

North Korea expels UN watchdog

France Presses

SEQU, Dec. 27. — North Korea decided today to expel the United Nations' International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspectors who have been monitoring its frozen nuclear facilities, official media said.

Late night reports from Vienna said the IAEA has insisted its inspectors must stay in North Korea, after Pyongyang ordered IAEA to pull its staff out of a controversial nuclear plant.

A letter sent to IAEA director general Mohammed ElBaradei, published by the state-run Korean Central News

Agency, said the IAEA inspectors "no longer have reason to stay" in North Korea. "Given that inspectors no longer have reason to stay permanently in our country, the government has decided to expel them," the letter said. The letter said Pyongyang will "soon get ready to reactivate" a laboratory, previously used for reprocessing spent nuclear fuel rods for weapons-grade plutonium.

'Pyongyang can't produce nukes'. Russia today said that it believes North Korea does not have the capabilities to build nuclear weapons.

"North Korea does not have the ca-

capacity to put together nuclear weapons," Russian atomic energy minister Mr Alexander Romyantsev said.

'Nukes in 30 days'

Restarting its nuclear reactor could enable North Korea to produce nuclear weapons in as little as 30 days, according to one of Britain's leading experts, says *The Times* from London.

Mr John Large, who advised Russia on handling the sunken nuclear submarine, alleged that North Korea's was restarting the reactor to produce nuclear weapons. He dismissed the idea that the power was needed for energy.

*Disarmament
10-14
28/12*

N. Korea to expel IAEA inspectors

By P. S. Suryanarayana

SINGAPORE, DEC. 27. North Korea today announced that it had decided to expel the inspectors of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) from the Yongbyon complex where the controversial 5-mw nuclear research reactor, which could yield weapons-grade plutonium, is located. The North Korean official announcement, as monitored in Seoul, is reported to have prompted the IAEA to point out in Vienna that the agency had not so far received any notification from Pyongyang on this score.

The monitored decision is a direct sequel to the North Korean action of beginning the elaborate process of refuelling the experimental reactor which was "unfrozen" in terms of Pyongyang's recent controversial announcement on the nuclear issue. North Korea's reasoning context is that the mandate of the IAEA inspectors automatically lapsed when Pyongyang decided to reactivate the frozen nuclear facilities following America's stoppage of supplies of heavy fuel oil.

On a related plane, North Korea intensified its war of words against the U.S. over its perceived arrogance and "pipe dreams" of subjugating Pyongyang. In South Korea, on the other hand, its political leaders sustained their campaign for a 'peaceful' resolution of the crisis. The South Korean Foreign Minister today reiterated that "international cooperation" would be essential to convince the North of the futility of nuclear weaponisation of the kind apparently contemplated.



RE-ACTIVATING FEARS: The Soviet-designed, 5-megawatt nuclear reactor in Yongbyon, North Korea, seen in this satellite image taken in March.

Not surprisingly, the South Korean Defence Ministry today issued a policy document that did not identify the North Korean Army as "the primary (or main) enemy". This marked a departure from South Korea's perceptions in recent years. This is being interpreted in regional circles as a sign of South Korea's considered desire to engage Pyongyang in some manner so that the two would not move from their long-time estrangement towards open hostilities.

The South Korean President, Kim Dae-jung, reaffirmed opposition to the North's suspected policy of making and deploying weapons of mass destruction. Such opposition was once again laced with an assertion that the South "will continue to use the diplomatic approach" to ride out the current storm.

This sentiment was shared by the South's President-elect, Roh Moo-hyun, who said today that "although there are concerns about the possibility of this is-

sue developing into a war", he remained "confident of resolving (it) through dialogue".

At a different level, the Rumsfeld-speak on the war options before the U.S. have prompted much speculation in the regional diplomatic circles and in South Korea's political domain.

The guessing game is about the level of troops that the U.S. might send to this theatre, to buttress America's existing presence of 37,000 military personnel in South Korea.

28 DEC 2002

Monitors off, N Korea begins reactor repairs

ASSOCIATED PRESS
SEOUL, DECEMBER 25

NORTH Korean officials completed the removal of most UN seals and began repair work at a nuclear reactor frozen in 1994, a UN agency said on Tuesday. The Communist nation also ratcheted up the rhetoric, saying US was pushing the dispute to the "brink of a nuclear war."

South Korea's President-elect appealed to Russia, China and Japan today for help in finding a peaceful solution to the North Korean dilemma. Alarming government comments around the world, the Communist country has swiftly

taken steps ahead of a possible re-activation of nuclear facilities that experts believe were used to make one or two weapons in the 1990s.

North Korea will need "a month or two" to make its Soviet-designed, 5-megawatt reactor at Yongbyon operational, said Mark Gwozdecky, chief spokesman at the UN International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in Vienna.

South Korean officials today said North Korea had removed UN seals from another facility, a plant for fuel rod fabrication. The only nuclear facilities that remain untouched are two unfinished reactors, but those were not sealed by the IAEA.

Of more immediate concern was the reopening of a storage area holding 8,000 spent fuel rods that contain enough weapons-grade plutonium to make several atomic bombs within months. Gwozdecky said it did not appear that the North Koreans had removed the rods from the facility.

North Korea, which has accused the United States of plotting an invasion, has said it is willing to settle the nuclear issue if Washington signs a non-aggression treaty. North's Defence Minister Kim Il Chol said in a report on KCNA, the North Korean news agency, that "US hawks" were "pushing the situa-

tion on the Korean peninsula to the brink of a nuclear war."

In a separate report on Korea, North Korea said Washington's hostile policy toward it would backfire and result in "an uncontrollable catastrophe." The statement was in the North's Communist party newspaper *Rodong Sinmun*. North Korea routinely issues fiery warnings to US, but the new ones were stronger than usual. White House Spokesman Sean McCormack said the US wanted a peaceful solution.

"We've made very clear we want a peaceful resolution to the situation North Korea has created by pursuing a covert nuclear

weapons programme, and as the President has said before, we have no intention of invading North Korea," he said.

McCormack was referring to North Korea's covert nuclear programme based on uranium enrichment that is unrelated to the older, plutonium-based one. US officials say North Korea acknowledged in October the existence of the second programme, which violates international arms control agreements.

Britain's Foreign Office Minister Bill Rammell said North Korea's moves to restart its suspended nuclear program were "very worrying."

26 DEC 2002

Defiant North Korea removes monitoring gear at N-facility

Seoul: North Korea, defying world opinion, said on Sunday it had begun removing UN monitoring equipment from a nuclear reactor at the centre of the communist state's suspected pursuit of nuclear weapons.

Pyongyang's announcement came after the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) said North Korea had disabled surveillance devices the agency had placed at the five-megawatt Yongbyon research reactor, which, the UN believes, was used to make plutonium meant for use in warheads.

The US, Japan and South Korea urged North Korea to maintain the freeze on its nuclear facilities. The Bush administration has lumped the reclusive communist state as part of an "axis of evil" with Iraq and Iran for developing weapons of mass destruction and backing international terrorism.

The Yongbyon plant had been closed under a 1994 agreement with the US in which North Korea froze its reactors in exchange for shipments of oil and the construction of more proliferation-proof reactors.

The official Korean Central News Agency (KCNA) said it began removing the surveillance devices after the UN nuclear watchdog had not acted on Pyongyang's demand early this month to take the equipment away to allow the reactor to restart.

"This situation compelled the DPRK

(North Korea) to immediately start the work of removing the seals and monitoring cameras from the frozen nuclear facilities for their normal operation to produce electricity," it said. North Korea vowed to maintain a hardline stance, accusing the US and Japan of trying to isolate the communist state.

