side to limit its offensive nuclear weapons to 6,000. While Russia's arsenal now numbers about 6,000 warheads, the United States has 7,000 and is still in the process of reaching the START I limit.

START II was signed by the Bush and President Boris Yeltsin of Russia in early 1993. It calls for each side to reduce its arsenal to between 3,000 and 3,500 warheads, but it has not gone into effect because the Russian legislature attached conditions that have not been met by the United States.

Ivanov noted today that Russia has made it clear on numerous occasions that it favors both sides reducing their arsenals to about 1,500 warheads each. Rumsfeld said he would recommend a number to President Bush within one or two months as part of a nuclear forces review underway at the Pentagon.

But Rumsfeld said the question is complicated by numerous factors. The number of warheads, he said, must be viewed in terms of possible threats, and by alliances of nations with nuclear capabilities that the United States considers threats to international security.

Rumsfeld began the day by meeting with a group of Russian journalists, who pressed him on missile defense issues and the accuracy of a 1998 report on ballistic missile proliferation he directed at the behest of Congress.

Rumsfeld defended the report, which now serves as a foundation of the administration's missile defense agenda. The report argued that several countries identified as threats could develop ballistic missiles capable of hitting the United States and Europe over the next five years. That, Rumsfeld said, is precisely what has happened.

"North Korea has tested a three-stage ballistic missile within that time and demonstrated the very thing that people said states like North Korea and Iran were not capable of doing -- taking Scud [missile] technology and modifying it for multiple-stage ballistic missiles," Rumsfeld said.

Rumsfeld said the report also noted that there were other means beyond long-range ballistic missiles that these states could use to deliver chemical, biological or nuclear weapons, including ship-launched missiles fired from much shorter range.

"A rogue state has done that -- they have fired a ballistic missile from a ship," Rumsfeld told the reporters, saying that the identity of the country in question was classified.

Furthermore, Rumsfeld said, states interested in developing ballistic missile capabilities could move their weapons to a country in closer proximity to the intended target, or could test a weapon in another country to mask what they are developing.

New York Times

August 14, 2001

Russians Resist Rumsfeld Effort To Set Aside ABM Treaty

By Thom Shanker

MOSCOW, Aug. 13 — Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld met President Vladimir V. Putin and his defense minister today for talks that threw into sharp relief the disagreements over whether to deploy missile defenses, how to slash nuclear arsenals and whether arms control talks can even be the tool to bridge their differences.

It was a day when Mr. Putin spoke of negotiations and Mr. Rumsfeld spoke of consultations to create a new relationship in which treaties are unnecessary.

When Defense Minister Sergei B. Ivanov said any missile defense deployment would have to be tightly linked to reducing warheads, Mr. Rumsfeld only agreed that the two issues were related.

"We still think that the ABM treaty is one of the major important elements of the complex of international treaties on which the international stability is based," Mr. Ivanov said.

Later, Mr. Rumsfeld urged again that "the Antiballistic Missile Treaty be set aside, and new arrangements between our two countries be established, so that we will in fact be able to take steps to no longer be vulnerable to handfuls of ballistic missiles."

But in welcoming Mr. Rumsfeld to the Kremlin, Mr. Putin said that the treaty was unequivocally a part of the security relationship between the two countries and that it was bundled with current treaties that limit nuclear arsenals. "For us, it is unconditionally linked with both the Start II and Start I Treaties," he said, referring to strategic arms reduction treaties negotiated between Washington and Moscow. "I would like to underline that."

If the two countries are to move forward in their talks, Mr. Putin said, Russia requires specifics on proposed levels of offensive weapons, a timetable for cuts, understandings on verification and transparency and confidence-building. In essence, Mr. Putin was demanding detailed and formal negotiations.

Mr. Rumsfeld demurred. Afterward, he said, "With respect to how these discussions and consultations will evolve, I think that's an open question." The absence of cold war hostilities simply makes arms talks unnecessary, he added.

President Bush, after meeting Mr. Putin last month in Genoa, ordered his national security team to begin consulting with Russia on missile defenses and reducing arsenals. The president envisions a framework of relations that would dispose of treaties and seek to bind the United States and Russia more broadly and more loosely through trade and economic and military ties.

A senior Pentagon official said, "The dialogue is proceeding as we expected it would." Mr. Rumsfeld stressed that he would not discuss specific proposals for shrinking the offensive arsenal because a strategic Pentagon review will be completed "in the next month or two." Asked to describe the direction the study would push the arsenal, Mr.

Rumsfeld said, "There is no doubt in my mind that we'll be able to go down to substantially lower numbers."

Mr. Rumsfeld also said the United States could not possibly brief the Russians on its exact plan because it is in initial research, development and testing. The tentative schedule for testing is widely expected to violate ABM limits by late next spring.

