

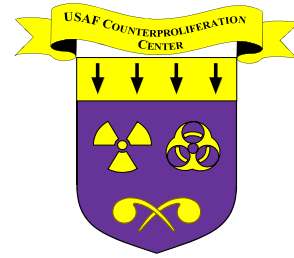
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*Air University
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Congressional Quarterly Weekly
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Pg. 2029

Democrats Will Seek To Steer Funds Away From Anti-Missile Program

By Pat Towell, CQ Staff

The political battle over President Bush's \$8.3 billion budget request to develop anti-missile defenses will heat up over the next several weeks as Democrats try to slice about \$1 billion from the request in an attempt to rein in projects that would violate the 1972 treaty that prohibits any nationwide anti-ballistic missile (ABM) shield.

The first skirmish will come the week of Sept. 3 as the Senate Armed Services Committee marks up the fiscal 2002 defense authorization bill. The panel's chairman, Carl Levin, D-Mich., is expected to try to transfer about \$1 billion from missile defense projects to other parts of the Pentagon budget.

The House Armed Services Committee rejected a similar amendment, by John M. Spratt Jr., D-S.C., when it marked up its version of the defense bill (HR 2586) just before the August recess. Spratt will offer a modified version of the proposal during House consideration of the bill, tentatively slated for the week of Sept. 10. (CQ Weekly, p. 1987) Bush insists that the United States must set aside the ABM Treaty so it can deploy defenses to fend off a relatively small number of missiles carrying nuclear, chemical or biological warheads that might be launched by a hostile regime in North Korea or Iraq. However, the administration also says it wants Russia to concur in nullifying the treaty.

Russian officials maintain that the treaty is the cornerstone of a whole network of arms control agreements. The Russians say they would consider amending the treaty to allow more realistic testing of anti-missile systems than the pact currently permits, but they are adamantly opposed to loosening the restrictions on deploying a nationwide defense.

Much of the debate will focus on Bush's request for \$584 million to begin building test facilities at Fort Greely, in eastern Alaska, where the Bush team may, eventually, deploy a small number of operational anti-missile interceptors and where the Clinton administration planned to deploy a much larger number. The contested money also includes funds to upgrade an existing radar system, known as Cobra Dane, in the Aleutian Islands.

The Fort Greely site would be part of an expanded network of sites intended to allow more realistic operational tests. According to Air Force Lt. Gen. Ronald T. Kadish, chief of the Pentagon's anti-missile program, a test deployment site at Fort Greely is needed to verify that construction techniques, operating equipment, communications equipment and maintenance procedures work in the Arctic conditions in which operational anti-missile interceptors might later be deployed.

But administration officials also say that the five test interceptors slated for deployment at Fort Greely, linked to the Cobra Dane radar, could provide a rudimentary defense as early as 2004 against a missile launched from North Korea.

Deadlines and Timetables

Democratic critics blast the project as a back-door deployment that would violate the treaty for the sake of satisfying missile defense advocates before the 2004 election.

As has been true over the nearly 20 years since President Ronald Reagan launched the current push for anti-missile defenses in 1983, proponents maintain that, in the end, public opinion will be on their side. The Democrats' effort to sidetrack a major part of Bush's program is "a risky proposition," Senate Foreign Relations Committee member Chuck Hagel, R-Neb., warned during an Aug. 27 interview. "It could cause a lot of American voters to go back to a view of Democrats as weak on national security issues," he said.

But with the Pentagon, and every other agency, in a budget vise, Democrats believe they are on politically safe ground by trying to slice the proposed 57 percent increase in missile defense funds and transfer the money to more widely supported defense programs.

In the House, Spratt's amendment would have transferred a total of \$985 million from the work at Fort Greely and other anti-missile projects to a raft of modernization and combat readiness programs. In future rounds, the Democrats may propose instead using the money cut from missile defense to fund a higher pay raise or a larger force of C-17 wide-body cargo jets.

"People are saying, 'Why are we spending all this extra money on missile defense when we've got all these other problems?'" House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee member Norm Dicks, D-Wash., said Aug. 30. "And they're not yet sure it's going to work."

While insistent that the United States will withdraw from the treaty rather than limit its anti-missile test program to conform to the treaty's restrictions, Bush and his aides repeatedly have declined to set a firm deadline for unilateral U.S. withdrawal.

The nearest thing to an administration timetable is deputy defense secretary Paul Wolfowitz's testimony to the Senate Armed Services panel in July that the planned schedule of tests would "bump up against" the treaty "in months [rather] than years" -- a phrase that other officials have repeated like a mantra.

In mid-August, while Undersecretary of State John Bolton was in Moscow to press the administration's case for shelving the ABM pact, press accounts reported that he had set a deadline of November, which is when Russian President Valdimir Putin is slated to meet with Bush for the first time in the United States at Bush's Crawford, Texas, ranch.

Bolton and other administration officials denied that any deadline had been set, while reaffirming the administration's line that the United States would withdraw from the treaty unilaterally unless Russia agreed to

replace the pact with a new agreement. Bolton added a jocular gloss on the "months [rather] than years" formula: "By definition," he said, "'months [rather] than years' means 23 months or less."

Bush reaffirmed the administration's stand Aug. 23: "We will withdraw from the ABM Treaty on our timetable, at a time convenient to America," he told reporters during a visit to a Crawford elementary school. But he also said he would "consult" closely with allied governments and with Putin on the issue, and added, "I have no specific timetable in mind."

The treaty allows a country to withdraw on six month's notice. Although some academics argue on constitutional grounds that Congress should have a role in abrogating a treaty, presidents have had a free hand in such decisions for decades. Almost surely, Bush could trigger a U.S. pullout regardless of congressional sentiment.

A Six-Month Clock

Since the administration insists that it will withdraw from the treaty before any of its planned anti-missile projects violate the pact, some observers assume that November is a practical deadline for Bush to start the six-month clock. The reason is that, in order to have interceptors deployed at Fort Greely by 2004, construction would have to begin by the spring of 2002 because of harsh Arctic weather.

Contractors have begun clearing the construction site. However, a coalition of environmental groups including the National Defense Resources Council and Greenpeace have filed suit in federal district court to require the Pentagon to assess the environmental impact before starting construction. That could cause a delay of up to 18 months.

The Pentagon already has completed an environmental impact statement for the Clinton administration's plan to deploy a limited anti-missile system at Fort Greely. Pentagon officials contend that the earlier analysis covers the new plan, since a smaller facility would be built than the Clinton plan called for.

A Russian official reportedly has said that the treaty would be violated when the first concrete is poured at Fort Greely. However, some lawyers for the Clinton administration argued that construction of a new radar in the Aleutians, which was to have been the first facility built for Clinton's planned anti-missile system, could have proceeded for quite a while before the treaty was breached.

So, if Bush and Putin wanted to delay a showdown over the treaty's ultimate fate to give themselves more time to work out a deal, creative lawyers on each side probably could find a way.

Whether Bush has any interest in such a delay is the subject of much debate. To be sure, his commitment to deploy defenses regardless of the ABM Treaty is unambiguous. However, his refusal to set a deadline is one of several issues on which his administration has rejected the recommendations by some of the most prominent conservative proponents of anti-missile defense.

For example, the State Department's Bolton is one of many conservatives -- Undersecretary of Defense Douglas Feith is another -- who argue that the ABM Treaty lapsed as a matter of international law when the Soviet Union, the only other party to the bilateral pact, collapsed in 1991. But administration officials have insisted from the outset that they will not violate the terms of the treaty, choosing instead to withdraw from it on six month's notice, as the treaty allows.

Some critics dismiss the administration's refusal to set a deadline as merely a ploy to make Russia pay the political price of declaring the treaty dead, rather than evidence of a serious effort to reach an agreement: "They want to put the blame on Putin; Putin wants to put the blame on them," says John Pike, a longtime critic of anti-missile efforts. That skepticism of the Bush team's good faith is rooted in Russian officials' insistence that the ABM Treaty is the linchpin of stability in U.S.-Russian relations, since its prohibition of significant anti-missile defenses ensures that each country could deter the other's attack by the threat of devastating retaliation.

But the administration insists that each country's ability to obliterate the other no longer is the central fact of U.S.-Russian relations. Thus, assistant secretary of defense J.D. Crouch contended in an Aug. 28 press conference that the United States could terminate the ABM Treaty so it could deal with threats from other countries while shifting the focus in U.S.-Russian relations from a military standoff to political and economic ties. "We're offering them an opportunity to have a relationship with the United States that is much more stabilizing than one that is based on a treaty that enshrines mutual annihilation," he said.

China Ready To Deploy Its First Mobile ICBMs

By Bill Gertz, The Washington Times

China will soon deploy its first road-mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles, a new long-range strategic weapon whose predicted range includes the western United States, The Washington Times has learned.

U.S. intelligence agencies detected the Chinese military's formation of the first missile units equipped with Dong Feng-31 missiles in July, and the Pentagon believes the first missiles will be fielded by the end of the year. Dong Feng means "East Wind" in Chinese.

The missile was last flight-tested in December, and several static tests were conducted earlier this year. An additional flight test is expected in the near future, according to intelligence officials who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

"This is a faster deployment schedule than was expected," said one intelligence official.

A second U.S. official disagreed with the Pentagon's assessment. This official said deployment by the end of the year is "in the realm of possibility but not likely" because of the need for more testing.

Deputy CIA Director John E. McLaughlin said in a speech Aug. 21 that China is "modernizing its strategic missile force" by shifting from reliance on some 20 long-range ICBMs "to the development and deployment of mobile ICBMs."

"We project that Beijing is already on a course to increase its strategic warheads several-fold by 2015, though to levels still well below those of the United States or Russia," Mr. McLaughlin said.

The key indicator of the pending DF-31 deployment was the formation in July of Chinese military units that will be equipped with the new ICBM. The units have begun what the officials described as "crew training" for the DF-31 units, which are part of the Chinese military's Second Artillery the part of the army in charge of all missile troops. One classified U.S. intelligence report concluded that the DF-31 will have its first "operational capability" by the end of the year, the officials said.