"It is the DPRK's invariable mode to react to the US imperialists' hard-line policy with the toughest stand," KCNA said. "To take a prudent stand and attitude rather than acting rashly by following the US in the Korean problem is more beneficial to Japan's existence and security." KCNA said North Korea needed to end the nuclear reactor freeze "because the US unilaterally abandoned its commitment to supply heavy oil in compensation for the loss of electricity".

The US, South Korea, Japan and the European Union moved to halt the oil supplies in response to US revelations of a North Korean nuclear weapons programme using highly enriched uranium. North Korea's move came two days after South Koreans elected a new President who campaigned against using pressure and sanctions to press Pyongyang to resolve the nuclear crisis.

Ruling party President-elect Roh Moo-hyun vowed to continue outgoing president Kim Dae-jung's "sunshine policy" of aid and dialogue with the North. Reuters

THE TIMES OF INDIA

23 DEC 2002

N Korea switches off nuclear monitors

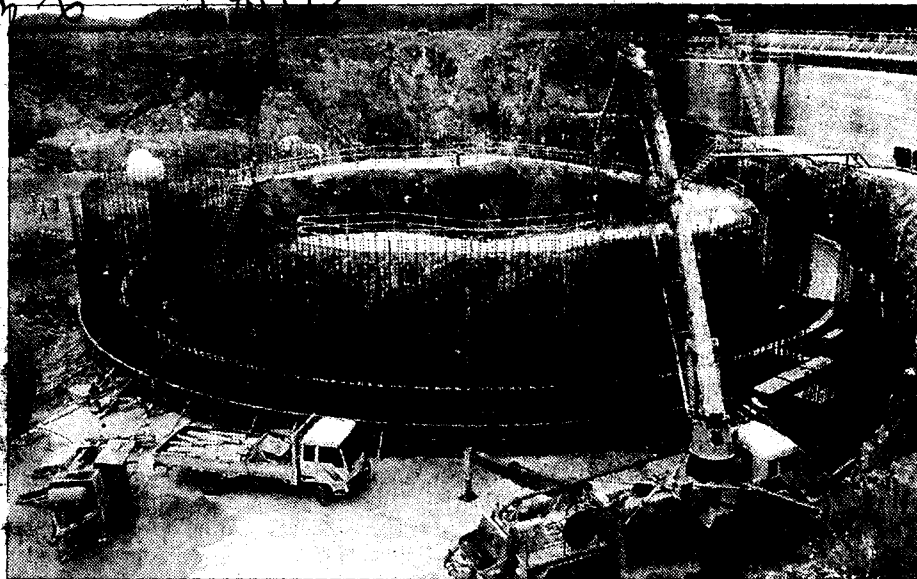
SAMUEL LEN
SEOUL, DECEMBER 22

NORTH Korea said on Sunday it had begun removing UN monitoring equipment from a nuclear reactor at the centre of the Communist state's suspected pursuit of nuclear weapons.

The IAEA said Pyongyang's announcement came after the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) said that North Ko-

rea broke most of the seals on Saturday and disabled the permanent surveillance cameras that had been installed at the five-megawatt Yongbyon Research Reactor, which the UN believes was used to make plutonium capable of use in warheads.

The plant had been closed under a 1994 agreement with the US in which North Korea froze the reactors in exchange for shipments of oil and the construction of more proliferation-proof reactors.



Workers at the new nuclear reactor in the North Korean village of Kumho. Reuters

The North's official *Korean Central News Agency* (KCNA) said it began removing the surveillance devices after the UN nuclear watchdog had not acted on Pyongyang's demand early this month to take the equipment away to allow the reactor to be reactivated.

"This situation compelled the DPRK (North Korea) to immediately start the work of removing the seals and monitoring cameras from the frozen nuclear facilities for their normal operation to produce electricity," it said. North Korea's move came two days after South Koreans elected a new President who campaigned against using pressure and sanc-

tions to press Pyongyang to resolve the nuclear crisis. Ruling party President-elect Roh Moo-Hyun vowed to continue outgoing President Kim Dae-jung's "Sunshine Policy" of aid and dialogue with the North.

North Korea's state radio said Roh's defeat of a conservative with hawkish policies towards Pyongyang "demonstrates the fact that defeat awaits those who stir up confrontation". KCNA said North Korea needed to end the nuclear reactor freeze "because the US unilaterally abandoned its commitment to supply heavy oil in compensation for the loss of electricity".

The US, South Korea,

Japan and the European Union moved to halt the oil supplies in response to US revelations of a second North Korean nuclear weapons programme using highly enriched uranium. The IAEA has been carrying out limited monitoring in North Korea since the early 1990s, though it has never been allowed to conduct intrusive inspections aimed at fleshing out a secret weapons programme.

The IAEA has repeatedly called on Pyongyang to stick to the 1994 agreement and said that it "deplored" North Korea's insistence that it has a right to develop nuclear weapons. US State Department spokesman Lou Finton

Japan regrets move, urges restraint

TOKYO: Japan said on Sunday that N Korea's move to disable monitoring equipment at a nuclear reactor, suspected of being used to make weapons-grade plutonium, was regrettable and urged Pyongyang not to restart its programme. "That the North has taken this action is regrettable in light of its obligations according to the agreement," the Foreign Ministry said. "We urge N Korea to maintain its freeze on all its nuclear facilities," he said.

— Reuters

said Washington was still establishing exactly what North Korea had done, although it did not appear Pyongyang had disturbed seals or cameras at the reprocessing plant or at the spent fuel-pond where 8,000 spent fuel rods were stored.

South Korean officials urged North Korea to restore the monitoring devices. "We will apply diplomatic pressure through close cooperation with the US, Japan, China, Russia and the international community so that North Korea takes measures for restoration," said Shim Yoon-Joe, head of North American affairs at South Korea's Foreign Affairs Ministry. — Reuters

23 DEC 2002

US to supply UN secret data on Iraq

Washington/Baghdad,
December 21

THE US was poised on Saturday to hasten the moment of truth over Iraqi disarmament by giving UN arms inspectors secret data on suspected weapon sites and the names of scientists likely to have inside information.

Washington and London, meanwhile, signalled the prospect of a ground and air war to be fought to topple Iraqi President Saddam Hussein in early 2003 was now increasingly likely.

President George W Bush cancelled a trip to Africa at a few weeks' notice while the US military forged ahead with a build-up that could have more than 100,000 troops in the Gulf region in January or February.

Bush on Friday called the arms declaration provided by Iraq in response to UN Security Council Resolution 1441 "disappointing", echoing the grim tone of Secretary of State Colin Powell who had condemned it as a "material breach" of the resolution.

The US, seeking a swift conclusion to the arms inspection process initiated by Resolution 1441 last month, said it planned to give the UN inspectors new intelligence on sites where Iraq may be hiding its weapons of mass destruction program either on Friday or over the weekend.

There was no indication early on Saturday that the data had been provided yet. Officials said the information would involve fewer than six sites where US Intelligence believed Iraq has "suspicious chemical weapons or elements of production".

"We may make suggestions... possibly next week," said a senior US official. The US also wants inspectors to take Iraqi scientists out of the country to interview them about weapons programmes. "If you get the right defector, that's all you

US vetoes resolution against Israel

THE US on Friday vetoed a Syrian-sponsored UN Security Council resolution condemning Israel for the recent killings of a Briton and two Palestinians working for the UN in the West Bank and Gaza. Twelve council members, including UK, voted in favour and Bulgaria and Cameroon abstained. But the negative vote by the US, one of five permanent council members with veto power, meant the resolution was not adopted.

On Saturday, Israel used armoured combat vehicles to enforce new blockades in the Gaza Strip after a crackdown on militants.

Reuters, UN

need," said a senior official.

Critical January dates

In New York, UN Security Council members agreed to appoint Germany as chairman of the council's sanctions panel on Iraq after the White House dropped its Opposition, diplomats said.

The Security Council asked the arms inspectors on Friday to provide a detailed assessment of Iraq's arms declaration on January 9, in another effort to evaluate Baghdad's claim it no longer has weapons of mass destruction, diplomats said.