Mr. Rumsfeld's mission was to illustrate the administration's broader approach to security ties with the Russians, and he trumpeted the virtue of investment.

Washington Times

August 14, 2001

Pg. 9

Putin Won't Budge Over ABM Treaty

Tells Rumsfeld arms cuts are likely

By Robert Burns, Associated Press

MOSCOW -- President Vladimir Putin firmly rejected the Bush administration's push to jointly withdraw from a treaty banning national missile defenses but spoke hopefully yesterday of agreeing to mutual cuts in nuclear weapons.

"You know our attitude toward the ABM Treaty of 1972," Putin told reporters before meeting with Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld at the Kremlin. "For us, it's unconditionally linked with both the Start II and Start I treaties. I would like to underline that."

He was referring to nuclear arms treaties negotiated during the 1990s, the second of which has yet to be implemented. In Russia's view, abandoning the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty would mean the end of the nuclear arms treaties, and that in turn would undermine international security.

Mr. Putin said Russia is willing to negotiate nuclear force reductions as he and President Bush announced at their meeting in Italy last month. He said he was waiting for the United States to answer several critical questions, however, including the size of reductions, the timing and verification measures.

Mr. Putin has sent conflicting signals on the missile defense plan, seeming at times to suggest a way might be found to amend it to permit construction of a missile shield. Last week, Gen. Yuri Baluyevsky, deputy chief of Russia's General Staff, said in Washington that testing planned by the Bush administration would not necessarily violate the ABM Treaty.

Referring to the missile defense plan yesterday, Mr. Putin said, "We would like to get military and technical parameters of the proposals which have been formulated" by the Pentagon.

But at a later news conference with Mr. Rumsfeld, Defense Minister Sergei Ivanov emphasized Russia's unwillingness to abandon the ABM Treaty. "We feel no compunction to leave one or any other treaty or accord which we currently have signed," he said.

Mr. Ivanov said that before a new set of negotiations could begin, both sides would have to reach an agreement on the parameters — "namely, the thresholds and limits, both on offensive and defensive systems."

His reference to limits on defensive weapons was especially significant since the Bush administration wants to do away with treaty limitations on testing and deploying national missile defenses. It also is not clear that Mr. Bush is willing to enter into detailed negotiations on nuclear arms cuts.

Mr. Rumsfeld has said that if Russia and the United States could work out a more normalized relationship without the burden of Cold War-era suspicions, then treaties of arms limits would not be needed.

After a nearly two-hour, one-on-one meeting with Mr. Rumsfeld, Mr. Ivanov was asked by a reporter whether Mr. Rumsfeld convinced him that the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty had outlived its usefulness.

"I'm afraid not," he replied, speaking in English.

Then, speaking in Russian through a translator, he added, "We still think the ABM Treaty is one of the major important elements of the complex of international treaties."

Mr. Rumsfeld, on his first visit to Moscow since taking office in January, started a 14-hour day of diplomacy yesterday by fielding questions from Russian journalists. One asked him what minimum number of offensive nuclear weapons the Bush administration believed it needed to maintain.

Mr. Rumsfeld said he planned to recommend a specific number to Mr. Bush within a month or two.

London Times
August 14, 2001

Rumsfeld Fails To Sway Russia

By Giles Whittell in Moscow and Michael Evans, Defence Editor

DONALD RUMSFELD, the US Defence Secretary, left Moscow empty-handed last night after the Kremlin used the latest round of missile defence talks to show that it intends to drive a hard bargain before agreeing to any changes to the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

Mr Rumsfeld failed to explain why he thought that the treaty should be scrapped and did not say how many offensive nuclear weapons the United States was prepared to destroy in return for Russian concessions on missile defence, Sergei Ivanov, the Russian Defence Minister, said.

The tough talk followed a meeting at which Mr Rumsfeld reiterated the White House view that the ABM accord, which outlaws national missile shields, had outlived its usefulness and should be abandoned by both sides in favour of new answers to security threats from "rogue" nuclear states.

Asked if his arguments had been persuasive, Mr Ivanov replied in English: "I am afraid not."

After their optimistic start at President Bush's recent meeting with President Putin in Genoa, the negotiations on Mr Bush's plan for a "Son of Star Wars" shield appeared to have been put back, although there were signs of more rapid progress behind the scenes.

Mr Putin said yesterday that he was still confident of an overall solution to the twin problems of missile defence and cutting offensive nuclear stockpiles, although he wanted details of which weapons the US was prepared to destroy, how many, how quickly and on what terms.

Analysts pointed to a small but significant change in Mr Ivanov's language on the ABM issue. "We still think that the ABM is one of the major elements of the complex treaties on which international stability is based," Mr Ivanov was quoted as saying. Until yesterday the Kremlin had insisted that the treaty was the single inviolable basis of all arms accords, not merely one of them.