Some of the missiles and launchers believed to be for the new units were photographed by a U.S. spy satellite on a train coming from a manufacturing plant, the officials said.

Disclosure of the DF-31 deployment comes amid reports the Bush administration was considering a proposal to give up any objections to China's strategic nuclear buildup in exchange for Beijing dropping its opposition to U.S. missile defenses.

White House and Pentagon officials vehemently denied the reports, first disclosed in the New York Times last week. President Bush opposes China's long-range missile buildup, administration spokesmen said Tuesday.

Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld told Congress during a hearing yesterday that China is building up "not just ballistic missiles, longer-range and shorter-range and nuclear, but mostly non-nuclear" weapons.

Mr. Rumsfeld said no one in the Bush administration has given a "green light" to China to build up its nuclear arsenal.

The defense secretary said "it's unwritten exactly how China is going to engage the rest of the world and its neighbors."

"And certainly we ought to be doing everything we can to see that they engage the world in a peaceful and rational way," he said.

The DF-31 is the first of a new generation of Chinese strategic nuclear missiles. According to intelligence officials, the missile is expected to have a single warhead and a range of between 5,520 miles and 6,400 miles -- enough to hit the western United States.

A longer-range variant, the DF-41, is also under development and will have a range of up to 8,000 miles. China also is building a submarine-launched version of the DF-31 known as the JL-2.

The DF-31 was first flight-tested in August 1999. A second flight test was carried out Nov. 4 during a visit to China by Gen. Henry H. Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The last flight test took place in December.

China's government has said it has a policy of not being the first to use nuclear arms in a conflict.

China's official military newspaper, Liberation Army Daily, stated in a Feb. 28, 2000, article that it would launch "a long distance strike" on the United States if Washington backed Taiwan in a conflict with China.

Chinese President Jiang Zemin announced in 1998 that China would not target its nuclear missiles at the United States, and the United States agreed to do the same.

However, nuclear weapons experts said the gesture is not militarily significant because nuclear weapons can be retargeted in minutes.

China appeared to undermine the detargeting gesture by conducting war games in late 1999 that simulated nuclear attacks on U.S. forces in Asia, according to intelligence officials.

Richard Fisher, a specialist on the Chinese military, said DF-31 deployments have been expected for some time, and a longer-range version could be built because of problems with the DF-41 program.

"China's strategic nuclear missile modernization is a self-contained enterprise that cannot be influenced by any change in American policy with regard to missile defense," he said. "The bottom line is we need a robust missile defense in place to deter China."

A classified U.S. Air Force intelligence report in 1996 said, "DF-31 ICBM will give China a major strike capability that will be difficult to counterattack at any stage of its operation."

The DF-31 is part of a "steadily increasing" Chinese strategic missile force that is currently limited to about 20 CSS-3 missiles with a 3,400-mile range, and about 20 CSS-4s with an 8,000-mile range.

New York Times
September 6, 2001

Research Not To Be Hidden

By Elisa D. Harris

WASHINGTON -- What do advances in biotechnology have in store for international relations?

Consider the following. At a once-secret military research center near Moscow, a new type of anthrax has been developed that can overcome the standard Russian and American vaccines. In Ohio, a military contractor laboratory is awaiting final approval from the Bush administration to replicate the Russian work by creating its own genetically modified version of the disease. And in an academic laboratory in Australia, scientists exploring ways to sterilize mice have discovered how a highly lethal biological agent might be made.

None of these activities violate the 1972 treaty outlawing biological weapons. The treaty only prohibits the development of biological or toxic agents "of types and in quantities that have no justification for prophylactic, protective or other peaceful purposes."

Yet each raises legitimate concerns. The Russian anthrax work was reportedly aimed at creating a vaccine against a lethal naturally occurring strain of the disease. Although the work was undertaken at one of the former Soviet Union's key biological weapons research institutes, it was described at an international conference and the final results were published in a peer-reviewed journal, *Vaccine*.

But could an anthrax strain with the same properties as the genetically modified Russian variant occur naturally? And if Russia's intentions were indeed peaceful, why haven't Russian scientists shared a sample of the new anthrax strain with American researchers?

The American research, although not yet under way, is apparently intended to determine the risk such an anthrax strain could pose to American military forces, who are being given the standard vaccine. However, in contrast to the Russian work, the American plan to replicate the Russian strain was unknown to all but a handful of people until now. Why have American plans to replicate the Russian work been kept secret? And if other countries undertook similar research on biological agents, wouldn't the United States consider this to be strong evidence of a possible offensive biological weapons program?

The Australian mousepox experiment was focused on developing an alternative to poisons for controlling the mouse population. The work was carried out by academic researchers, not by government or contractor scientists linked to Australia's biological defense program. Nevertheless, isn't there a risk that others might use the knowledge gained from the Australian experiment to develop new, more lethal biological agents for hostile purposes?

Unfortunately, the principal international mechanism for reassuring others about the benign intent behind a nation's biotechnology research has been rejected by the Bush administration. In July the administration announced its opposition to adding monitoring provisions, in particular, to the 1972 treaty, arguing in a twist of logic that the measures under negotiation were too weak to catch determined cheaters — and yet could force the disclosure of American commercial or military secrets.

The Russian anthrax work, the related American biological weapons defense activities disclosed recently by *The New York Times*, and the Australian mousepox experiment all illustrate the ambiguities and the risks posed by certain types of biological research. They also highlight the critical need for an oversight mechanism for this kind of research.

Such a mechanism might be initiated by a small group of countries and expand over time. Participating countries could take steps to make sure that research standards for work with biological agents, plus disclosure and auditing

requirements, are put into each country's domestic laws, while protecting legitimate scientific exploration and commercial activities.

The 1972 treaty contains no monitoring provisions. And with efforts to strengthen the treaty stalled, at least for the next few years, oversight along these lines may offer the best chance of achieving some biological security.

Of course, such measures cannot substitute for the more comprehensive, legally binding treaty provisions under negotiation. They could, however, help lift the veil from activities that could be misused for destructive purposes, and thus complement a future effort to strengthen the 1972 treaty.

Elisa D. Harris, a research fellow at the University of Maryland, was director for nonproliferation on the National Security Council from 1993 to 2001.

Washington Post
September 6, 2001
Pg. 23

If China Builds More Warheads

By Rose Gottemoeller

President Bush made it clear from the outset of his administration that he was not much interested in negotiations on arms control matters, preferring instead unilateral measures designed to induce cooperation in U.S. partners. In this way, the administration would make fast progress on arms control while avoiding, as Undersecretary of State John Bolton put it in recent Senate testimony, "small armies of negotiators inhabiting the best hotels in Geneva for months and years at a time."

The problem with this approach, of course, is that without the probes and feints of the negotiating process, one is in danger of giving too much to induce cooperation in the other parties. There could be no clearer example of this than the Bush team's signal to China over Labor Day that it might be willing to see a return to nuclear testing so that China could field new warheads -- and specifically multiple, independently targetable warheads (MIRVs).

On the one hand, MIRVs would enable China to be confident that the limited missile defense system of the United States would not negate its strategic offensive deterrent. On the other, MIRVs are universally regarded as a stepping stone for aspirants to strategic superiority. Encouraging a boost in Chinese warheads in this way is highly destabilizing and will do nothing for U.S. national security. And although the Bush administration seems to think it so, the Chinese were not inevitably headed in the MIRV direction.

The Chinese have clearly been interested in the technology for years -- what nuclear country is not? While I was on a trip to Beijing almost a decade ago, a Chinese missile specialist told me about the satellite-dispensing technology that China has under development. "Also excellent MIRV technology," he said, with a twinkle in his eye.

Since that time, however, China has entered into a full moratorium on nuclear testing that would sharply constrain the development of the new warheads needed to deploy MIRVs. This step was taken at some political cost, since many Chinese military and nuclear experts were unready to halt testing. Now, at a single stroke, the Bush administration's signal will give courage to this lobby and undermine those figures in the leadership who have been holding the line against testing.

Moreover, the Chinese are considering quite a different response to the U.S. missile defense program. Last spring, once again in Beijing, I found myself drawn into discussion of this issue with a number of senior Chinese diplomats and military specialists. Those most in the know emphasized what they called the "Andropov solution" to their missile defense response problem.

Back in the 1980s, faced with the necessity of responding to the Reagan administration's "Star Wars" initiative with an economy that was already in crisis, the Communist Party general secretary, Yuri Andropov, decreed an approach that was an innovation in Soviet policy at the time: Instead of trying to match U.S. strategic defenses or engage in a strategic offensive buildup, as had been past practice, the Soviet Union would concentrate on developing countermeasures to the system -- chaff, balloons and other technologies that would defeat the system without destroying it. In that way, Andropov argued, he could maintain Soviet security on the cheap, without having to match or mirror U.S. programs.

The Chinese, by adopting the Andropov solution, would also clearly have economy in mind. They argued to me in April that they could develop countermeasures to the U.S. missile defense system at a cost of 2 percent of their defense budget. At the same time, they had heard that the U.S. system would cost 2 percent of the U.S. defense

budget. Given the huge disparity between the two budgets, they asked, were they not getting the better end of the bargain?

More important, they said point blank that they did not feel they needed to engage in a buildup in strategic offensive forces to be confident their countermeasure approach would work. I was told by several persons that there would be no need for the Chinese to add new warheads and missiles as long as their countermeasures were effective.

With the Chinese displaying this attitude, it makes no sense for the Bush administration to encourage nuclear testing, given the enormous potential cost to U.S. national security of new, more accurate Chinese warheads. If we are going to go to bizarre lengths to convince the Chinese that our limited missile defense system is not designed against them, then we would be better off helping them directly with their countermeasure technologies. Or if that seems too ridiculous, perhaps we should encourage the Chinese and Russians to work together on countermeasures to the system. The Russians certainly have the requisite knowledge and experience, and they are old partners of the Chinese in the strategic technology arena. Why, we could even help pay for it.

The writer, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, was an assistant energy secretary for nonproliferation in the Clinton administration.