After the decision by the US to declare Iraq in "material breach" there had been speculation that a Security Council appearance by Blix on January 27 could be a critical date for Bush to make a decision about launching a military attack.

Reuters

22 DEC 2002

N Korea conducted nuke tests: report

Agence France Presse

SEOUL, Dec. 18. — North Korea conducted high explosive tests for nuclear weapons clandestinely after it agreed to freeze its nuclear program under an accord with the USA in 1994, a South Korean newspaper said today.

Quoting unidentified government officials, the *Chosun Ilbo* said North Korea carried out 70 high explosive tests since 1998 for its secret program to produce nuclear weapons-based on plutonium.

US military intelligence passed on the information about the tests to South Korea's Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman Mr Lee Nam-Shin on 5 December during high-level security talks in Washington, the newspaper said.

South Korean officials refused to comment on the report which the newspaper said showed that the Stalinist country had violated the 1994 ac-

Shield will deter Pyongyang: Rumsfeld

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18. — The US decision to deploy a missile shield will have a deterrent effect on North Korea, the US defence secretary Mr Donald Rumsfeld has said.

Asked if the decision to deploy the shield would send a signal to Pyongyang which has said it was reactivating its mothballed nuclear weapons programme, Mr Rumsfeld said yesterday: "It should". "There is nothing symbolic," he said. "To the extent that we have the capability it will have a deterrent effect." Tense North Korean-US relations have hit a new low after Pyongyang said it was re-starting its nuclear weapons programme which had been suspended under a 1994 agreement with the USA. — AFP

cord freezing its plutonium-producing nuclear plants. "On such reports, we will maintain our neither confirm nor deny policy," a military official said.

The US Defence Intelligence Agency also told South Korean officials in Washington that North Korea began building a nuclear plant based on enriched uranium in 2000, with equipment from Pakistan, South Korea's

newspaper said. Pakistan has denied reports in *The New York Times* that it provided North Korea with designs for gas centrifuges and machinery it needs for its enriched uranium project.

North Korea threatened last week to restart its frozen plutonium-based nuclear plant after Washington cut regular fuel shipments to the energy-starved country.

America charges Iraq with material breach, deception

Washington: The US is positioning itself for war after asserting that Iraq is in "material breach" of UN resolutions and charging it with "deception, dissembling and lying", a charge immediately rejected by Baghdad.

"If Iraq continues its pattern of deception, dissembling and lying and if that is the way it continues through the weeks ahead, we are not going to find a peaceful solution to this problem," secretary of state Colin Powell said at a press conference here.

Omissions in Iraqi arms declaration meant that Baghdad was "well on its way to losing this last chance" to avoid military action, he said, adding "We are doing everything we can to avoid war."

He called Iraq's 12,000-page declaration "a catalogue of recycled information and flagrant omissions. This is a new material breach on the part of Baghdad, following many violations over the past decade," Mr Powell said.

Iraq rejected the US charges, accusing Washington of trying to find an excuse to topple the Saddam Hussein government. "The United States has made it clear that the matter is not disarmament but to change the legitimate government of Iraq," Iraq's deputy ambassador at UN Mohammed S Ali said. Iraq, he said, was not in material breach



Colin Powell

and the US position was not shared by other security council members.

UN weapons inspectors supported Washington's contention on Iraqi declaration, saying the document had little new material and huge gaps.

Briefing the UN security council, the weapons inspectors, headed by Hans Blix, stopped short of suggesting that Iraq was in "material breach" but gave enough ammunition to Washington to buttress its contention that Iraq had committed another. Iraq has a lot of questions to answer, they said.

US ambassador to UN John Negroponte echoed Mr Powell's views, charging Iraq with defying the United Nations, deception and concealment.

On Iraq's arms declaration, he said, "It should be obvious that this pattern of systematic holes and gaps in Iraq's declaration is not the result of accidents, editing oversights or technical mistakes. These are material omissions, constitute another material breach."

In a clear and firm statement, Mr Negroponte said the declaration clearly showed that Iraq had spurned its last opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations. Agencies

2 1 DEC 2002

THE TIMES OF INDIA

Bush to declare Iraq violated UN order

STEVE HOLLAND AND STEFANO AMBROGI

Washington/London, Dec. 18 (Reuters): US President George W. Bush met top aides today to discuss a likely announcement this week declaring Iraq in violation of a UN disarmament order.

The White House said Bush was "concerned about omissions" in Iraq's 12,000-page arms declaration, which US officials say fails to disclose Baghdad's suspected chemical, biological and nuclear weapons programmes.

Washington has threatened to disarm Iraq by force if it does not come clean on its weapons.

But US officials said Bush would not cite a violation of the UN resolution as an immediate trigger for war. Warplanes from a US-British operation patrolling southern Iraq fired on air defences after Iraqi forces

moved a mobile radar system into a "no-fly" zone, the US military said.

It was the fourth attack in five days on Iraqi air defence sites by planes monitoring the zone and coincided with a US military build-up in the region in case of possible war.

British Prime Minister Tony Blair, his country aligned with the US against Iraq, said there was widespread scepticism about Iraq's dossier on its weapons but insisted moves to gear up for war were just contingency plans.

British foreign secretary Jack Straw said the declaration had "obvious omissions" and President Saddam Hussein's "pretence" Iraq had no banned weapons would "fool nobody."

A UN Security Council resolution adopted last month gave Iraq a last chance to come clean on its weapons programmes or

face "serious consequences" — diplomatic language for war.

Baghdad, which denies having any nuclear, biological or chemical arms, presented the declaration on its arms programmes to the UN earlier this month.

US and UN diplomats have said a preliminary review suggested Iraq had failed to account for chemical and biological agents and did not explain why it has allegedly sought nuclear technology in recent years.

White House spokesman Ari Fleischer said the US would have a formal response to the declaration soon. "The President is concerned about omissions in the declaration and about problems in the declaration," he added.

Chief UN arms inspector Hans Blix is due to make a presentation on the Iraqi declaration to the UN Security Council tomorrow.

Secretary of state Colin Powell said today he expected a final verdict on the dossier after Blix had spoken.

Britain prepares

In Britain, defence secretary Geoff Hoon confirmed the country was preparing for possible war, but stressed conflict was neither imminent nor inevitable. British troops are expected to play a key role in any US-led military action.

A shipping source said the ministry of defence had placed its first order today for a large merchant ship to carry heavy armour and military supplies to the Gulf ahead of a possible strike. The government has told troops, reservists and arms manufacturers to gear up for a possible war.

"What we are doing is preparing in the event of military action being necessary," Hoon told

BBC Radio. "But I want to emphasise that no decision has been taken to launch military action."

Blair said Saddam could still avoid war. "This is a contingency deployment. We want the inspectors to do their work, we want Saddam to comply with the UN resolutions. We use force where there is a breach of that mandate," he said.

In Iraq, UN inspectors, starting the fourth week of their hunt for Saddam's alleged weapons of mass destruction, searched at least nine sites today.

More than 100 experts from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the UN Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission are in Iraq. But IAEA head Mohamed ElBaradei said he had no proof

Iraq had tried to build a forbidden weapons programme in the intervening period.



British Royal Marines from the Deckyevan HMS Cardiff train near Iraq on Wednesday. (Reuters)

N. Korea steps up pressure

15/12 ✓
110-14 ✓
SEOUL, DEC. 14. North Korea hinted on Saturday it would remove seals and surveillance cameras from its nuclear facilities on its own if the United Nations' nuclear watchdog doesn't do so immediately.

On Thursday, Pyongyang announced it was reviving its frozen nuclear facilities to generate badly needed electricity, and asked the International Atomic Energy Agency in a letter to remove the seals and surveillance cameras.

North Korea's new letter on Saturday threatened to take action 'unilaterally'.