Dmitri Trenin, a military specialist at the Moscow Carnegie Centre, said: "I think the Russians have basically decided to do a deal and this is leading to incremental changes in their rhetoric, but only in return for concessions." The Russians were said to be disappointed that Mr Rumsfeld had failed to propose a specific figure for the number of warheads that the US was willing to eliminate, although he indicated that an offer would be made "in a month or two".

In Washington, the Defence Secretary is running into difficulties with his own officials on the question of possible cuts in troop numbers and equipment as part of his present comprehensive review of defence spending. A report in The Washington Times said that at a meeting in the Pentagon earlier this month the service chiefs and civilian secretaries of the Armed Forces were united in opposing cuts in manpower.

The Pentagon also has to decide today whether to start initial production of what will be the most expensive supersonic fighter. The F22 Raptor jet fighter is expected to cost \$83 million (£60 million) per aircraft, although, with research, development and support costs, some experts put the true figure at \$173 million.

Its future as the US Air Force's frontline air superiority aircraft is not guaranteed. Today a Pentagon panel is to examine the F22's performance. A decision against immediate production could mean a delay of another year, providing ammunition for critics who want the programme to be cancelled because of its huge cost.

The F22's supporters say that it will give the US a technological edge against all-comers for decades. With its advanced "stealth" design, it is claimed to reflect a radar signature about the size of a bee, thus avoiding detection by the most sophisticated enemy air defence systems. The present plan is to build 339 F22s.

One problem for Mr Rumsfeld is that two American companies are competing to build another new aircraft, the Joint Strike Fighter, which would be flown by the US Navy, Air Force and Marines. But the JSF is a ground-attack, not an air superiority, aircraft and the US Air Force wants both.

Aerospace Daily
August 14, 2001

Russia Could Agree To Concessions If U.S. Would Negotiate On ABM

While U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld was in Moscow on Aug. 13 conducting talks on U.S. missile defense plans, Russian Duma member Alexei Arbatov was in Washington criticizing the Bush administration's refusal to work within the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty.

The main problem in the current Russian-American talks on missile defense is the U.S. refusal to negotiate on the treaty, Arbatov said during a panel discussion sponsored by the Monterey Institute of International Studies.

Arbatov is the deputy chairman of the Russian Duma's Defense Committee.

He said that if the U.S. would negotiate on the treaty, the Russian government might consider lifting "limits on testing and development which are in the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, so that the United States can test all kinds of elements of ballistic missile defense, except space interceptors."

Russian negotiators are "not describing what sort of concessions they would make because that is a bad tactic,"

Arbatov said, but he added that many options would be considered.

"The real problem will be if negotiations never start," Arbatov said.

Russian-American NMD talks

The U.S. and Russia have concluded two sets of talks on missile defense issues. The first talks were held Aug. 8-9, in Washington, and were between Under Secretary of Defense Douglass Feith and Russian Col. General Yuriy Baluyevskiy. The second talks, on Aug. 13, were between Rumsfeld and his Russian counterpart, Sergei Ivanov. Rumsfeld's talks in Moscow were to focus on "building a new relationship" between Russian and the United States, a senior defense official told reporters at a background briefing.

The new relationship would require getting rid of the ABM Treaty. "We cannot go forward with the missile defense program that we have laid out ... within the constraints of the ABM treaty," the official said. "The effort is not to trim the program or to try to stretch the treaty terms to make them fit [missile defense programs]."

However, the Russian side is attempting to keep the talks centered on maintaining the ABM treaty. After returning from Washington, Gen. Baluyevskiy told a press conference that he did not think the U.S. had made a final decision to withdraw from the ABM treaty.

According to ITAR-TASS, the Russian news agency, Baluyevskiy claimed that current U.S. plans to expand the test bed infrastructure in Alaska might even be within the ABM Treaty.

"Of course that's stretching it a little bit," Arbatov said of Baluyevskiy's comments. "But I think that was an indication of what Russia would be willing to negotiate.

"The main problem in Russian-American relations now," Arbatov said, "is not American willingness to dismantle the ABM treaty, it's the American rejection of negotiations with Russia."

Russian defense officials have repeatedly said they want to link strategic nuclear force reductions with changes to the ABM Treaty. In January 2000, Russian officials offered to reduce the number of nuclear warheads from the START II levels of 3,000-3,500 to 1,500, in exchange for amendments to the ABM treaty.

Russia wants missile reductions

The U.S. rejected the Russian offer and the Bush administration continues to shy away from linking missile numbers to the ABM Treaty.

"We don't focus on simply mechanical balance or numbers or weapons systems," a senior defense official said of Rumsfeld's Moscow talks. "We are not seeking a Cold War style arms control negotiation or treaty in these talks. ..."

The Pentagon is conducting a congressionally mandated nuclear posture review. Rumsfeld has said the review will probably recommend "substantially lower numbers" of warheads, but the number is expected to be higher than Russia's proposed level of 1,500.