Moscow Times
September 6, 2001
Pg. 3

Iran Nuclear Aid

WASHINGTON (Reuters)--Russian companies continue to help Iran develop nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, in some cases by allowing Russian scientists to go to Iran, a senior U.S. official said Wednesday.

"We still see evidence that Russian enterprises are helping Iran develop the expertise to produce WMD [weapons of mass destruction]," said the official, who asked not to be named.

Asked what category of weapons he was talking about, he said Russian assistance covered all three. "But maybe nuclear tops the list."

The official said he did not think any new U.S. sanctions were under consideration. He also said the United States believes the Russian government is aware of the assistance to Iran, but he did not say the government approved of it.

"We think that the Russians need to confront this contradiction in their own policy. On the one hand they say that they are against proliferation, but the continuing pattern of activity cannot be unknown to the Russian special services," he said.

Washington Times
September 6, 2001
Pg. 9

China Denies Violating Nuclear Agreement

By David R. Sands, The Washington Times

China yesterday rejected U.S. charges that a leading Chinese company had violated pledges not to supply nuclear-missile technology to Pakistan but added it hoped U.S. sanctions imposed over the weekend would not cloud the overall bilateral relationship.

"We were angry, we were stunned. This is not the way to do business between states," said a senior Chinese diplomat who spoke to reporters on the condition of anonymity yesterday.

Culminating a string of complaints about China's military export controls, the Bush administration last week slapped sanctions on the China Metallurgical Equipment Corp., a government-owned engineering company, accusing the firm of supplying missile-related parts to Pakistan.

For two years, the company will be denied all new U.S. licenses for production of electronics and military equipment and for material used to launch commercial satellites.

The senior Chinese diplomat in Washington and top Foreign Ministry officials in Beijing yesterday both said Beijing had conducted its own investigation of the company, inspecting invoices dating back to early 1999, and had found no violations of Chinese nonproliferation pledges.

The blowup comes a month before President Bush makes a brief but much-anticipated visit to China to attend an Asian-Pacific summit and hold talks with Chinese President Jiang Zemin.

The trip follows a rocky start to U.S.-China relations under Mr. Bush, with disputes over nonproliferation, human rights, a downed U.S. surveillance plane and Taiwan among the irritants.

But the diplomat said China's leaders hope Mr. Bush's visit will set the stage for better relations.

"What is needed now in the bilateral relationship is more impetus to move the relationship forward," the diplomat said.

The Chinese diplomat said Beijing will pursue the modernization of its military and nuclear arsenal, whether or not Mr. Bush proceeds with plans to build a missile-defense shield that China strongly opposes.

But he said China would be forced to consider a much larger expansion of its military assets beyond the modernization program if the American missile-defense program proceeds.

The White House announced Tuesday that it will brief China on the status of the missile-defense program and would also express its opposition to Beijing's offensive military buildup.

"No one should try to blame the modernization of China's offensive nuclear forces on our missile defense efforts," the White House said in a statement. China's military modernization effort "is unnecessary and it is not good for regional stability or for peace."

Analysts believe China has about two dozen nuclear missiles that can hit U.S. territory. Beijing fears that even a limited U.S. missile-defense shield could render its nuclear force irrelevant at current levels.

On Capitol Hill yesterday, Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld emphatically rejected press accounts that the Bush administration is prepared to condone a Chinese effort to enhance its nuclear arsenal if Beijing steps off its opposition to the U.S. missile defense plan.

"The suggestion that the United States has or is poised to approve of China's military and nuclear buildup for some reason in exchange for something is simply not the case," Mr. Rumsfeld told a Senate Appropriations subcommittee hearing yesterday.

The Chinese diplomat said Beijing is still studying a U.S.-British plan to impose a refined set of "smart sanctions" on the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein.

U.S. diplomats had believed China was ready to vote in the United Nations in favor of the modified sanctions package, which has been shelved for now by Russian opposition.

The diplomat said Chinese experts are still combing through the proposed list of banned goods and services, but he said Beijing is more focused on keeping the U.N.'s five major powers -- the United States, Britain, France, Russia and China united behind whatever sanctions program is adopted.

New York Times
September 6, 2001

Nuclear Tests Not Planned, Chinese Diplomat Says

By Jane Perlez

WASHINGTON, Sept. 5 — China has no plans to test its nuclear weapons, a Chinese diplomat said today, responding to statements by Bush administration officials that tests were likely.

The diplomat, speaking to reporters at a background briefing, said China was a signer of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and as such would stand by the intent of the treaty. The official said China had some capacity to test the safety of those weapons by computer simulation.

The issue has arisen in the last several days because Bush administration officials told reporters that as China builds up its nuclear arsenal it may want to resume underground nuclear tests as a way to determine the safety and reliability of the weapons. The officials have also been quoted as saying that the United States may want to resume testing in the future, too.

"China is a signator to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty — even if China has not ratified the treaty — and China is not going to test nuclear weapons," the diplomat said.

"As you know," he added, "the purpose of the Comprehensive Test Ban treaty is to prevent the advancement of nuclear weapons. There are other ways you can prove the reliability of nuclear weapons, through computer simulation."

According to American intelligence estimates, China has from 20 to 24 long-range nuclear missiles created in the 1950's and 60's as a minimal deterrent. China is now in the process of replacing those missiles with mobile, solid-fuel intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Critics of the Bush administration's plans for missile defense argue that it will serve to encourage China to modernize its nuclear arsenal faster than it might otherwise feel compelled to do.

The Chinese diplomat said that it was reasonable for China to forge ahead with the modernization of its military, including its nuclear weapons. "Every country is doing that," he said. It was as normal, he said, as "buying new spring clothes if you can afford it."

As China's economic situation improves, the military would be modernized, the diplomat said.

Washington Times

September 6, 2001

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Germ Attack 'Dwarfs' Missiles As Threat

By Tom Carter, The Washington Times

The chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday called President Bush's planned missile defense plan "myopic," arguing that the threat from terrorists armed with anthrax, smallpox and other germs is far greater than the peril of nuclear-tipped missiles.

Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr., Delaware Democrat, issued the warning at the first in a series of hearings called to emphasize national security threats.

"We do not have enough money for everything" and the United States "must prioritize" which threats are of greater importance, Mr. Biden said.

"In my view, the threat from anonymously delivered biological weapons and from emerging infectious diseases simply dwarfs the threat that we will be attacked by a Third World [missile] with a return address."

Former Sen. Sam Nunn, Georgia Democrat, who now heads the Nuclear Threat Initiative sponsored by CNN founder Ted Turner, told the committee of a "war game" called "Dark Winter" in which he recently participated.

He played the U.S. president in the exercise, held at Andrews Air Force Base, in a scenario that simulated National Security Council meetings following the release of smallpox by terrorists in several U.S. cities.

In the simulation, about 3,000 people initially were infected because the vaccinations most Americans received as children had worn off.

Every 10 days to two weeks, the number of people infected would increase tenfold, he said. While health care workers and doctors were immunized immediately, on day six of the game, the United States had run out of vaccine.

Among the conclusions in the nightmare scenario:

- Not enough vaccine is available.
- Top officials are not prepared to deal with this type of crisis.
- The public infrastructure is inadequate and health care workers are not adequately trained.

"We were out of vaccine. We were discussing martial law. Interstate commerce was eroding rapidly. The members of our simulated NSC, as well as state and local officials, were desperate," Mr. Nunn said.

He added that if the biological agent were anthrax, it would have required a completely different medical and official response — for which the United States was similarly unprepared.

"Biological terrorism is one of our greatest national security threats. ... Our lack of preparation is a real emergency," he said.

James Woolsey, while agreeing with Mr. Nunn's assessment, said U.S. laws have made it too hard for the intelligence community to obtain the information it needs to head off such threats.

He said the FBI and CIA are prohibited from dealing with human rights violators and individuals with violent pasts, precisely the type of people who join terrorist groups. In the end, intelligence agencies will know all about the local church and chamber of commerce, but little about clandestine terror cells, he said.

Sen. Jesse Helms, North Carolina Republican, said the United States should not have to make the choice between safety from nuclear missiles and safety from biological warfare. "We must avoid false choices ... that some of these threats are more likely than others," he said. "When it comes to America's security, we must be prepared to deal with all threats."

Washington Post
September 6, 2001
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Democrats To Pare Missile Funds

Panel's Planned \$1.3 Billion Cut Opens Defense Budget Fight

By Vernon Loeb and Dan Morgan, Washington Post Staff Writers

Democrats on the Senate Armed Services Committee plan to cut \$1.3 billion from the Bush administration's \$8.3 billion request for ballistic missile defense this week as an opening shot in this fall's battle over defense spending, committee members and aides said yesterday.

Sen. Carl M. Levin (D-Mich.), the committee chairman, said a move to cut missile defense would come, possibly today, as the panel crafts the fiscal 2002 defense authorization bill.

Levin said the administration's request for a 57 percent increase in missile defense funds is "unjustified" militarily and strategically, particularly since Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld has yet to tell the panel whether any of the money would fund research activities that violate the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

Levin revealed his plan as Congress began work in earnest on the budget for the coming fiscal year amid controversy over the dwindling surplus and whether Social Security and Medicare funds should be used for defense and other spending priorities despite pledges from leaders in both parties not to do so.

Sen. John W. Warner (Va.), the committee's ranking Republican, said he had been informed the Democrats plan to cut funds from missile defense and add language to the bill limiting President Bush's ability to pursue research that would violate the ABM Treaty with the Russians. Warner said these moves would ensure a veto of the bill.

Any successful effort by Senate Democrats to substantially reduce missile defense funding and restrict Bush's ability to modify or withdraw from the ABM Treaty would greatly complicate discussions the administration plans to hold with both the Russians and Chinese.

With Bush scheduled to meet with Russian President Vladimir Putin in November at Bush's ranch in Crawford, Tex., administration officials have been trying to fashion a new "strategic framework" with Moscow to replace the ABM Treaty, which prohibits numerous elements of the administration's missile defense plan.

Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz said the moves contemplated by the Democrats would send a signal to the Russians that "they effectively have a veto over what we do, which enormously reduces their incentive to come to an understanding with us."