Under a deal with the U.S. in 1994, the North froze nuclear facilities suspected of being used for weapons development,

and allowed the IAEA to monitor the freeze using the seals and cameras.

The IAEA had asked North Korea to act with restraint and cooperate with inspections.

On Saturday, North Korea sent the IAEA another letter, asking for the removal of surveillance seals and cameras "at the earliest possible date."

"If the IAEA fails to expeditiously take measures to meet our request, we will take necessary measures unilaterally," said the letter by Ri Je Son, Director-General of the North's General Department of Atomic Energy, to the IAEA.

The contents of the letter were reported by the North's foreign news outlet, Korean Central News Agency.

Disam
In the latest letter, North Korea again accused the United States of violating the 1994 agreement by halting fuel oil shipments.

As a reward for the North's freeze, a U.S.-led international consortium had promised to build two modern nuclear reactors in North Korea and supply it with 500,000 tons of substitute fuel oil annually.

The U.S. officials say the North Koreans told them that they had another nuclear weapons programme, and the U.S. and its allies halted oil shipments beginning in December.

North Korea said the suspension of oil supplies prompted it to decide to revive its frozen nuclear facilities. — AP

Kim, Bush agree to resolve nuclear crisis peacefully

Seoul: South Korean President Kim Dae-Jung and his US counterpart George W Bush have agreed that the North Korean nuclear crisis must be resolved peacefully. Mr Kim's spokeswoman said on Saturday. But spokeswoman Park Sun-Sook also confirmed the two leaders, speaking on the telephone on Friday, were determined the North must reverse its decision to revive its nuclear programme.

"The two leaders agreed that the North's decision to reactivate its frozen nuclear facilities is unacceptable, urging Pyongyang to retract the announcement," Ms Park said.

"They also agreed to continue efforts to seek a peaceful solution to North Korea's nuclear issue." Ms Park's comments confirm a version of the Bush-Kim telephone conversation given by White House spokesman Ari Fleischer in Washington on Friday.

"The two leaders agreed to continue seeking a peaceful resolution while not allowing business as usual to continue with North Korea," Mr Fleischer said. Ms Park said Mr Bush and Mr Kim had stressed the need for South Korea and the United States to work together if they were to get North Korea to retract its nuclear ambitions.



Kim Dae-Jung



George W. Bush

"(Mr Kim said) the crisis should be handled with caution through policy coordination among S. Korea, the United States and Japan and with cooperation from the international community," she said. Ms Park then highlighted Mr Bush's emphasis that the US did not intend to take military action against N Korea, as it is threatening to do with fellow "axis of evil" state Iraq. Meanwhile, Yemen took delivery on Saturday of 15 Scud missiles with warheads and fuel from North Korea when a freighter docked at a naval base at Al-Hodeida on the Red Sea, officials said in Sanaa. An international fracas erupted last week when Spanish frigates in a US-led multinational counter-terrorism force detained the vessel off Yemen's Socatra island. AFP

Skidding on Scuds ⁴

The US flip-flop on missile supplies endangers

Disarm (nuclear) non-proliferation 92-8 14/12

INSCRUTABLE are the ways of the powerful, and the starkly contradictory US policies on non-proliferation at the present juncture has only added substance to this view. On the one hand, the US has been insisting on pre-emptive use of force, and according to the strategy proposed to the Congress, overwhelming force, against proliferation. On the other, is the kid glove treatment of North Korea which, according to senior US officials and other evidence, is a confirmed proliferator of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles. Credible evidence has also emerged from the US that Pakistan supplied nuclear weapons technology to North Korea in return for ballistic missiles for nuclear weapons delivery against India. At one end is the readiness to go to war against Iraq in the name of counter-proliferation, at the other end is the permissiveness in dealing with perceived allies.

North Korean ballistic missiles supplies to Pakistan, Yemen, Iran and other countries have been central to the rapid spread of nuclear-capable ballistic missiles in our region. In fact, Pakistan's nuclear arsenal is believed to be more advanced than that of India's, primarily because of the ex-

ternal flow of technology and material from East Asia. If known transfers of missiles and nuclear technology in the region are any indication, it is possible that a great deal more has been happening on the proliferation front than assumed in most cases. The question is how the international community led by the US responds to the challenge.

The US, under pressure from Yemen, reversed its decision and asked Spanish navy to release the ship carrying SCUD missiles from North Korea. On the other hand, North Korea has threatened to restart its nuclear power reactors — which could produce material for weapons — if oil supplies promised under the 1994 agreement are not kept up. If the way the US handled the proliferation challenges that emerged into public domain during the past two months is any indication of Washington's commitment to its announced policies, then the world is more likely to witness spread of WMD to non-state actors and terrorists in future. Proliferation of WMD (including missiles), and promiscuous response to proliferation, would only provide incentives for more proliferation either for defence or for offensive strategies.

Pyongyang hits back, to restart N-plant

Seoul, December 12

RAISING FEARS of a nuclear crisis on the Korean Peninsula, North Korea said on Thursday that it will immediately reactivate a nuclear power plant that US officials suspect was being used to develop weapons.

A North Korean Foreign Ministry spokesman said his country would revive the old, Soviet-designed nuclear reactor and resume construction of other nuclear facilities to supply desperately needed power. KCNA, the North's state-run news agency, quoted the spokesman but did not name him.

The nuclear programme was suspended under a 1994 deal with Washington, averting a possible war on the Korean Peninsula. Experts say North Korea could quickly extract enough plutonium from its old facilities to make several nuclear weapons.

The official said North Korea was obliged to revive the programme because of the US-led decision last month to suspend annual 500,000-tonne oil shipments to the North. The suspension of the shipments — a key provision of the 1994 deal — was designed to pressure Pyongyang to give up a more recent nuclear programme based on uranium enrichment.

The United States says the uranium-based programme violated a nuclear arms control clause in the 1994 pact.

"The prevailing situation compelled the (North Korean) Government to lift its measure for nuclear freeze... and imme-

'Victorious' Yemen awaits missiles

AFTER FORCING the US to beat a swift and public retreat, Yemen remained silent on Thursday on details of the delivery of North Korean Scud missiles and warheads.

Yemeni sources said the unflagged freighter which had been seized by two Spanish frigates from a US-led international counterterrorism fleet was expected to dock under cover of darkness.

The port of call was likely to be Aden, on the south-western tip of the Arabian peninsula, or Al-Hodeida on Yemen's Red Sea coast, facing Eritrea.

AFP, Aden

diately resume the operation and construction of its nuclear facilities to generate electricity," the spokesman was quoted as saying in comments that were monitored by South Korea's Yonhap news agency.

"Our country faced an immediate problem in electricity generation because the US has virtually abandoned its obligations," the spokesman said.

"Our principled stand is that the nuclear crisis on the Korean Peninsula should be resolved peacefully. It's totally up to the US whether we will freeze our nuclear facilities again."

Although the spokesman left

open the possibility of dialogue to solve the standoff, the prospect that North Korea might reactivate its plutonium-based nuclear programme had long been feared by US and South Korean officials.

South Korean President Kim Dae-Jung, who has sought to reconcile with North Korea, received a briefing from his national security advisers.

US Defence Secretary Donald H Rumsfeld has said he believes North Korea already has one or two nuclear weapons. The communist country is also a major vendor of missiles and missile technology.

The North Korean announcement followed the seizure and release this week of a ship carrying North Korean Scud missiles to Yemen. North Korea's missile customers have also included Libya, Iran, Syria, Pakistan and Egypt.

"We can only speculate that yesterday's incident and North Korea's electricity shortage in the winter propelled North Korea to make a response," said Kim Sung-Han of the State-run Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security in Seoul.

US officials say North Korea told them in October that it had a secret programme to enrich uranium to make nuclear weapons. The Bush administration has vowed to try to solve the problem through diplomacy.