Arbatov was highly critical of the U.S. refusal to negotiate strategic reductions. If Russia had made offers to reduce strategic weapons in the 1990s, Arbatov said, then "all Soviet and Russian debt would have been forgiven.

Unfortunately that was not done, so now we are reducing it for free," he said.

Russia's current plans to reduce its deployed strategic nuclear weapons are in response to its lack of financial resources available to support current strategic levels.

What sort of strategic nuclear reductions were discussed during Rumsfeld's Aug. 13 talks in Moscow is unclear. "It [strategic reduction] is an element of the security portion of the total equation," Rumsfeld told reporters while en route to Moscow.

Russians are suspicious of the U.S. unwillingness to respond to Russian offers of nuclear reductions, according to Arbatov.

"President Bush and his high officials are telling Russians that mutually assured deterrence is no longer relevant in Russian-American relations," Arbatov said. "But for Russians that is unbelievable."
-- *Sharon Weinberger*

MSNBC.com
August 13, 2001

Sanctions Fail To Check Iraqi Military

'Dual-use' products slip through embargo, officials say

By Robert Windrem and Linda Fasulo, NBC News

NEW YORK — Officials monitoring the United Nations' \$27 billion oil-for-food program say they are concerned that dual-use items ideal for Iraq's military machine are slipping through the sanctions net into Iraq — both through the oil-for-food program itself and over the Jordanian border.

Among the items U.S. and U.N. officials believe have gotten through are chemicals needed to make chemical weapons, as well as solid rocket fuel and missile technology and equipment needed to resurrect Iraq's military industrial complex.

"This is our main concern," said a U.N. official. "It is a problem not well reported on. There are an enormous amount of contracts lacking information."

A senior U.S. intelligence official added: "A lot of stuff is getting through, and it's big-buck stuff. It is hard to see that there are any sanctions."

The oil-for-food program permits not only the purchase of food but also the purchase of "humanitarian" goods, which is a broad definition for a lot of materials Iraq can buy with oil revenue. Besides medicine, it includes supplies for other sectors, including education, agriculture, electricity, water and sanitation and housing. In addition, the United Nations permits Iraq to buy spare parts and other equipment for its oil industry.

"His threat to the rest of the world is now approaching the level it was when the Gulf War began," said Gary Milhollin, whose Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms control sponsors the IraqWatch.org Website.

Food and Supplies

Over the course of the 4½-year-old program, the United Nations has approved \$26.8 billion in sales, most of it for food. During that period, \$13.7 billion worth of supplies has actually been delivered, including \$7 billion in food and \$800 million more in oil field equipment, which some officials say has also been exploited. Another \$11.1 billion worth of supplies are in the production and delivery pipeline.

The United States and other nations on the U.N. Security Council regularly review Iraqi requests for items under the "humanitarian" designation. A U.N. official said that while there were "red flag" items, a lot of what Iraq asked for was dual-use, valuable for either civilian or military programs.

The U.N. and U.S. officials, who spoke to NBC News on condition of anonymity, say the biggest suppliers of suspect dual-use items are Eastern European and Indian companies. A senior U.S. intelligence official agreed, adding that while companies were not directly involved in such sales, some overseas companies with U.S. ties were involved. He would not identify any of the companies.

The United Nations, which has the right to check on the end-use of the items, has 150 international monitors in the country. Still, officials say the number is too small to monitor the large amount of materials entering the country.

"Monitors do not patrol borders. They do not control borders," said a U.N. official. "The monitors are not capable of monitoring all the flow of humanitarian goods coming into a country as large as California."

"There is no way to certify where they go once imported. Sanctions are pretty much cracked," the U.N. official said.

'Really Nasty Stuff'

The U.S. intelligence official said a continuing review of the oil-for-food program showed that Baghdad was not getting "stuff that could be used for a renewed nuclear program. We have seen a lot of chemicals — really nasty stuff — as well as material that could be help military industrialization projects.

Common chemicals such as chlorine are ideal for water purification but also can be used in the development of chemical weapons. Since Iraq has many petrochemical facilities, the imports of organo-phosphates could be very useful for both civilian and military programs, officials say.

Other than the "nasty chemicals" that can be used to make chemical weapons and solid rocket fuel, U.S. intelligence sources say they are suspicious about the imports of high-precision machine tools, which are ideal for weapons

manufacturing, and heavy construction equipment and other vehicles ideally suited for rebuilding and mobilizing the Iraqi military machine.

The United States does have a veto over what is imported as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, but there is a lot of horse-trading among Security Council members on what goes and what doesn't, say officials.