National security adviser Condoleezza Rice and other administration officials, meanwhile, are also preparing for extensive discussions on missile defense with the Chinese in preparation for the president's meeting with President Jiang Zemin in Beijing next month.

Speaking in an interview, Levin said he favors transferring the money cut from missile defense funding to other military programs and authorizing the administration's full \$328.9 billion defense request for the fiscal year that begins Oct. 1.

Full authorization of the administration's request, he added, would be contingent upon approval by Senate Budget Committee Chairman Kent Conrad (D-N.D.) or by a vote by 60 senators to waive the requirement of this year's budget resolution, which ruled out using surplus Medicare funds to pay for defense increases.

Members of the Senate Appropriations defense subcommittee clashed yesterday over the administration's defense request, with committee Democrats divided over whether the Social Security surplus should be used to pay for defense and other increases.

After listening to testimony from Rumsfeld and Gen. Henry H. Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Sen. Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii), the subcommittee's chairman, said he supports the administration's full spending request. He added he would, if necessary, recommend waiving the Senate budget resolution to dip into the Social Security trust fund.

"Many of our colleagues are going to be reluctant to cut into Medicare and Social Security to pay for defense," he said. "Politically, they worry that the voters will penalize them for raiding Social Security. I, for one, believe it is essential that we provide the resources necessary for defense."

But Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.), a subcommittee member, made it clear that she does not favor tapping Social Security and, echoing the position of Senate Majority Leader Thomas A. Daschle (D-S.D), said Bush has an obligation to recommend cuts elsewhere in the budget to pay for the largest defense increase since the mid-1980s. "He has said he does not want it coming from Social Security, he does not want it coming from the Medicare trust fund," she said. "Ergo, it has to come from something else that's cut."

Rumsfeld refused to speculate about what he might be willing to cut to pay for the defense request, saying that is an issue for Congress and the president to work out.

"The 2002 budget includes critical funding for military quality of life," he said. "It includes funding for training and readiness, for maintenance and repair of our aging equipment, for modernization and transformational research and development. Mr. Chairman, we need every nickel of it."

Across the Capitol, White House budget director Mitchell E. Daniels Jr. assured members of the House Budget Committee that the existing budget "will allow the funding of our nation's priorities -- defense, education, debt reduction -- all consistent with the full protection of the Social Security surplus for debt reduction."

But Democrats challenged Daniels to show how he could fund the president's request for additional defense funds in 2002 without using surplus payroll taxes from the account that pays Medicare benefits.

Ranking Democrat John M. Spratt Jr. (S.C.), citing the Congressional Budget Office, said it would be necessary to tap the Medicare surplus through 2008 to pay for defense and other priorities, such as a new Medicare prescription drug benefit.

"So [Republicans] have got to not just recant political rhetoric; they have got to violate the written letter of the budget resolution that the Congress had adopted just months ago," he said.

Daniels said he understood that the budget committees would have to make an "active decision" on how to get around the problem. But he argued that the Social Security and Medicare trust funds were protected whether or not their surpluses were tapped.

Washington Times

September 6, 2001

Pg. 9

Russia Sees Missile Shield As Inevitable

By David R. Sands, The Washington Times

Russia has concluded that a U.S. missile defense system is "inevitable" and will eventually strike a deal to allow the system to proceed, a senior Bush administration official predicted yesterday.

Briefing reporters on the condition of anonymity, the official said President Bush and Russian President Vladimir Putin could reach at least the outlines of a deal on the missile defense plan when they meet in Texas in November.

Russia has sent conflicting signals recently over whether it is prepared to amend or scrap the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which forbids the kind of extensive missile defense system Mr. Bush favors.

Mr. Bush has said he's prepared to abandon the ABM Treaty, but he would prefer a negotiated deal with Moscow that could include deep cuts in offensive nuclear weapons as well.

"You may not find individual Russians using the word 'inevitable' about missile defense, but that's my impression of the attitude there now," the official said.

Mr. Bush argues that the missile defenses are needed to counter nuclear threats from "rogue states" such as North Korea and Iraq — threats not even contemplated in the Cold War era when the ABM pact was signed.

The Russians "see rogue states around them closer to their borders in most cases than to ours," the U.S. official said. "I do believe that they are prepared at the end of the day to accommodate limited defenses. Now they want to know just how limited it will be."

While consistently opposing a unilateral U.S. withdrawal from the ABM Treaty, Moscow in recent days has toned down its rhetoric.

Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov told reporters in Moscow Tuesday that Russia's relations with the United States can survive the missile defense dispute. He also said that Mr. Putin was prepared to discuss the "new strategic

framework" Bush administration aides have proposed to replace the ABM Treaty and other Soviet-era arms-control pacts.

"We believe that bilateral relations with any nation must not be held hostage to any one problem, even if it is a very large one," Mr. Ivanov told the Itar-Tass news service.

Top Pentagon and State Department arms experts will be meeting their Russian counterparts over the next two weeks, ahead of a planned meeting of Secretary of State Colin L. Powell and Mr. Ivanov later this month.

The administration official dismissed a recent Russian threat to put multiple warheads on its missiles to ensure the U.S. defensive shield does not overwhelm Russia's arsenal.

He noted that Mr. Putin in an interview with a Finnish newspaper earlier this month expressed the view that the limited U.S. defensive plan did not undermine Russia's deterrence capability.

The administration official said one continuing "sore point" in U.S.-Russian relations is the aid being provided by Russian firms to help Iran develop nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, with top Russian researchers being permitted to travel to Iran.

"We think that the Russians need to confront this contradiction in their own policy," the U.S. official said. "On the one hand they say they are against proliferation ... but the continuing pattern of activity can't be unknown to the Russian special services."

Dayton Daily News
September 5, 2001

Village Site Of Anthrax Research

Deadly germs to be made 57 miles from Dayton

By Laura Bischoff and Margo Rutledge Kissell, Dayton Daily News

WEST JEFFERSON -- The West Jefferson laboratory of Battelle Memorial Institute, in Madison County roughly 57 miles east of Dayton, reportedly has been selected to create a genetically altered anthrax.

Katy Delaney, spokeswoman for Columbus-based Battelle, which serves industry and government in developing new technologies and products, would not comment on a report in Tuesday's New York Times about the existence of the project.

According to the Times, the project was part of a broader research effort to improve U.S. defenses against biological agents.

Pentagon officials said the Defense Intelligence Agency plans to develop small amounts of a potentially more potent variant of the bacterium that causes deadly anthrax. News of Battelle's anthrax research brought mixed reaction from West Jefferson residents.

Some are alarmed at the idea of a potent version of the deadly germ being developed just outside this village. Others said they have faith in Battelle to manage the project and protect public health.

"Fine with me," said Miriam Shipley, a West Jefferson resident for 55 years. "Battelle is responsible. I trust them."

Roger Dotson is uneasy about it, but said research has to be done somewhere.

"Unfortunately, we have this type of substance in use somewhere in the world. If we can provide a vaccine in a safe manner, it needs to be done," he said. "I'd rather it be done someplace else, but Battelle has a good reputation. I have faith in them."

Victoria Clarke, spokeswoman for Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld, said, "We plan to proceed" once internal legal reviews have been completed and Congress has been fully informed. Clarke said the purpose of developing a new strain of anthrax is strictly defensive: to ensure that an effective vaccine is available should a biological weapon be used against U.S. troops. "We have a vaccine that works against all the known anthrax strains," she told reporters at the Pentagon. "What we want to do is make sure we are prepared for any surprises, we're prepared for anything that might happen that might be a threat. So in the early part of this year, the DIA started to look into . . . how we could develop that modified anthrax strain so we could test our vaccines against it."

So far, the DIA has not produced any samples of the new strain, she said.

Jefferson Twp. Fire Lt. Timothy Stainer said his department, which covers the village of West Jefferson, Fairfield and Jefferson townships, has regular training with Battelle.

"We have had training specific to anthrax," he said. The training drills at Battelle have occurred four times a year for several years.

"We feel very comfortable with anything Battelle would do because of the safeguards they use," he said, declining to discuss specifics.

During training sessions, the department's 50 full- and part-time personnel respond to Battelle's research complex, which sits on 1,000 acres about two miles northeast of the village on Ohio 142. The complex, amid corn and bean fields, includes several buildings, a fish pond and an employee recreation area. Armed security officers monitor the barbed wire site via multiple cameras.

Still, some residents are less trusting of Battelle.

"That's just what we need. That's horrible," Mary Davis said.

Dave Krischak, another West Jefferson resident, said, "I think it should be totally outlawed and illegal to test it anywhere near people. I think they should test it in space. That's horrible. If there was anything we could do to boycott a thing like that, I'd like to be in on it."

Clarke, the defense secretary spokeswoman, said, "The legal reviews that have been done to date indicate that the work would be compliant" with the Biological Weapons Convention — a global ban on germ warfare — because it is defensive in nature and in small quantities.

"With all the appropriate legal reviews, with all the appropriate interagency coordination and congressional briefing, we plan to proceed," she added.

The project is part of a broader effort named Project Jefferson, required by Congress in 1997 to guard against technological surprises with regard to the biological warfare threat to U.S. forces.

Separately, the Times report said the Central Intelligence Agency built a replica of a miniature bomb developed by the former Soviet Union to deliver biological agents. The Times reported that two sets of tests were done at Battelle. The experiments measured dissemination characteristics and how the model performed under different atmospheric conditions.

Battelle is no stranger to high-profile, even controversial government work, according to Business First, a Columbus-based weekly magazine that reported last November that Battelle worked for years, through a Navy contract, on the disposal of Vietnam-era Napalm, a form of jellied fuel used in bombs.

Information from The Associated Press is included in this report.

Jane's Intelligence Review

September 2001

Missile Development And Iranian Security

International concern regarding Iranian weapons of mass destruction (WMD) is increasing. Hossein Aryan, a former naval officer, is a defence analyst specialising in security issues in the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea.

Iran has long been considered a security threat by the USA, Israel and some of its neighbours in the Persian Gulf.

The USA and Israel have demonised Iran to the extent that it is identified as the prime threat in the Middle East and further afield, because it is striving to develop nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles.