Under the 1994 pact, North Korea agreed to freeze the plutonium programme in return for two modern, light-water reactors built by a US-led consortium.

AP

N Korea to revive N-plans

Associated Press

SEOUL, Dec. 12. — North Korea today said it will immediately reactivate its frozen nuclear facilities in a major escalation of its confrontation with the USA, South Korea's Yonhap news agency reported.

A North Korean foreign ministry spokesman said his country would revive a suspected nuclear weapons programme that it froze in a 1994 deal with the USA, Yonhap said. The official said North Korea did so because of the US-led decision to suspend oil shipments last month to punish the North for a recently revealed, second nuclear programme. "Our country faced an immediate problem in electricity generation because the USA has virtually abandoned its obligations," Yonhap quoted the unnamed spokesman as saying.

"Our principled stand is that the nuclear crisis on the Korean Peninsula should be resolved peacefully," the spokesman said. "It's totally up to the USA whether we will freeze our nuclear facilities again." The declaration signaled a deepening of tension between North Korea and the

USA, which is trying to pressure the Communist country to abandon its nuclear ambitions. The North Korean announcement also followed the seizure and release of a ship carrying what US officials said were North Korean missiles bound for Yemen.

US officials say North Korea told them in October that it had a secret programme to enrich uranium to make nuclear weapons. The Bush administration has vowed to try to solve the problem through diplomacy.

But North Korea's declaration that it would reactivate a plutonium-based nuclear programme that it suspended in 1994 is a development that officials in Seoul and Washington have long feared as a worst-case scenario.

Under the Agreed Framework, signed in Geneva on 21 October, 1994, energy-starved North Korea agreed to freeze a suspected nuclear weapons programme in return for two modern, light-water reactors built by a US-led consortium. Supporters said the deal was an anchor of engagement between North Korea and the

outside world, while critics said the project was not economically sound.

Emergency meeting: Even as South Korean government officials said they have yet to see the North Korean statement, and had no immediate comment, the government called an emergency security meeting today in response to the North Korean threat to "immediately" reactivate its nuclear programme, adds AFP from Seoul.

South Korean President Mr Kim Dae-Jung convened the meeting of his security council after the North Korean announcement. The meeting at the presidential Blue House, convened and chaired by unification minister Mr Jeong Se-Hyun and attended by top-level intelligence, foreign policy and security officials, a spokesman said.

A cautious spokesman from the ministry, which handles policy on North Korea, said it was too early to speculate on the impact of the announcement. "It came as a surprise to our government. We didn't expect North Korea to take such an action," said Mr Hang Sang-In.

THE STATESMAN

13 DEC 2002

SUBVERTING MISSILE NON-PROLIFERATION

THE SEIZURE BY U.S. and Spanish naval forces of an unflagged ship carrying Scud missiles dispatched from North Korea to Yemen and its quick release, following strong protests by the authorities in Sana'a, have come as yet another illustration of the manner in which Washington's pursuit of near-term objectives is subverting the goal of global non-proliferation. In selling 15 missiles (along with conventional warheads and rocket propellants) to another country, North Korea was clearly pursuing an agenda of proliferation and the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, has stated as much. Yet, apart from critical comments by Mr. Armitage and other senior officials, the U.S. does not appear to be keen on initiating any moves against North Korea. There have been other credible reports — not officially denied by Washington though vehemently refuted by Islamabad — that Pyongyang had supplied Pakistan with long-range missiles in payment for the knowhow to produce nuclear weapons material by means of the uranium enrichment process. Even as North Korea appears to have launched a garage sale of its missiles, the U.S. has done little to indicate that the problem will be addressed either by reinvigorating treaty commitments in place or through punitive measures. In a global context where Washington is clearly itching to attack Iraq ostensibly because the regime in Baghdad is pursuing a proliferation agenda (a charge that will remain unproven until documents recently submitted by Iraq are scrutinised), U.S. policy is confusing at best, crudely hypocritical at worst. The country marked out for invasion and possible occupation because it is said to follow a proliferation agenda is an Iraq that is rich in oil reserves. On the other hand, the country that is clearly promoting proliferation is impoverished North Korea which owns few assets of interest to Washington. When these circumstances are taken into consideration the inescapable conclusion is that U.S. policy is far from being as principled as it is made out to be.

While North Korea was the source of supply in both cases other significant points in common between the two different sets of circumstances are that the recipients are important factors in the U.S. administration's war against terror and that Washington has preferred to excuse their transgressions. In respect of Pakistan, Washington has advanced the weak defence that the nuclear knowhow for the missile deal was concluded before the military coup and that the President, Pervez Musharraf's hands are therefore clean. Such advocacy takes little note of reports that this barter trade was carried on even after Gen. Musharraf took power and it also ignores the Pakistan military's close control over that country's nuclear assets. Yemen appeared to have been in flagrant violation of a commitment given to the U.S. last year that it would not purchase any more North Korean missiles if Washington refrained from imposing sanctions for similar deals made in the past. After the missile-bearing vessel was stopped in the Arabian Sea, Sana'a protested that the shipment was ordered before the commitment was given. In releasing the shipment Washington has, strangely enough, provided Yemen with even more leeway by explaining that the "commitment" given did not have anywhere near the same binding force as a treaty.

Both Yemen and Pakistan have clearly recognised that the U.S. is so desperately in need of their assistance in the war against terrorism that they have space to operate as they desire in areas of less immediate concern to Washington. The manner in which Washington has conducted itself in these two instances does have lessons for India as it tries to calibrate the extent to which the U.S. will back up its statements on principle. That aside, the rest of the international community has to more effectively make the U.S. understand that other important goals on the global agenda cannot be indefinitely put off or subverted even though the fight against terror is a high priority.

DEE HINDL

13 DEC 2002

N. Korean missile carrier intercepted near Yemen

Washington: In the first concrete evidence of Pyongyang's continuing missile proliferation, a dozen Scud missiles were found hidden in a ship originating from North Korea and believed to be heading for Yemen, which has been identified by the US as a nation that harbours terrorists.

The ship was stopped by Spanish warships in the Arabian Sea about 1,000 km east of the Horn of Africa and a search resulted in the discovery of about a dozen short-to-medium range missiles similar to those used by Iraq during the Kuwait war. According to a report, 20 containers were found concealed under 40,000 sacks of cement. They were said to be full of missiles, warheads, rocket motors and fuel cells.

The vessel, So San, had been under surveillance by US intelligence since it left North Korea during the middle of last month, a US official said. The Spanish frigate and an accompanying support ship called on the cargo ship to stop its engines and fired a warning shot when it refused. "It was boarded early yesterday southeast of Yemen—far out to sea and so unquestionably in international waters," the official said.

The decision to take over the ship, was approved "at the highest levels of the administration", he said, adding

that American experts were examining the seizure. When the Spanish officials boarded it, they found that the captain was a North Korean and alerted a US ship in the area which sent out inspectors.

US deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage, now on a visit to China, said America's suspicions that North Korea was involved in proliferation of nuclear weapons were confirmed with the seizure. "Obviously, this was suspected by American authorities for some time. North Korea...is one of the major proliferators and it appears she was busy proliferating again," he said. North Korea and Pakistan are said to be helping each other clandestinely in their missile and nuclear weapons programme.

The seizure comes as Washington tries to pressure Pyongyang to abandon its nuclear weapons programme. Meanwhile, the Yemeni government admitted on Wednesday that it had ordered Scud missiles from North Korea and strongly protested to the United States and Spain over their interception of the shipment on the high seas.

Foreign Minister Abu Baker Abdullah al-Kurbi called US ambassador Edmund Hull to his office and handed over a letter of protest, the official SABA news agency reported. Agencies

Russia, China ask N. Korea to drop its N-plan

Beijing: Russia and China urged North Korea on Monday to normalise ties with Washington and drop its nuclear weapons programme, the strongest call ever by the Cold War communist giants for detente on the Korean peninsula.