Slipping Through Sanctions

The United States and Britain have put a hold on a number of dual-use products, but some innocuous items are getting in, a U.S. intelligence source said. The most frequent problem is that the companies Iraq has contracted with often do not fully fill out the U.N. forms so the U.N. sanctions committee cannot determine accurately what is getting through. Currently, more than \$2 billion of Iraqi contracts are on hold because of poor documentation. U.N. officials suspect that the failure to fill out the forms is not a bureaucratic mistake but is a deliberate attempt by companies to sell Iraq critical equipment for high prices.

U.N. officials say that about \$2.9 billion in contracts of humanitarian goods are on hold, \$200 million of which are for dual-use items to which Washington and London have objected.

Moreover, both U.S. and U.N. officials say Iraq is expert at importing critical components and materials for its weapons systems. During its buildup in the 1980s, when there was a weapons import ban on both Iraq and Iran, Iraq had a program under which various state entities — such as university labs and medical centers — were used as covers for importing dual-use items. To suggest that they are not still doing that, say U.S. and U.N. officials, is naive.

NBC's Robert Windrem is an investigative producer. Linda Fasulo covers the United Nations for NBC News.

Washington Times

August 14, 2001

Pg. 11

Iran, Russia To Finish Nuclear Power Plant

TEHRAN -- Iran and Russia yesterday expressed hope of finishing construction on a nuclear power plant in Iran's southern city of Bushehr, despite bitter opposition from the United States.

During a meeting with Russia's new ambassador to Tehran, Alexander Maryassov, Iran's powerful former president, Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, warned that Washington was looking for "excuses to halt cooperation between Iran and Russia in finishing the power plant."

"Our two countries have to remain careful so that America does not use any opportunities for a weakening of the strategic cooperation between Iran and Russia," Mr. Rafsanjani said.

During the meeting, he also referred to the "strategic" unity and cooperation among Iran, Russia and China, noting that it could serve as a "weight in the face of America and the West, and stabilize [current] international conditions."

Washington Post

August 14, 2001

Pg. 2

U.S. Probe Of Nuclear Scientist Assailed

By Dan Eggen and Ellen Nakashima, Washington Post Staff Writers

The U.S. government's investigation of nuclear scientist Wen Ho Lee was a "slapdash" affair that ignored other potential suspects and was deeply flawed from the beginning, according to portions of a classified Justice Department report released yesterday.

The scathing report by federal prosecutor Randy I. Bellows said the FBI spent "years investigating the wrong crime" -- a suspicion that Lee gave nuclear weapons secrets to China -- when the secrets could have leaked from dozens of federal facilities and defense contractors.

Although the report cited "no evidence of racism," it said Energy Department officials were too quick to focus on Lee and his wife in an initial, administrative inquiry that became the basis for the FBI's criminal investigation.

"Wen Ho and Sylvia Lee should never have been the sole suspects," the report said. "The AI [administrative inquiry] should have been a sieve resulting in the identification of a number of suspects. Instead, it ended up as a funnel from

which only Wen Ho and Sylvia Lee emerged. . . . Once Wen Ho Lee was 'tagged' with the patina of suspicion, the AI was all but over. He would be 'it'."

The long-awaited report by Bellows, an assistant U.S. attorney in Alexandria who also spearheaded the prosecution of FBI agent Robert P. Hanssen, has been classified since its completion more than a year ago. The Justice Department yesterday released two heavily censored chapters of the 800-page document at the behest of a federal magistrate who is presiding over a defamation lawsuit filed by Notra S. Trulock III, the former head of intelligence at the Energy Department.

The report, ordered by former attorney general Janet Reno, is the government's official accounting of the missteps that led to the nine-month incarceration of Lee despite widespread doubts about the government's case. The former Los Alamos scientist's prosecution spawned congressional hearings, civil lawsuits and a strong rebuke from the judge in his case, who said the treatment of Lee "had embarrassed this entire nation."

Lee, a U.S. citizen born in Taiwan, was charged in December 1999 with 59 felony counts of mishandling classified information and violating the Atomic Energy Act, which could have brought a life sentence. After the government's case largely fell apart, he pleaded guilty last September to a single felony charge of mishandling classified information and was sentenced to the time he had already served. He was not charged with espionage and denied giving information to China.

Lee is pursuing a civil lawsuit against the FBI and the departments of Energy and Justice for violating his privacy by leaking his name as a suspect. Trulock, meanwhile, is suing Lee and two Energy Department officials for allegedly accusing him of racism in the investigation.

Bellows portrayed the case against Lee as a scattershot and misguided spy hunt, built on faulty assumptions about Chinese espionage and focused on one suspect to the exclusion of many others. Although large sections of the 155 pages released yesterday had been blacked out, many of the review's key conclusions were left intact.

Trulock and other investigators at the Energy Department decided early on that Los Alamos National Laboratory was the probable source of design secrets allegedly obtained by China about the W-88, America's most advanced nuclear warhead, and they soon focused on Lee as "the most logical suspect," the report said.