These suspicions have not been allayed by Iran's adherence to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Biological Weapons Convention, and the majority of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) standards. Critics point to Iran's refusal to ratify two new provisions of the IAEA protocol (Programme 93+2), designed to make it more difficult for member states to hide suspicious activities from IAEA inspectors. Iran has justified non-ratification on the grounds that it has been denied nuclear technology for peaceful purposes - something that is permissible under Article 4 of the NPT.

Officially, leaders of the Islamic republic, including President Mohammad Khatami, maintain that Iran does not possess any weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and that its activities are in accordance with internationally agreed arms control regimes. Khatami's moderate foreign policy and the victory of the reformist candidates in the most recent parliamentary elections have, to some extent, moderated international perceptions of Iran as a haven of fanaticism. However, doubts persist, particularly in the USA and Israel, about Iran's adherence to arms control.

Covert activities

There is ample evidence that Iran is trying to acquire nuclear weapons covertly. During the last decade Iran has tried to acquire enriched uranium, fuel fabrication and processing capabilities, research reactors, gas centrifuge

enrichment technology, and uranium conversion and laser enrichment plants. Obtaining nuclear weapons, albeit in unsophisticated and primitive forms, is not a difficult task as long as plutonium remains a product that can be traded on the international market.

On average, it takes 5kg of plutonium to make a nuclear weapon. A recent study by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), reveals that military depots throughout the world contain over 2,000 tonnes of weapons-grade plutonium and uranium. This is a 1,500 tonne surplus over the military requirements of the producing countries, and the overwhelming bulk of it is unsuitable for non-military applications.

In most cases, there is no adequate and secure supervision over this surplus. For example, the IAEA supervises only 0.5% of the said 2,000 tonnes of plutonium and uranium. The effectiveness of the NPT and the IAEA have been undermined by the plentiful supply of nuclear material and the lack of consensus among industrial countries on how to halt its production. Russia has the largest amount of surplus nuclear material in the world and considers Iran to be a strategic ally.

The military justification

Iran's efforts to obtain WMD for defensive and strategic purposes are, Tehran feels, entirely justifiable in terms of the preservation of its national security and the maintenance of the balance of power in the Middle East. It is located in an unstable region, surrounded by potential serious threats. Many of its neighbours either possess WMD already or are aspiring nuclear powers: Russia to the north, Israel and Iraq to the west, the US nuclear naval force in the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, and India and Pakistan to the east. In view of its expertise and experience, Iraq could resume its nuclear programme after UN sanctions are lifted, posing a renewed threat to Iran within a few years.

Iran's nuclear weapons aspirations have long been on the agenda. Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi officially declared that Iran had no intention of procuring nuclear weapons but this was conditional on full implementation of the NPT. He said that: "If some upstart in the region succeeded in acquiring nuclear weapons, Iran would have no alternative but to do the same."

In 1988, Hashemi Rafsanjani announced that in view of the very bitter lessons Iran had learnt from Baghdad's chemical attacks, it was clear that cheap, easy to produce chemical and biological weapons were the atomic weapons of poorer countries. He said: "We have to equip ourselves fully - both in terms of defence and offence - with chemical, biological and radiological weapons."

Ayatollah Mohajeri, then Iranian vice-president, said in 1992: "Since Israel continues to possess nuclear weapons, we, the Muslims, must co-operate to produce an atomic bomb, regardless of UN efforts to prevent proliferation."

An Islamic bomb?

The West is concerned that Iran's nuclear weapon would be 'an Islamic bomb', built for the protection of all Islamic countries. These worries have been exacerbated by the regime's interventions in Bosnia, Sudan, Lebanon and Palestine, and its assistance to Hamas and the Islamic Jihad. The Islamic republic presents itself as the standard-bearer of 'pure Mohamadan Islam', seeing the protection of 'the meek' and support for Islamic movements throughout the world as its most important mission. It also argues that the security of the country and the preservation of the regime are co-dependent, and extends this to suggest that the security of the world's Muslims depends on the perpetuation of the current regime. It follows that the Islamic republic sees the preservation of its own security as paramount.

As parliamentary speaker, in 1987 Rafsanjani urged all Muslims to concentrate their shared efforts on the building of "a preventative weapon" against the world's infidels. Iran's insistence on the right to self-defence goes beyond the idea of safeguarding national security.

Ethics vs military doctrine

Under the Islamic principle of jihad, even in terms of defending Islam against infidels, a resort to nuclear weapons can scarcely be justified. Nevertheless, pursuing nuclear deterrence in light of the current conditions in the Middle East is one way in which Iran can protect its security, and, in the worst case scenario, a way to avoid annihilation. Iran's clerical leadership, the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) and the military (regular forces) are relatively united on the importance of a nuclear capability to strengthen Iran's national security. They concur that Iran must have the ability to defend itself against foreign aggression or to make the cost of such aggression prohibitively high. Senior military officers argue that the country's national security doctrine must not be restricted by ideological and Islamic ambitions if Iran is to be able to conduct negotiations with its neighbours from a position of strength or, at least, parity.

In the long term, this would bring about a credible and lasting security system in the region which could make WMD redundant. It is in this context that Iranian defence minister, Vice-Admiral Ali Shamkhani, said that Iran should be able "to safeguard its national interests, protect its independence, maintain its survival and protect its territorial integrity."

WMD is also a comparatively cheap deterrent option, costing several billion dollars, whereas the rebuilding of the country's armed forces, still recovering from the eight-year war with Iraq, would demand tens of billions of dollars.

Strategic collaboration

In the early 1990s Iran embarked on close co-operation with North Korea in the field of long-range missiles, in particular to acquire the No-dong 1. Co-operation decreased after 1993 as relations between the USA and North Korea improved and China endorsed the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR).

Iran then turned to Russia and began collaborating on the programme for the production of the Shahab-3, a 17-tonne medium-range ballistic missile with a range of 1,300km, which was paraded in Tehran with the slogan 'Israel should be wiped off the face of the earth'.

Vice-Admiral Shamkhani has said that the Shahab-3 missile will not be used against Muslim countries and is purely for deterrence.

Following tests, former Commander-in-Chief of the IRGC Mohsen Reza'i said that Iran had become self-sufficient in the production of missiles. The next step is the production of the Shahab-4 ballistic missile, with a range of about 2,000km.

Threat perception

Conservatives and senior IRGC leaders often depict Israel as a direct threat to Iran particularly in light of Israel's military co-operation agreement with Turkey. The accord, which allows Israel to use Turkey's air space, has heightened fears that Israel will launch an attack against Iran's nuclear facilities. Senior Israeli officers have spoken openly about carrying out pre-emptive strikes. Iran regards Israel's possession of advanced and destructive weapons, including Jericho-1 (YA-1), Jericho-2 (YA-2) and some 200 to 250 nuclear weapons, as a threat not only to Iran but the whole region. Military ties between Turkey and Israel and their co-operation with Azerbaijan may lead to the expansion of NATO or to an alliance of pro-Western countries to the north of Iran with the aim of containing Iran and strengthening the US presence in the Persian Gulf.

The USA can constrain Iran's capabilities and slow down its progress but it probably cannot stop Iran from acquiring WMD as long as the Islamic regime is willing to pay the political and economic costs of pursuing such a programme. While Iran has not yet demonstrated that it can produce significant amounts of fissile material or acquire it from other sources, it does have a reasonable technology base upon which to build WMD. However, Iran would have to acquire the relevant expertise and technology to test the weapons, develop guidance systems, set out a nuclear doctrine and amass the required number of weapons.

Conservative forces in Iran regard the benefit of acquiring WMD to be higher than its costs. An economic crisis accompanied by social unrest might persuade the clerical leadership that access to foreign economic assistance is more important than a WMD programme. Nevertheless, until an effective and comprehensive security system is established in the region, Iran, surrounded by countries that have nuclear weapons, cannot naively entrust the preservation of its national security to international accords or to an optimistic faith in ethical principles.

Hossein Aryan examines recent Iranian WMD initiatives and the political and military arguments informing its strategic aspirations.

Inside The Pentagon

September 5, 2001

Pg. 1

Missile Warning Center Ready In 2002 If U.S., Russia Move Forward Now

A joint U.S.-Russian early warning center in Moscow could be up and running by late next year if recent negotiating progress ends an impasse over taxes and contract liability within a couple of months, according to a Defense Department official working the issue.

Russian refusal to exempt U.S. equipment imported for the center from Russian taxes "and other garbage" has slowed work on the Joint Data Exchange Center (JDEC), but recent talks have shown Russian willingness to resolve the issue, the Pentagon official said.

"I think [Russian military officials] just haven't gotten their arms around how to persuade other elements of their bureaucracy" that moving forward with the center is in Russia's self-interest, said Phil Jamison, deputy director of DOD's strategy, forces and operations directorate.

The early warning center will be connected to U.S. early warning systems such as Defense Support Program satellites that detect missile launches, Jamison said Sept. 5 at a military space forum sponsored by the Washington, DC-based Cato Institute.

The early warning center is widely viewed as beneficial to both nations because it will supplement the decaying Russian early warning system -- giving that nation near-real-time awareness of worldwide missile launches, thereby reducing Russian questions about whether the nation is under attack.

Ensuring that Russia has good information about missile launches also being monitored by the United States should reduce the risk of an inadvertent Russian nuclear attack. Jamison said Russia will get the same information provided to U.S. allies, such as missile type, launch site, bearing and expected target area -- all within 100 seconds of a missile launch.

U.S. and Russian military personnel will staff the center around the clock. Jamison told InsideDefense.com after the event that a small U.S. contingent is all that will be needed: perhaps 12 officials to man the information terminals and a small command staff for a total permanent roster in Moscow of about 16 people.

Russian contractors will do most of the work preparing the facility, he added.

Jamison said if an agreement can be reached in the next two months, construction on the former kindergarten building that will house JDEC can begin after the Russian winter. But the building itself "is going to require lots of work" before the center becomes operational, he said.