The appeal by the two nations, North Korea's closest allies, was the highlight of talks between visiting Russian President Vladimir Putin and Chinese President Jiang Zemin as both Beijing and Moscow seek to warm up to Washington.

Mr Putin, who arrived in China early on Monday, was also scheduled to meet Vice-President Hu Jintao, who took over as head of Chi-

"The sides affirm the terrorists and separatists of Chechnya and East Turkestan are an integral part of international terrorism. They must be condemned and become an object of a joint struggle from all countries of the world," the declaration said.

Analysts say China and Russia have only limited sway over North Korea, officially called the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), and the declaration was consistent with recent policy towards their small, isolated neighbour.

But the strongly-worded joint statement from its two Cold War-

era "big brothers" raised diplomatic pressure on North Korea, after it stunned the world in October by admitting it had a nuclear weapons programme.

"The sides consider it important for the destiny of the world and security in Northeast Asia to preserve the non-nuclear status of the Korean peninsula and the regime of non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction," said the joint declaration.

"And in this context, they stress the importance of normalising relations between the United States and the DPRK on the basis of continued observation of earlier

reached agreements, including the framework agreement of 1994, and of constructively equal dialogue in the interests of settling mutual concerns."

Under the 1994 agreement, North Korea agreed to halt plans to develop nuclear weapons in exchange for light water nuclear reactors and fuel oil, but Pyongyang stunned the world by boasting in October that it had a nuclear arms programme.

Mr Putin's visit was designed to seek common ground with China's retiring and incoming leaders, especially on security issues such as North Korea, Iraq and the war on terrorism. Reuters

Japan, IAEA mount pressure on North Korea

By P. S. Suryanarayana

SINGAPORE, NOV. 29. Japan today strongly urged North Korea to "take concrete action, promptly, to dismantle its nuclear weapons programme".

The move to pressure Pyongyang follows the adoption of a sensitive report on North Korea by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in Vienna today.

It is in this context that Japan announced that it would host an international conference on the Wider Adherence to Strengthened IAEA Safeguards in Tokyo on December 9-10.

The Japanese Foreign Ministry said that the conference would turn the spotlight on the IAEA's "additional protocols" (as distinct from the original ones).

These relatively new protocols, which Japan and 27 other countries have ratified, are designed to give the IAEA some much needed operational space to monitor and carry out sampling studies at sites to detect unregistered nuclear development activities.

The North Korean question falls within and also outside the ambit of these additional IAEA protocols. At today's meeting in Vienna, the IAEA Board of Governors adopted what a Japanese official characterised as a 'resolution' on North Korea's compliance with its own obligations under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Summarising the "gist of this resolution", a Japanese official said that the Board of Governors arrived at a 'consensus' that North Korea's ongoing uranium enrichment programme as also Pyongyang's "other covert nuclear activities" would constitute a 'violation' of that country's international commitments including its "safeguards agreement with the IAEA" in the NPT context.

The IAEA Board was also said to have called upon North Korea to "give up any nuclear weapons programme expeditiously and in a verifiable manner". Within the framework of the IAEA's proactive assessment of North Korea, Japan called upon Pyongyang to "make a positive response" to the international agency's letters seeking an 'explanation' of their uranium enrichment programme.

The IAEA has also offered to send senior officials to North Korea to seek clarifications about this programme.

Tokyo said that the Kim il Jong regime could utilise such channels as the Japan-North Korea normalisation talks as also their bilateral security talks. In taking this line, the Japanese official did not, however, go into the specifics of what seems to be a deadlock in these bilateral talks.

However, Japan underlined yet again that it would work in "close cooperation with both the U.S. and the Republic of Korea" to bring Pyongyang under a strategic-diplomatic squeeze. The IAEA move is a sequel to N. Korea's recent admission about its nuclear weapons programme (with or without Pakistan's suspected collaboration). On a separate but related track, a senior North Korean Foreign Ministry official is reported to have told the Japanese media today Pyongyang "will also produce things that are even more powerful than (the) nuclear (weapons)".

Pak gave N-technology to Pyongyang: US

Disarmament

Washington, October 18

PAKISTAN, A vital US ally since last year's terrorist attacks, was a major supplier of critical equipment for North Korea's newly revealed clandestine nuclear weapons programme, US intelligence officials said.

The equipment, which may include gas centrifuges used to create weapons-grade uranium, appears to have been part of a barter deal beginning in the late 1990s in which North Korea supplied Pakistan with missiles it could use to counter India's nuclear arsenal, the officials said.

"What you have here," said one official, "is a perfect meeting of interests — the North had what the Pakistanis needed, and the Pakistanis had a way for Kim Jong Il to restart a nuclear programme we had stopped." China and Russia were less prominent suppliers, officials said.

The White House said last night that it would not discuss Pakistan's role or any other intelligence information. Nor would senior administration officials who briefed reporters discuss exactly what intelligence they showed to North Korean officials two weeks ago, promptly

ing the North's defiant declaration that it had secretly started a programme to enrich uranium in violation of its commitments.

The trade between Pakistan and North Korea appears to have occurred around 1997, roughly two years before General Pervez Musharraf took power. However, the relationship appears to have continued after General Musharraf became President, and there is some evidence that a commercial relationship between the two countries extended beyond September 11 of last year.

A spokesman for the Pakistan

Embassy, Asad Hayauddin, said it was "absolutely incorrect" to accuse Pakistan of providing nuclear weapons technology to North Korea. "We have never had an accident or leak or any export of fissile material or nuclear technology or knowledge."

The suspected deal between Pakistan and North Korea underscores the enormous diplomatic complexity of the administration's task in trying to disarm North Korea, an effort that began in earnest yesterday.

In Beijing, two US diplomats pressed Chinese officials to use all their diplomatic and econom-

ic leverage to persuade North Korea to give up its nuclear programme. The subject is expected to dominate a meeting next week between Bush — who a spokesman said "believes this is troubling and sobering news" — and Chinese President Jiang Zemin at Bush's Texas ranch.

Bush did not address the North Korean revelation at appearances in Atlanta and Florida on Thursday. Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld did talk about the disclosures at the Pentagon, but one official said the effort to play down the topic was part of an administration strat-

egy of "avoiding a crisis".

At the same time, White House and State Department officials argued that what they called North Korea's "belligerent" announcement to a visiting US delegation two weeks ago demonstrated the need to disarm Iraq before it enjoys similar success.

"Here's a case in North Korea where weapons have proliferated and put at risk our interests and the interests of allies Japan and South Korea," said Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage. "It might make our case more strong in Iraq."

The New York Times

19 NOV 2002

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

India will not be party to code against missile proliferation

By Amit Baruah

AD-11
16/11

NEW DELHI, NOV. 15. India will not be a party to the International Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation (ICOC) to be signed by consenting countries at a conference in The Hague, Netherlands, on November 25-26. The Foreign Office spokesman today said that India's decision would not, however, have any impact on its firm opposition to the spread of ballistic missile technology and commitment to maintain effective export controls.

India had participated in two rounds of negotiations in Paris (January 2002) and Madrid (June), but found that the final COC document referred to missile development and space launch vehicles without proper distinction. (Separately, sources said that apart from India, China, Pakistan, Iran, Syria and Israel were not likely to associate themselves with the ICOC. They said that while the Missile Technology Control Regime countries, which includes the U.S., had taken the lead in drafting the Code, the European Commission had been actively associated with it). The spokesman

said that India found it difficult to accept missile proliferation and space launch vehicles as an amalgam and the implied questioning of the right to peaceful uses of space technology.

The draft code said that the subscribing States must recognise the need for transparency on missile and space launch vehicle programmes to ensure that launch programmes were not used to "conceal" missile development. "Even as a first step, the ICOC lacks adequate flexibility to accommodate equitably the core concerns of India which is not a party to the existing discriminatory non-proliferation and technology denial regimes.