It added that the Energy Department "converted the [initial probe] from a broad identification of potential suspects to a virtual indictment of Lee." When the investigation was turned over to the FBI, its agents ignored other leads, instead embracing Energy's "grandiose claim that Wen Ho Lee was 'the only individual identified during this inquiry who had the opportunity, motivation and LEGITIMATE access' " to leak the secrets, the report said.

Lee ultimately acknowledged copying classified nuclear data onto portable computer tapes and removing them from Los Alamos. Despite an intensive debriefing by the FBI under the terms of his plea agreement, the tapes have never been found, and Lee has never publicly explained why he made them or what became of them.

The Bellows report said that "at first blush, the claim of ethnic targeting" appears to have some merit, because investigators proposed in 1995 to "identify those U.S. citizens, of Chinese heritage, who worked directly or peripherally" with nuclear weapons designs. However, the report said, the proposal was never carried out and, in any event, it was "simply acknowledging the fact that the PRC [People's Republic of China] specifically targets ethnic Chinese for espionage purposes."

In the end, the report said, Energy Department investigators weighed a variety of factors, including extensive foreign travel and prior security infractions, in assembling a list of 32 potential suspects at the Los Alamos and Lawrence Livermore national laboratories. A full investigation of Lee was "warranted," but he should not have become the only suspect, it said.

A month after Bellows submitted his report to Reno in May 2000, two former Energy officials who were directly involved in the investigation said in sworn affidavits that Lee had been singled out largely because of his race.

Trulock said yesterday he was heartened by the Bellows report's finding that racism did not drive the probe, but disputed the assertion that Lee was treated as the only suspect.

"What went to the FBI was a list," Trulock said. "The list had on it at least six Caucasians and three Asian Americans" at Los Alamos.

The Energy Department last night issued a brief statement emphasizing that the Lee investigation "was conducted under policies and procedures" that have been scrutinized and improved. "We will review the Bellows report to determine whether or not further policy changes are necessary," it said.

The FBI also said in a statement that it had already made reforms based on the report.

Mark Holscher, Lee's lead defense attorney in the criminal case, said he was pleased by the report's finding that Lee was improperly singled out. "From the beginning, we believed that Dr. Lee should not have been the sole focus of an espionage investigation," he said.

Monday August 13 3:53 PM ET

U.S., Chinese Missile Talks in Beijing Next Week

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - U.S. experts will have talks in Beijing next week on possible violations of a Chinese pledge not to proliferate ballistic missiles, State Department spokesman Philip Reeker said on Monday.

The U.S. inter-agency delegation, led by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Vann Van Diepen, will meet their Chinese counterparts on Aug. 23 and possibly Aug. 24, he said.

He added: "The two sides will use these talks to discuss missile nonproliferation, including implementation of the Nov. 2000 missile non-proliferation arrangement.

"China committed (in 2000) to not assist any country in any way in developing nuclear-capable ballistic missiles and to put in place comprehensive missile-related export controls."

The Washington Times newspaper reported last week that the government-owned China National Machinery and Equipment Import and Export Corp (CMEC) sent a dozen shipments of missile components to Pakistan by truck this year, in violation of the November 2000 agreement.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry ([news](#) - [web sites](#)) rejected the report as "slander" and renewed the non-proliferation pledge.

The State Department declined to comment on the substance of the report but said it was reluctant to impose sanctions on Chinese companies that export missile technologies, in the hope that the Chinese government will fulfill the pledge.

Reeker also said U.S. officials have not yet had a chance to explain to the Chinese their own estimates of how much the United States should pay China for costs associated with recovering its EP-3 surveillance plane from Hainan island.

The official Xinhua news agency said on Saturday that China had rejected as unacceptable a U.S. offer to pay \$34,576 in support costs for the retrieval operation. China had asked for about \$1 million but Washington said that was too much.

Reeker said: "We'll try to arrange a meeting in Beijing, at which time we can provide our official response and the rationale for our calculation of those costs."

http://dailynews.yahoo.com/h/nm/20010813/pl/china_usa_dc_8.html

Moscow Times
August 15, 2001
Pg. 3

Arsenals Key To Missile Dispute

By Jon Boyle, Reuters

Nuclear arms cuts are emerging as key to a Russian-U.S. dispute over missile defense, but a dragging U.S. nuclear review is holding up a deal that could push ties beyond the Cold War era, experts say.

The two sides continued a public dialogue of the deaf on Monday on missile defense, with Defense Minister Sergei Ivanov saying Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld had failed to convince him to dump the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

The ABM Treaty bans national anti-rocket defenses, but the United States says it fails to take account of emerging threats from "rogue nations" like Iraq and North Korea.

Washington wants to build a limited missile shield and has vowed to push ahead with a robust testing scheme, even at the cost of violating the veteran arms control pact that Moscow sees as crucial to maintaining strategic stability.

"We feel no compunction to leave ... any treaty or accord that we currently have," Ivanov said, adding that the existing security relationship with Washington "fully meets Russian needs."