The United States is holding ground on the tax and liability issues because of the bad precedent that would be set if the Russian position prevails, Jamison said. Although JDEC is only a \$5.9 million project, in terms of upfront costs, decisions made about taxes and liability could spill over and affect other U.S.-Russian agreements, such as the nearly \$1.3 billion Cooperative Threat Reduction program.

Jamison said the United States would have preferred to establish the early warning center somewhere else "because of the difficulty of doing business in Moscow." The negotiations have proven the concern to be justified, he said, but a condition of Russian participation was that the center be at their capital. Russia is donating the land for the JDEC site and the building.

With recent diplomatic progress and no technical hurdles to overcome, 2002 seems a reasonable target date, Jamison said. In the interim, he added, a joint concept of operations will have to be prepared and a backup means of early warning information -- to provide voice communications between the United States and Moscow -- is desirable. As currently designed, the launch warning information will simply pop up onto the monitoring screens without further explanation.

Although the center was first proposed in 1992, the Year 2000 scare provided the real impetus to push forward with the center, he said. The joint U.S.-Russian Y2K center at Peterson Air Force Base, CO, proved the viability of joint monitoring sites, and turned out to be "the perfect prototype" for the Moscow center.

Speaking at the same event, Massachusetts Institute of Technology researcher Geoff Forden said Russia is in desperate need of better early warning capability. The Soviet Union used to have two distinct launch detection systems, but today only one remains in service in degraded form. Consequently, Russia today has at best 17 hours of early warning coverage in any 24-hour period, increasing the uncertainty the nation faces about possible attacks. Forden said the United States may want to go further and fund the launch of new Russian early warning satellites, to help give that nation an autonomous capability once again, further reducing that nation's insecurity -- and aiding U.S. security in the process.

Former Strategic Defense Initiative Organization Director Hank Cooper added that the eventual goal of projects such as JDEC should be to make Russia a better contributor to international security, partly through better relations. "In the long run," he said, the hope is that a nuclear-armed Russia can become like Great Britain and France -- nations the United States does not worry about "even though they can destroy our cities."

Now chairman of the Arlington, VA-based missile defense advocacy group High Frontier, Cooper concluded that the United States should not automatically fund Russian security improvements without obtaining real benefits in return. "I wouldn't go out and buy [Russia] an early warning system -- there's a quid pro quo in this," he said.

-- *Adam J. Hebert*

Washington Post
September 7, 2001
Pg. 5

Rumsfeld Warns On Missile Cuts

Cutting the Pentagon's \$8.3 billion request for missile defense spending in 2002 would undermine and delay important research and testing, Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld said yesterday.

Some Democratic lawmakers are pushing for a \$1.3 billion reduction in the Pentagon's request for the fiscal year that begins Oct. 1.

The \$8.3 billion for missile defense is \$3 billion more than this year's amount. It is, by far, the largest increase in the Bush administration's defense program over the Clinton administration's.

Philadelphia Inquirer
September 7, 2001

U.S. Cool To Nuclear Test-Ban Conference

The Pentagon wants a boycott of the U.N. meeting; the State Dept. wants only low-level participation.

By Jonathan S. Landay, Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON - The civilian leadership of the Pentagon wants the United States to boycott a U.N. conference later this month on accelerating a global ban on nuclear test explosions, senior administration officials said yesterday.

These Defense Department officials want to kill any chance for the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty to take effect, an official said, speaking on condition of anonymity.

The State Department, however, is pushing to send a "fairly junior" U.S. diplomat to the conference to air U.S. objections to the treaty, the official said. President Bush will probably make the final decision, the official said.

If Bush decides to skip the conference or send a low-level representative, it is likely to invite new criticism at home and abroad that he is curtailing U.S. cooperation in international efforts to address some pressing issues.

Bush has repudiated the Kyoto pact on reducing pollution to reverse global warming; has said the United States will pull out of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty so it can develop a missile defense; and has rejected as unworkable a draft agreement on enforcing an international ban on biological weapons.

The U.N. conference on the treaty to ban nuclear tests is set for Sept. 25-27 in New York and is to examine ways to put the treaty into force. The pact cannot take effect until all 44 countries with nuclear reactors ratify it.

The United States was the main force behind the treaty and signed it in 1996 during the Clinton presidency. The Senate refused to ratify it in 1999. Twelve other nuclear nations, including China, North Korea, India and Pakistan, have not ratified it, either.

Bush argues that the treaty cannot be verified because small-scale nuclear tests are impossible to detect. He has said that he has no plans to end a 1992 U.S. moratorium on nuclear test explosions but that the issue was under review.

Vice President Cheney and Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld have said the United States must be free to conduct nuclear test blasts to ensure the safety and reliability of the aging U.S. nuclear arsenal.

Dozens of foreign ministers are expected to attend the U.N. conference. It will coincide with the opening of the U.N. General Assembly, where Bush will speak Sept. 24.

Some State Department officials believe other countries could infer from a U.S. boycott that the administration has decided to repudiate the treaty.

Even low-level U.S. participation "will reinforce the idea that . . . we are not fulfilling our responsibilities to the rest of the world," said Daryl Kimball, director of the Arms Control Association, an advocacy group.

Another senior administration official, who also spoke on condition of anonymity, said the fact that the administration believed the treaty was flawed did not mean Bush thought the United States should abandon its global commitments. "The notion that we are turning our backs on the world is nonsense," the official said. " . . . Many people in this country and world would like to ignore the fact that the Senate turned this treaty down."

Warren P. Strobel of the Inquirer Washington Bureau contributed to this report.

Birmingham (AL) News
September 6, 2001

Delegation Seeks Incinerator Meeting

By Mary Orndorff, News Washington correspondent

WASHINGTON - U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld sympathized Wednesday with people who live near chemical weapons incinerators, such as in Anniston, but said military officials are taking necessary safety precautions.

"It is something that I recognize from the standpoint of any community is enormously important," Rumsfeld told a Senate panel. "And it is the responsibility of the Department of Defense to see that we are as attentive as is humanly possible to the proper safety measures and the appropriate protections for the people in the region."

Also Wednesday, three members of Alabama's congressional delegation asked Rumsfeld's undersecretary to meet with them and Gov. Don Siegelman next week about the dispute surrounding the \$1 billion incinerator at the Anniston Army Depot.

Rumsfeld's testimony, coupled with the upcoming Pentagon-level meeting, is further proof that the fears of Calhoun County officials have reached the national political agenda. The Anniston site is a more populated area than that of other incinerators. And local leaders doubt the government's plan for some people to evacuate and others to shelter inside their homes would be adequate in case of a leak.

Rumsfeld was on Capitol Hill to explain his \$328.9 billion budget request for 2002, an increase of \$18.4 billion over this year. Sen. Richard Shelby, R-Ala., criticized the status of the Army's plans to destroy 2,254 tons of chemical agents stored in Anniston.

"This program has not turned the corner and continues to be in need of deep organizational reform," Shelby said.

"I'm raising the concerns not to stop the facility but to make sure safety concerns are met."

Local and federal officials are in a staredown over what money, equipment and planning is necessary to protect thousands of residents in case of an accident at the incinerator. County commissioners and Siegelman have threatened to prevent it from firing up next spring unless their demands are met.

"I believe the Army and the defense establishment are basically doing everything they can to assure that those chemical stockpiles are destroyed in a safe way," Shelby said after the hearing. "But there's always a risk and that's why I keep raising this."

In May, Rumsfeld elevated oversight of the national chemical demilitarization program to the Pentagon level, specifically assigning it to Edward "Pete" Aldridge Jr., an undersecretary. The move came after increasing criticism from Congress over the Army's management of the program, including cost overruns, conflicting estimates on a completion date and disagreements over emergency preparations.

"It is a program that has had its difficulties ... and not only from the standpoint of timing; it is also the kind of a program that I think is inherently going to generate a variety of views and opinions and controversy," Rumsfeld said. In their letter to Aldridge, Shelby, Sen. Jeff Sessions, R-Ala., and Rep. Bob Riley, R-Ashland, referred to a recent General Accounting Office finding that Calhoun County is unprepared and largely blamed the Army and the Federal Emergency Management Agency for the shortcoming.

Calhoun County's request for \$70 million to compensate the community for the risk is pending, but Sessions said the money issue is separate from safety.

Washington Times
September 7, 2001
Pg. 6

Inside The Ring

By Bill Gertz and Rowan Scarborough
Chinese missile test

China's military has carried out another test of a new land-attack cruise missile, known in defense parlance as LACM.

U.S. intelligence officials said this test was a ground-launched version of the terrain-hugging cruise missile that is believed to be an extended-range version of a Chinese anti-ship cruise missile. The August test was tracked by U.S. intelligence equipment in the region.

The missile is said to be China's version of the U.S. Navy Tomahawk cruise missile and has been a high Chinese priority since the wide use of the Tomahawk in operations over the past decade.

China's last test involved an air-launched LACM that was first reported here June 8. It was the first time the Chinese military had demonstrated a long-range cruise missile's attack capability.

A report by the Air Force National Air Intelligence Center in September stated that China is developing a land-attack cruise missile capable of carrying either conventional or nuclear warheads to an unknown range.

The report predicts "the threat to U.S. force [from LACMs] will increase over the next decade" as the number of nations producing such missiles increases from two to nine. Several of the newly armed states "probably will export the missiles," the report said.

National Journal's CongressDailyAM
September 7, 2001

Senate Armed Services Panel Votes Missile Defense Restrictions

President Bush would have to get congressional approval in the next fiscal year to conduct missile defense tests that violated the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, if language in the Senate Armed Services Committee draft authorization bill became law, Chairman Levin disclosed Thursday night.

After a closed markup session on the FY02 Defense authorization bill, Levin told reporters the object of the controversial provision is "to give Congress a voice" on missile tests that could be destabilizing, National Journal News Service reported.

Although Levin refused to disclose how his committee had voted on the language he had championed, other committee members said it was a done deal, despite several Republicans' strong objections to what they saw as an attempt to tie the president's hands.

Sen. Jeff Sessions, R-Ala., said, "This is an absolute encouragement to the Russians to be obstructionists" to Bush's plans to perfect a national missile defense through testing that would conflict with the 1972 ABM treaty. "We need to be on a new footing with the Russians."