In fact, the political thrust of the document is analogous to that of these regimes which it aims to supplement," he said.

"These regimes have proved ineffective in preventing the acquisition of ballistic missile technology or nuclear weapon development through clandestine transfers and linkages. Deterioration in India's security environment has taken place despite their existence," the spokesman argued. While India could not adhere to the ICOC, it

was ready to work with like-minded countries towards a more inclusive, balanced and equitable approach to dealing with the threat posed by missile proliferation.

"The position of India on the ICOC will in no way detract from its resolve to pursue responsible and cooperative policies to curb proliferation of ballistic missile technology," the spokesman added. The subscribing States, the draft code said, would have to prevent and curb ballistic missile systems capable of "delivering weapons of mass destruction" and the need to "continue pursuing appropriate international endeavours", including through the code.

India's point, sources said, was that the ICOC pointedly restricted itself to missiles capable of delivering nuclear payloads, but did not extend itself to conventional payloads. On this point, the draft code's objective was to 'curb and prevent the proliferation of ballistic missiles capable of delivering weapons of mass destruction, both at a global and regional level through multilateral, bilateral and national endeavours.'esist.

16 NOV 2002

THE HINDU

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The Bush nuclear doctrine

By M.R. Srinivasan

THE MEDIA is full of reports about the U.S. President, George W. Bush, itching to go to war in Iraq, against protests from the world community urging restraint. Other dangerous developments in the foreign policy of the Bush administration have unfortunately not received much attention in the media. Some months ago, the Bush administration published the Nuclear Posture Review (NPR). The NPR places nuclear weapons as a permanent centrepiece of U.S. security policy. They are perceived to deter a wide range of threats, including weapons of mass destruction and large-scale conventional military force. The NPR envisages development of small nuclear weapons against a variety of targets. The NPR calls for a revival of U.S. nuclear infrastructure thus putting on hold any progress towards a nuclear weapon-free world. The NPR foresees integration of nuclear and conventional forces and thus obliterates the threshold between the two. The NPR lists states that could be targeted by U.S. nuclear forces. Among them are non-nuclear weapon states. A nuclear attack on them is a clear violation of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, of which the U.S. is the chief sponsor.

Central to the Bush doctrine, as detailed in the National Security Strategy, is unilateralism and the right of pre-emption, extending to the nuclear domain also. The U.S. proclaims its right to act in self-defence against terrorists and countries it characterises as 'terrorist states'. The U.S. talks of defending, preserving and extending peace. Other values the U.S. wishes to pursue are democracy, free market policies and freedom for multinational corporations (MNCs) to operate unhindered anywhere in the world. The U.S. strategic vision is that in the 21st century, its military might remains unchallenged and will prevent the emergence of any other military power which could conceivably challenge it. The vision also

The Nuclear Posture Review lists states that could be targeted by U.S. nuclear forces. Among them are non-nuclear weapon states. A nuclear attack on them is a clear violation of the U.S. obligations under the NPT.

foresees that the burden of maintaining the world will be shared by all countries and peoples of the world who benefit from 'Pax Americana'. In the development of these ideas is an underlying assumption of the permanence of U.S. domination of the world. Undoubtedly other great empires of the world commencing from the Roman Empire through the British had dreamt of their permanence and indeed their benign nature as their civilisational duty to the rest of mankind. But history tells us that rise and fall of empires are a natural order of human enterprises.

Commentators of the U.S. scene are at pains to explain that the evolving policies in America enjoy a high level of support among the people of that country, including that of the silent majority. But what is overlooked is that there is a vast majority of people in countries other than the Euro-Atlantic world (and their allies such as Japan and extensions of the western world such as Australia) who are deeply troubled by the brash assertion of primacy and dominance by the present U.S. political leadership. There are, no doubt, liberal elements in U.S. society who are ill at ease with the claims of U.S. particularism but it does appear that their views are not shared by large sections of the U.S. population. Matters are not helped much when even a moderate person like the U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, claims that the U.S. way of life is being accepted world wide. That Hollywood movies and American TV serials are popular around the world or that American fast food and the colas appeal to the young people in many parts of the world are no proof that

American culture and its values are cherished world wide. What is even more galling is that global media attention gets riveted on deaths or injuries due to terrorist attacks which take place in the rich countries and often there is at best a brief and cursory mention, if at all, when similar or even more serious events visit the not-so-rich countries. Is it any wonder that the non-Euro-Atlantic world charges the Euro-Atlantic world with adopting double standards? Even the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, was forced to complain about double standards in the war against international terrorism.

When analysts and commentators ask U.S. interlocutors what would happen if India or Pakistan or some other country were to invoke the principles of unilateralism and pre-emption, they are told that these concepts only apply when the U.S. is invoking them and not to other countries and other situations. They go on to add that in respect of other disputes, other avenues of solving the conflict are available. Is it not open to the international community to ask the U.S. if it has exhausted all available alternatives before it wishes to use force to solve a particular problem? Cynical as it may sound, to defend, preserve and extend peace in the world, the U.S. may well be launching a continuous and sustained series of wars with bloodletting all over the world. The stridency with which the U.S. wishes to pursue its national interests in the face of global opposition is to be seen in its perverse rejection of the Kyoto Protocol on global warming. In earlier discussions on global warming, the U.S. along with other industrialised countries had accept-

ed that they had a special responsibility to reduce carbon dioxide emissions as they were historically the biggest emitters. The present U.S. administration refuses that it has any such obligation and offers the argument that its economy cannot accept the burden of reducing the emissions. So the richest economy of the world is too poor to protect the planet!

Some apologists of the U.S. have coined a new term 'Liberal Imperialism' to describe the present state of affairs. But it is simply a throwback to the hated days of 'gun boat diplomacy'. The terrorist attack at Bali when a large number of holidaymakers died is most unfortunate. But it would be sad if the event were used to impose on Indonesia security and police personnel from a clutch of Western countries whose citizens perished in the blast. Tourist revenues apart, some sane people have asked what rights people from the rich countries have in profaning some of the most beautiful locations in the world such as Bali, Pattaya, Sri Lanka and Goa in a manner that is revolting to the sensibilities and culture of the local populations. Though there are a number of causes for Islamic fundamentalism, a contributory factor is the perception of the western lifestyle which is greatly at variance with that in Islamic and other traditional societies.

The U.S. as the standard bearer of western civilisation has a responsibility to the rest of the world to behave in a manner that the sensibilities of other peoples, other countries and other civilisations are not ruffled and that a mosaic of understandings is reached amongst the diverse peoples of the world. This will not happen unless the U.S. abandons unilateralism and adopts polycentrism. For the long-term peace and stability of the world, it must revive its earlier interest in global disarmament covering all weapons of mass destruction. Peaceful solutions must be found for the conflicts that separate nations and peoples.

Iraq Parliament rejects UN stand on disarmament

Saddam To Take Final Decision

Baghdad

12 NOVEMBER

IRAQ'S Parliament on Tuesday unanimously recommended rejection of the UN resolution, which strengthens the mandate of international arms inspectors, but said the final decision will be left to the country's top leadership.

According to a parliamentary resolution read during the session, the 250-member Parliament accepted an earlier recommendation from its foreign relations committee. "The council suggests rejection of the UN resolution," the Parliament's resolution said.

It went on to say the "political leadership" should "adopt what it considers appropriate to defend the Iraqi people and Iraq's independence and dignity and authorises President Saddam Hussein to adopt what he sees as appropriate, expressing our full support for his wise leadership."

Parliament speaker Saadoun Hammadi asked deputies to vote on the first clause of the resolution by a show of hands and announced it had been accepted unanimously. It was not clear how many members were present for the vote.