Washington must give six months' notice of its intention to quit the pact, but U.S. Deputy Defense Secretary for policy, Douglas Feith, denied Monday that Moscow had been given a pullout date. That cut little ice with Russian officials.

"I think the strategic decision has already been made" to abandon the ABM Treaty, said Lieutenant General Anatoly Mazurkevich, head of the Defense Ministry's international department.

"From what was said, the technical parameters of the tests that they foresee in the next few months do not coincide with the terms of the ABM Treaty ... therefore, it was said, they will have to leave the treaty unilaterally."

Interfax quoted an "informed source" as saying that the Americans would declare their intention to abandon the ABM Treaty "in October or November."

That would be certain to sour the mood at an informal summit between President Vladimir Putin and U.S. President George W. Bush at the president's ranch in Crawford, Texas, scheduled for November.

Last month Putin and Bush agreed at a meeting in Italy to link talks on missile defense to cuts in offensive weapons, a decision which sparked talk that Moscow was inching toward a compromise.

Putin made it clear Monday that Moscow wanted an answer soon to its offer for both sides to cut their arsenals from around 6,000 warheads to 1,500 each.

But some experts say a split in the Bush administration is delaying a review of U.S. policy on nuclear strategy, and say that it is blocking a deal on missile defense with Russia.

"I think that this nuclear posture review process is the key because before that the Americans simply don't know what to say to Russian requests for concrete pledges on warhead numbers," said Alexander Pikayev, a defense expert at the Carnegie Center think tank in Moscow.

Splits in the Bush administration had delayed the review and signaled military unease at going below the 2,000 warhead threshold wanted by the political leadership, he said.

Even if the review were completed within the two month timeline set by Rumsfeld, "there would be a very limited time for consultations between this American domestic decision and the Putin-Bush summit," Pikayev added.

Rumsfeld's visit has accentuated the sense in some quarters that Washington is cranking up its missile defense testing program to "bounce" Russia into agreeing to ditch ABM. A unilateral U.S. abrogation of the treaty would give Moscow nothing in return.

Some U.S. officials see Russia's continued attachment to ABM as a bargaining ploy to extract arsenal cuts from Washington.

But Pikayev said Putin's comments clearly reflected his frustration: "Putin was quite energetic today in asking Mr. Rumsfeld when the Americans would be ready to start serious consultations about strategic nuclear reductions."

Los Angeles Times

August 14, 2001

Russia Resists Rumsfeld On Scrapping '72 Arms Pact

Diplomacy: Touting proposed U.S. missile shield, Defense secretary urges Kremlin to drop 'Cold War thinking.'

By Maura Reynolds, Times Staff Writer

MOSCOW -- Russian leaders dug in their heels Monday in talks with Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld, rejecting his suggestion that the two countries abandon the 1972 treaty that precludes U.S. development of a missile defense system.

"The existing, multilayered system of strategic security that exists in the world today fully meets Russian needs," Defense Minister Sergei B. Ivanov said.

The Bush administration is actively pursuing a missile defense and plans to withdraw from the 1972 Antiballistic Missile Treaty in coming months. Rumsfeld came to Moscow for a day as part of "consultations" designed to allay Russian fears. The Russians argue that scrapping the treaty would remove the foundation of the current, stable arms control system and fail to put anything reliable in its place.

"If one tries to explain it in common parlance, one could recall the emblem of a famous organization in Russia where a shield and a sword were depicted," Ivanov said, referring to the KGB. "Up to now, we have lived without a shield, only with swords. Now, upon the initiative of the U.S. side--I would like to stress that--the notion of the shield is introduced. Naturally, it changes the entire configuration."

In Genoa, Italy, last month, President Bush and Russian President Vladimir V. Putin agreed that talks about defensive weapons such as the proposed national missile shield were to be linked to reductions in offensive strategic arsenals.

Russian leaders are eager to negotiate new, lower missile ceilings. But Russian officials complained Monday that Rumsfeld had arrived without concrete proposals along those lines.

"It is important for us to get answers to several questions," Putin said as he opened a Kremlin meeting with Rumsfeld. "Among them are thresholds of armaments reductions [and] timing of reductions, as well as measures of control, trust and transparency."

Rumsfeld replied that he is conducting a thorough review of U.S. nuclear policy and will be able to talk specific numbers only when it is complete.

"We have been reviewing every aspect of the program," he said. "I suspect we will come to a point where I will be able to make a recommendation to the president in the next month or two, at which point we'll have a number. If anyone thinks it's been an intentional delay, they're wrong."

At least in public, the two sides seemed often to be talking past each other.

Rumsfeld concentrated on describing the ABM treaty as an example of outmoded "Cold War thinking."