When told of Sessions' reaction, Levin said it was a misinterpretation of what the provision would do. The chairman insisted that the whole idea was to give Congress an opportunity to assess the consequences of a proposed test and vote accordingly.

Once the president notified Congress of a proposed test that would violate the treaty, Levin said, Congress would have 30 days to vote its approval or disapproval. Filibusters would not be allowed. If the majority of the House and Senate voted to disallow a proposed test, the president could not spend the missile defense money in the FY02 authorization.

"This would be for only one year," Levin said of the language he had crafted. The chairman added that his provision would not prevent Bush from withdrawing from the ABM treaty altogether.

In another vote taken behind closed doors Thursday, Armed Services ranking member John Warner, R-Va., said the panel had voted 17-8 to authorize the Pentagon to conduct another round of base closures. The administration plans to resume base closings in FY03.

The committee is expected to finish its markup by noon today.

-- By George Wilson

Rumsfeld Says Missiles Proof Of China's Global Ambitions

By Bill Gertz, The Washington Times

China's strategic missile buildup reflects Beijing's "seriousness of purpose" in becoming a global power, Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld said yesterday.

"We know that they have been investing in various types of weaponry, including ballistic missiles of varying range," Mr. Rumsfeld told reporters at the Pentagon. "We know that they have been deploying various types of weaponry, including ballistic missiles. And we know that they have been acquiring a number of types of weapons from Russia and from other countries.

"It is a long pattern that reflects a seriousness of purpose about the People's Republic of China with respect to their defense establishment," he said.

The defense secretary was commenting on a report in yesterday's editions of The Washington Times that China was set to deploy its newest long-range missile, the Dong Feng-31, as soon as the end of the year.

U.S. intelligence officials told The Times that China's military has begun "crew training" for new DF-31 road-mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles.

The missile is the first of China's new generation of long-range nuclear missiles, and U.S. intelligence agencies believe the first units of the DF-31 are being prepared for deployment.

Mr. Rumsfeld said that intelligence reports and press reports show that China has been building up its military forces with spending increases for defense in "double-digit" percentage ranges of its overall government spending for the past several years.

Mr. Rumsfeld said Chinese writings and statements about their military show a "high degree of compatibility between what they're saying and what they're doing" militarily.

Asked if he is concerned about the military buildup, Mr. Rumsfeld said China is "navigating along a path that is uncertain ... as to where it's going to end. I don't know. I don't know that they know."

The defense secretary said China's government is trying to feed two impulses.

"One impulse is to preserve the regime roughly in its current form, one would think, which is not a free system, not a democratic system, not an open system; and simultaneously to achieve economic prosperity," he said.

The two directions "are clearly putting stresses against the ... first goal they have, namely of preserving the regime and being able to continue with the political system that they have."

The United States is trying to encourage China to move toward greater economic relations with the world so that "the thing that gives, is the nature of its system, its regime," Mr. Rumsfeld said.

A senior Chinese diplomat said on Wednesday that military modernization "is one of the government's four modernizations."

"The objective is to organize the country on a more modern basis," said the diplomat, who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

The diplomat told reporters in Washington that military modernization is not linked to U.S. missile-defense efforts.

"No country can rely forever on tanks and weapons that date in some cases from the 1950s," the diplomat said.

"But there is a huge difference between modernization and the expansion of China's nuclear forces that would be needed to overcome any threats to our deterrence" from missile defense, he said. "Missile defense is very much relevant" to how fast and how much China's defense capability will expand, the diplomat said.

"There are no enemies that China is considering as it pursues military modernization," the diplomat said. "It is a normal process, just as, if you can afford it, you buy new clothes for yourself each spring. It has nothing to do with any perceived enemies China has identified."

Chinese strategists fear the U.S. missile-defense plan would "upset the international strategic balance of the past 50 years," the diplomat said.

David Sands contributed to this report.

U.S. Envoy Extols India, Accepting Its Atom Status

By Celia W. Dugger

NEW DELHI, Sept. 6 — Robert D. Blackwill, the new American ambassador to India, today offered the fullest description yet of the Bush administration's drive to turn India and the United States into "fast friends and international partners" after decades of strained relations.

What he did not say was as revealing as what he did say. In a 45-minute address to business leaders in Bombay, Mr. Blackwill, a former Harvard professor who was one of several advisers to Mr. Bush on foreign policy during the presidential campaign, never criticized India for beginning nuclear tests in 1998.

Instead, he extolled the common ground that the two nations have recently found on nuclear issues, strongly suggesting that the administration would soon approach Congress on the lifting of sanctions imposed on India after the tests and pledged that the United States "will not be a nagging nanny."

The tenor and substance of the ambassador's remarks signaled a calm acceptance of India's nuclear status. And that is a change.

Even when Bill Clinton visited India last year on a presidential tour that was more lovefest than slugfest, he gently scolded India, saying its decision to conduct the tests had eroded barriers to the spread of nuclear weapons. He also urged India to sign the nuclear test ban treaty, another issue Mr. Blackwill did not mention.

The Bush administration's respectful treatment of India's nuclear ambitions is part of a broader diplomatic strategy to engage India on a range of issues, including liberalized trade, counterterrorism, Mr. Bush's missile defense initiative and collaborative efforts to ensure the uninterrupted flow of oil from the Persian Gulf.

"President Bush has a big idea about India-U.S. relations," Mr. Blackwill said. "My president's big idea is that by working together more intensely than ever before, the United States and India, two vibrant democracies, can transform fundamentally the very essence of our bilateral relationship and thereby make the world freer, more peaceful and more prosperous."

Mr. Blackwill recalled a day in 1999 in Austin, Tex., when he asked Mr. Bush why he had a special interest in India. "He immediately responded: 'A billion people in functioning democracy. Isn't that something? Isn't that something?'"

In coming months, the ambassador said, a stream of cabinet members and administration officials are already scheduled or likely to visit India. They include Secretary of State Colin L. Powell, Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld, Treasury Secretary Paul H. O'Neill and Condoleezza Rice, the national security adviser.

Those visits will certainly be a change from the first two years of the first Bush administration, from 1989 to 1991, when not a single cabinet-level officer working for Mr. Bush's father visited India, according to Dennis Kux, an historian on Indian-American relations.

"India was really off the radar scope then," Mr. Kux said today. "There was practically no American investment in India. The cold war was ending, and the focus was there. And Pakistan was the main plank of our interest in South Asia because of the Afghan war."

"Daddy ignored India," Mr. Kux said. "Junior is embracing it."

Despite the upbeat nature of the ambassador's speech, several contentious issues may elude the search for common ground between the United States and India.

For instance, Robert B. Zoellick, the United States trade representative, came to India last month and sought to convince the government here that it was in India's interests to join a new round of international trade talks. But India has continued to be the leader of a group of developing countries, including Pakistan, Indonesia and Egypt, that say a host of issues from the last round of talks should be resolved first.

Mr. Blackwill also offered a note of warning on an issue that is dear to the heart of Kenneth Lay, the chairman of Enron who is also one of Mr. Bush's close friends and important campaign fund-raisers.

The ambassador said the American government hoped that a fair solution could be found soon to a messy dispute over a financially troubled \$3 billion power plant — by far India's largest foreign investment — that Enron largely owns. The Maharashtra State Electricity Board has defaulted on payments for the power, and Enron is now trying to get the bills paid.

"I want to be frank," Mr. Blackwill said. "These disputes have darkened India's investment climate. I know this personally from speaking with some of the premier American business executives with major investments in India." But over all, Mr. Blackwill's message was optimistic, and he said he even recently saw a headline in a national Indian newspaper that said, "U.S., India on the Same Side."

New York Times
September 7, 2001

Kremlin Willing To Review Missile Accords, Aide Says

By Patrick E. Tyler

MOSCOW, Sept. 6 — A senior Russian official said today that Moscow was willing to consider amendments to the "present-day system of agreements on strategic stability" with the United States, but he insisted that the Antiballistic Missile Treaty of 1972 had to be preserved in negotiations that were quite likely to be long-term and complex.

The statement, carried by the Interfax news agency, was in response to reports from Washington that quoted a senior administration official who suggested that Russia was on the verge of accepting an American proposal to amend the ABM treaty and allow more rigorous American missile shield tests.

The back-and-forth megaphone diplomacy between Moscow and Washington over Mr. Bush's plans and the constraints imposed by the treaty have been increasing against the backdrop of intense pressure from the White House to win Russian concessions on the treaty in a matter of months. Concessions would spare Mr. Bush the risky step of withdrawing from the treaty unilaterally, an act that many European leaders and members of Congress oppose.

In recent days, Russia has avoided repeating earlier warnings that a decision to withdraw would negate 30 years of arms control accords and force Russia to maintain multiple warheads on its current arsenal of strategic missiles, as well as planning a new generation of missile with multiple warheads.

Experts here said Moscow's restraint was intended to keep international attention focused on the choice facing Mr. Bush to go it alone in the new strategic era or to work jointly with Europe, Russia and China to build a new strategic framework.

A senior administration official, briefing reporters on Wednesday in Washington, asserted that the Russian leadership saw the American deployment of missile defenses as inevitable and that therefore President Vladimir V. Putin and President Bush might reach a tentative agreement by November that would allow the Pentagon to go ahead with new missile defense tests.

Russia made clear today that this was not likely to be the case. Rather, the senior official said, time-consuming consultations "to clarify each other's positions on security matters of the 21st century" and for jointly drafting proposals for a new strategic framework lie ahead, to be followed by concrete negotiations. The talks would have to take into account the concerns of the other major nuclear powers, China, France and Britain, he said.

Since mid-August, Russian officials have said they did not think such negotiations on a strategic framework could even begin until the end of the year, after Washington had completed a review of its strategic forces and after a full-scale consultation on strategic issues had been completed between Russia and the United States.

A Kremlin aide, Oleg Chernov, reiterated that position on Wednesday in an interview with The Washington Post, saying it would be impossible for the United States and Russia to complete both consultations and then negotiations by November, when Mr. Bush will be host to Mr. Putin at his ranch in Crawford, Tex.

Russian officials first elaborated their view of that timetable three weeks ago in meetings with the undersecretary of state for arms control and international security, John R. Bolton, when he visited Moscow for a round of consultations set out by Mr. Bush and Mr. Putin in their summit meetings this summer.

"A specific talk with Washington" on strategic arms reduction "and ABM issues can be started no earlier than the end of this year," a Foreign Ministry official told reporters upon Mr. Bolton's arrival.

By the time Mr. Bolton left Moscow, he had tried to push this time frame forward, telling Russian officials that the Bush administration wanted an agreement from Moscow to amend the ABM treaty by the time the presidents met in November. The next day, Mr. Bolton said that he had not meant to impose any deadline.

But Mr. Bush said two days later that the United States would "withdraw from the ABM treaty on our own timetable at a time convenient to America." He added that he had no "specific timetable in mind."

The Americans have also said they do not want to be accused of violating the treaty as they plan radar complexes and silos for missile interceptors in the spring in Alaska. The treaty requires six months' notice by the party wishing to withdraw.

The senior Russian official who responded today was identified only as a "highly placed military-diplomatic" official by Interfax.

Dallas Morning News
September 7, 2001

Russia: Foreign Minister's Book Defends Missile Treaty

Russia is ready to discuss U.S. concerns about missile threats but firmly stands for keeping the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov wrote in a book that hit Moscow bookstores Thursday. The ABM treaty has "proven its central role in ensuring strategic stability," Mr. Ivanov said in his book, *The New Russian Diplomacy: Ten Years of the Country's Foreign Policy*, "which sums up Moscow's post-Soviet diplomatic activities.

Moscow Times
September 7, 2001

Early Warning Delay

WASHINGTON (AP) -- Already three years on the drawing board, a U.S.-Russian center aimed at averting false warnings of missile attacks won't open for at least another year due to "diplomatic issues," a Pentagon official said Wednesday. Plans to convert a building on the outskirts of Moscow into a joint early warning center are hung up on Russia's insistence the United States pay taxes on the equipment it's taking into the country and accept liability for the construction, said Philip Jamison, deputy director of the U.S. Defense Department office on international security. "It essentially boils down to diplomatic issues," he told a seminar at the Cato Institute. Jamison said the center could be open for testing at the end of 2002 "if we can resolve the diplomatic issues in the next month or two." Though the issues seem small in relation to the hoped for benefits of the center -- that is, to avoid accidental nuclear conflagration -- U.S. officials have said they don't want to set a precedent on taxes and other issues that could create problems on other aid programs.

Washington Times
September 7, 2001
Pg. 17

Panama Asks Removal Of Chemical Bombs

PANAMA CITY -- Panama yesterday called on the United States to remove chemical bombs that the Central American nation says were dumped by the U.S. military on a jungle-covered Pacific island during World War II. Panama Foreign Minister Jose Miguel Aleman said researchers found four live U.S. bombs filled with unspecified chemical agents on San Jose Island off Panama's Pacific coast.

The craggy, jungle-topped island, some 60 miles southeast of the capital Panama City, was used by the U.S. military for live-fire practice at the height of World War II.

"Three of the bombs are of 1,000 pounds ... and one is of 500 pounds ... all were armed with live detonators," Mr. Aleman told a news conference.

New York Times
September 7, 2001

China's Nuclear Agenda

By Bates Gill and James Mulvenon

WASHINGTON--What had been an internal debate in the Bush administration about the strategic nuclear relationship between the United States and China went public last week, when troubling statements attributed to "senior administration officials" suggested that they were not opposed to China's increasing its nuclear stockpile. Then came White House backpedaling. At the heart of these mixed signals is the question of how the United States should counter China's small nuclear force, in the context of China's abilities to develop new weapons and its opposition to missile defense.

As the Bush administration prepares for a more serious strategic dialogue with China, this process must be informed by certain uncomfortable truths.

First, for the past 20 years or more China has had the ability to incinerate at least a handful of American cities. Unpleasant, but true. Its nuclear force, however, has remained comparatively small since its inception. In its early years, China couldn't detect incoming missiles, had only a fledgling nuclear command and control system, and had very slow preparation and launch times for its missiles, making it highly vulnerable to a first strike by either the Soviet Union or the United States.

China now has about 20 long-range nuclear missiles with sufficient range to reach the continental United States, and while it apparently has the ability to place multiple warheads on its missiles, it has so far chosen not to do so. The Chinese continue to rely on a "minimal deterrent" and the barest of abilities to retaliate with nuclear force should they come under nuclear attack. So while China has basic deterrent capability against the United States, that capability is fragile compared with the nuclear forces of the United States and Russia.

Second, while we may not like Chinese missiles pointing at our cities, the current nuclear balance between the United States and China is nevertheless strategically stable. Neither side would dare initiate a nuclear attack against the other for fear of the damage the other would inflict in response. The overwhelming nuclear superiority of the United States — a single American nuclear-armed submarine carries more warheads than the entire inventory of Chinese warheads capable of reaching the United States — means that even if China were to triple its current number of nuclear missiles, the strategic balance would not be fundamentally altered.

Third, like it or not, we should expect China's ongoing nuclear weapons modernization to continue. China's second-generation nuclear force, to be deployed over the next 10 to 15 years, will be far more mobile, accurate and reliable than its current force. Yet this force will almost certainly remain small in comparison to the American nuclear arsenal, even if the Bush administration unilaterally reduces United States nuclear forces.

But numbers of missiles alone don't fully determine the nuclear threat. There are plenty of steps China could take that would be very damaging to American interests. It could decide to accelerate its modernization program, in response to the Bush administration's missile defense plans, by adding several hundred nuclear-tipped missiles aimed at the United States, developing and deploying sophisticated decoys to foil missile defenses or mounting multiple warheads on its missiles. An aggressive modernization effort would spread alarm among China's neighbors, spurring a nuclear build-up in South Asia. China might also move to export antimissile defense technology to North Korea, Iran, Iraq or Pakistan.

It is clearly in the interests of both nations that China maintain the smallest effective nuclear deterrent possible. But that means the United States must give China incentive to show restraint. The administration is more likely to get what it wants from Beijing — minimal nuclear buildup, no resumption of nuclear testing and tacit acceptance of missile defense — if it begins a frank and realistic dialogue that takes the realities of China's capabilities and interests into account.

Bates Gill is a senior fellow in foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution and director of the Brookings Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies. James Mulvenon is an associate political scientist at RAND.

Los Angeles Times
September 6, 2001

Who's Afraid Of A Germ Warfare Treaty?

By Barbara H. Rosenberg and Milton Leitenberg

Declaring that "mankind already carries in its hands too many of the seeds of its own destruction," President Nixon unilaterally renounced biological weapons in 1969.

This led to international agreement on the Biological Weapons Convention of 1972, which codifies the ban on development and possession of germ weapons. The United States then terminated its biological weapons program and focused on defenses.

New information has just come to light, however, that raises questions about recent U.S. compliance with the ban. In July, Donald Mahley, the chief U.S. negotiator for a new treaty to monitor the ban, admitted to Congress that more than one U.S. government agency conducts biological activities that appear ambiguous. Consequently, to protect their interests, the agencies have objected to certain monitoring measures, Mahley said. Two weeks later, Mahley stunned the negotiators from 55 countries assembled in Geneva to finalize the treaty by refusing to continue negotiating.

Some of the reasons are now becoming clear.

An obscure part of the Energy Department's annual report refers to at least three large installations for studying explosive and nonexplosive aerosol delivery of dangerous microorganisms. The underground installations aim to examine various attack modes and study their effectiveness in causing disease.

In addition, the construction and testing of a germ production plant and a replica of a Soviet "bomblet" or germ dispersal unit for combat use was reported Tuesday in the New York Times. These are the kinds of quasi-secret activities that had been terminated in the U.S. in 1969.

Similar activities in other countries have led the United States to label them biological weapon proliferators. Yet no doubt those countries would ascribe their activities to benign "threat assessment" necessary to develop appropriate military defenses and medical treatments, just as the U.S. is now describing its activities.

With modern technology, much that can be carried out in the name of biological threat assessment is indistinguishable from preparations for the offensive use of biological weapons, activities such as creating new, genetically engineered pathogens and testing how well they work as aerosols delivered under simulated battlefield conditions. Stockpiles of bacteria, viruses or toxins no longer are necessary; they can be produced rapidly on demand. That is why it is essential that biological activities be conducted in the open. There is no other way to defuse the corrosive suspicions that otherwise are bound to arise.

The aura of subterfuge and suspicion that surrounds U.S. biological activities would be dispelled if they were openly declared and subject to on-site visits by international inspectors. An effective monitoring regime would not require divulging our specific defensive strengths and weaknesses; the draft treaty rejected by the White House contains multiple safeguards for confidential national security and commercial information.

By rejecting the treaty, the Bush administration has implicitly acknowledged its value for exposing questionable activities and thus for deterring violations of the ban. Most of the countries of the world believe that the treaty is badly needed to fill a major gap in global security arrangements.

In their hostility to international treaties, administration officials like to say that only the bad guys should be subject to rules. Evidently, the administration prefers no rules to any that would bind the U.S. But the "good guys" will suffer along with the rest of the world if disease, which recognizes no boundaries, is loosed as a weapon.

Had the United States been willing to accept the minimal level of oversight required by the compromise text under consideration, it would have been virtually impossible for any other country at the negotiations to reject it. Instead, it will take great effort and perhaps a biological disaster to rebuild the necessary consensus on a treaty.

Preventing an undercover arms race to develop weapons of disease, fueled by new biotechnologies, is a primary responsibility of the international community. There are no defensive measures that can protect civilian populations from biological weapons and no military countermeasures that can reverse the epidemic spread of new and uncontrollable diseases. There is no alternative to monitoring the ban on biological weapons.

Barbara H. Rosenberg, chair of the Federation of American Scientists Working Group on Biological Weapons, is a research professor of natural science at the State University of New York at Purchase.