"The cold, hard truth is that when I go to bed at night, I do not worry about the Soviet Union attacking NATO. I just don't," Rumsfeld told an audience of academics and opinion makers. "I don't worry about a strategic nuclear exchange between the United States and the old Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is gone."

Rumsfeld said the United States doesn't need a network of treaties to regulate relations with friendly countries and that Russia is no longer an enemy. He suggested that Russia's problem with the idea of a missile shield amounts to simple suspicion.

"The short answer is we need to get over [the Cold War]," Rumsfeld said. "To the extent that suspicion, however misplaced, persists, then we ought to be able to find ways to demystify that and to reduce those suspicions."

But a Defense Ministry spokesman, Lt. Gen. Anatoly Mazurkevich, suggested that Rumsfeld's emphasis was misplaced.

"We understand, of course, that we live in an era after the Cold War and are ready to agree with our American colleagues that the existing system of agreements on strategic stability will have to be amended," he said. "We are willing to do this, but only on one condition: The ABM treaty must not be touched."

Rumsfeld emphasized that a U.S. missile defense would be designed to ward off attacks by so-called rogue states and that at most it could shoot down "handfuls" of incoming missiles. Since Russia has thousands of nuclear missiles, a missile defense would be useless against Russia and could not be considered a threat to the country, he said.

One Russian academic said he was willing to bet a bottle of whiskey that one of the next two U.S. tests of missile defense technology will fail.

"I don't have any idea how many future tests will fail," Rumsfeld said. "Having been in the pharmaceutical business and investing a lot of money in research and development, I know that failures are not losses. Failures are a learning process."

Wednesday August 15 12:27 PM ET

Pentagon: Hit-To-Kill Missile Shield Not Sure Thing

By Jim Wolf

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - The head of the Pentagon ([news](#) - [web sites](#))'s push to build a shield against ballistic missiles said Wednesday he did not yet have complete confidence in the "hit-to-kill" technology that has destroyed two dummy warheads in four tests since 1999.

As a result, Air Force Lt. Gen. Ronald Kadish, director of the Pentagon's Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, said he planned to stick to virtually the same, one-decoy scenario for the next \$100 million integrated flight test, due in mid- to late-October.

A prototype interceptor fired from Kwajalein atoll in the Marshall Islands smashed a dummy warhead into pieces no bigger than six inches on July 14, the first hit for the U.S. missile defense program since October 1999.

"It is still not totally comfortable for me to say that we can make hit-to-kill technology work consistently ... even in that simple scenario," Kadish said at a breakfast with defense reporters.

Such technology -- akin to hitting a bullet with a bullet -- is the furthest along of those the United States is exploring to protect against incoming warheads, including lasers aboard modified Boeing 747 aircraft and sea-launched

interceptors that Kadish said may be five to 10 years from being ready to shoot down missiles in their "boost" phase.

On the other hand, he said he was confident in the eventual ability to distinguish a true target from decoys of the type a foe likely would use to try to slip a missile possibly tipped with nuclear, biological or chemical weapons through any future U.S. defenses.

"We are working very hard to make this a layered defensive system against states of concern," he said. By adding possible sea-, aircraft- and space-based bulwarks to the defensive shield, the Bush administration was complicating the counter-measure problem greatly for its foes, he added.

Kadish said he expected to phase more realistic countermeasures, such as multiple decoys, into "hit-to-kill" tests as early as next year. In the past two tests, the 4.5-foot, 120-pound "kill vehicle" distinguished the dummy warhead from a single 5.5-foot Mylar balloon decoy.

During much of the July 14 test over the Pacific, the target signaled its location to the interceptor with a beacon that the Pentagon described as necessary only to make up for the lack of an advanced "X-band" radar that the United States plans to build later.

"We don't like (relying on such a beacon) but that's the way it is" until the X-band radar is up and running, Kadish said.

Boeing is the lead system integrator for the ground-based missile defense effort. TRW builds the system's battle command, control and communications system. Raytheon builds the kill vehicle. Lockheed Martin is the prime contractor on the current booster system.

The Pentagon has said it plans to carry out four more missile defense tests in fiscal 2002 starting with the one due in October. The U.S. testing plans and construction of a new test facility in Alaska would "bump up against" the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty within months, not years, the Bush administration has said.

The ABM Treaty was negotiated between the United States and the old Soviet Union to ban the kind of nationwide defenses against long-range missiles that President Bush ([news - web sites](#)) wants to build. Such defenses were seen as destabilizing during the Cold War, inviting both sides to try to overwhelm the other. Russia wants to preserve the treaty. Bush says it is a "relic" that should be scrapped or amended.

Kadish told reporters that preparing Fort Greely, Alaska, as a new missile defense test site -- including clearing trees and leveling the ground -- may begin by the end of this month. Such initial work has been judged "treaty-compliant" by the United States, he said.

http://dailynews.yahoo.com/h/nm/20010815/pl/arms_usa_missiles_dc_1.html