Hammadi then called for a vote on the second clause, referring the matter to Saddam, and



ARMS & THE MEN: Iraqi parliamentarians vote on the UN resolution in Baghdad on Tuesday. — Reuters

again announced unanimous approval. A third vote was held for the entire proposal and it also was approved unanimously.

Iraq has until Friday to accept or reject the resolution, which the UN security council approved unanimously last Friday.

If it does not, or later falters in following the tough provisions of the resolution, it risks inviting military action from the United States and Britain. Tuesday's session of Parliament was not broadcast live on Iraqi television, leaving Iraqis unaware of how the Parliament was likely to vote.

— AP

1 3 NOV 2002

THE STATESMAN

Saddam blinks, accepts ultimatum to disarm

IRWIN ARIEFF AND
EVELYN LEOPOLD

United Nations, Nov. 13 (Reuters): Iraq said today it accepted a new UN Security Council resolution, which orders Baghdad to disarm and cooperate with weapons inspectors or face the "serious consequences."

"We hereby inform you that we will deal with resolution 1441, despite its bad contents," said a letter from foreign minister Naji Sabri to UN secretary-general Kofi Annan.

The eight-page letter was delivered by Iraq's UN ambassador, Mohammed Aldouri, in response to the council's resolution, adopted by a 15-0 vote last Friday. The Security Council had given Iraq a one-week deadline, to November 15, to accept the resolution and promise to abide by its terms.

Sabri accused the United States and Britain, co-sponsors of the resolution, of manipulating world opinion for their own aims and to help Israel, referred to as a "Zionist entity."

"The lies and manipulations of the American administration and the British government will be exposed, while the world will see how truthful and adequate the Iraqis are in what they say and do," Sabri wrote, according to an unofficial translation from the Arabic, obtained by Reuters.

Aldouri told reporters his country agreed to the measure in order to avoid a US-led attack.

"This is a part of our policy that is to protect our country, to protect the nation, to protect our region also from the threat of war which is real," he said.

"We are waiting for the inspectors to go as scheduled," Aldouri said. "We are eager to see

the inspectors perform their duties in accordance with international law."

An advance party of UN technicians is expected to go to Baghdad on Monday to prepare for inspections, not expected for another week or two. They will be accompanied by chief UN weapons inspector Hans Blix, and his counterpart from the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mohamed El Baradei.

Sabri, in the letter, again denied Iraq had developed weapons of mass destruction "whether nuclear, chemical or biological as claimed by evil people."

The next step is for Iraq to submit a "full, accurate and complete" declaration within 30 days, by December 8, of all its programmes to develop and deliver dangerous weapons, as well as civilian materials that could

have military applications.

Sabri said Iraq would take into consideration the conduct of the inspectors, including those "ill-intentioned amongst them" to make sure they respected the country's "dignity, independence and security."

"We are eager to see them perform their duties in accordance with international law as soon as possible," Sabri said. "If they do so, professionally and lawfully, without any premeditated intentions, their lies will be exposed to public opinion..."

He said the Security Council then had a duty to lift sanctions against Iraq, first imposed when Baghdad's troops invaded Kuwait in August 1990. And he noted the 1991 ceasefire resolution 687 called for the West Asia region to be free of weapons of mass destruction.

This provision should be ap-

plied to the "Zionist entity," Sabri wrote.

"The number of just people will then increase in the world and (make it possible for Iraq to drive away the cawing of the crows of evil that daily raid its land, kill Iraqis and destroy their property by thimbombs," Sabri wrote.

Iraq's acceptance came as a surprise as council members expected Iraq to wait until tomorrow to answer a letter arrived a day after Iraq parliament voted unanimously to reject the resolution in its terms.

China's deputy ambassador, Yishan Zhao, holds this month's Security Council presidency, said a member body welcomed the decision of the Iraqis.

"We want to see a resolution implemented very effectively," he said.



An Iraqi brick factory worker stands outside her home in Nahawan, 60 km south of Baghdad. (Reuters)

Pyongyang surprise

5-6 Weapons proliferating everywhere 2A/10

Just when Washington was grappling with the problem of Iraq's supposed possession of weapons of mass destruction comes a bombshell from another quarter — North Korea's admission that it is pursuing a secret nuclear weapons programme. That puts Pyongyang in clear violation of the 1994 accord it signed with the US, as well as the non-proliferation treaty of which it is a signatory. The information, however, appears to have been available with Washington earlier — President Clinton had raised the matter of supply of nuclear technology to North Korea with Islamabad, while President Bush famously included North Korea in his "axis of evil". But Pyongyang's public admission will now force Bush to be more confrontational which, however, highlights the policy dilemmas he faces in Iraq. To build domestic and international opinion against Baghdad Washington and London have had to exaggerate scraps about Baghdad's possession of weapons of mass destruction — the dossier released by the Blair government contains nothing incriminating — but Pyongyang, by its own admission, is already in possession of the nuclear weapons Baghdad is accused of having. Why is the Bush administration not threatening Pyongyang in the same way as it is Baghdad? The answer to that, although fudged in official statements, is that Pyongyang has already crossed the Rubicon, which makes dealing with it doubly difficult. A military attack could lead to the nightmare scenario of nuclear missiles raining on Seoul or Tokyo, a prospect which will make both capitals restrain the Americans from any derring-do in the Korean peninsula.

5-6 Disarmament 2A/10
Pakistan and Russia have been named by a senior administration official as having helped the North Koreans acquire nuclear weapons; this raises some serious questions. Since the Clinton administration was aware of Islamabad's hand in weapons proliferation, why did it not act decisively against Islamabad? Secondly, both Clinton and Bush administrations have been remiss in negotiating arms reduction treaties with Russia, which means there are large numbers of Russian weapons lying around in dangerously insecure conditions — the high cost of their maintenance in an economically weak Russia is an incentive for their pilferage or sale. Bush did assent to a treaty cutting both Washington's and Moscow's arsenals by two-thirds, but hawks in his administration ensured that the cuts would be drawn out over the next ten years, and that the axed weapons would be merely disarmed and not destroyed. This means both powers will have hordes of semi-usable weapons lying around, a perfect target for arms merchants or thieves. Clearly, the problem of proliferation has multiple dimensions. Imposing tough economic sanctions on Pyongyang is one option Washington is considering, but why not extend at least some of it to Islamabad, which helped Pyongyang get to where it is now?

This strategic ally difficulty again!

24 OCT 2002

THE STATESMAN

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 23, 2002

YET ANOTHER NUCLEAR POWER

22/10
20-10
Warren

NORTH KOREA'S ADMISSION that it has a nuclear weapons programme — and the stated assessment of the U.S. that Pyongyang has indeed proceeded towards weaponisation — raises important questions on several fronts. Queries pertaining to the durability and effectiveness of nuclear non-proliferation mechanisms, regional stability in East Asia and the containment of states that have been placed in the "rogue" category by the superpower are some of the issues thrown up by the North Korean declaration. The U. S. administration, which will be burdened with most of the effort that will be needed to cope with Pyongyang's new posture, has bestirred itself but slowly. It is probable that Washington will initially concentrate its diplomatic campaign towards the objective of getting the nuclear genie back into the North Korean bottle, but success in real life could prove just as elusive as it is in the proverb. The U. S. and North Korea had entered into agreement in early 1994 whereby Pyongyang was to be provided with proliferation-resistant nuclear reactors and other economic incentives to induce it to give up a weaponisation effort based on the plutonium reprocessing route. It now transpires that Pyongyang has since been developing a weapons programme based on the uranium enrichment processes. Last week's admission by North Korea, issued simultaneously with a declaration that it had nullified the 1994 agreement, not only demonstrated that the provision of incentives has not worked but also augurs that the price it will demand for a rollback of its current programme will be a very heavy one.

South Korea and Japan, which have both launched initiatives towards a rapprochement with Pyongyang, have warned that this process could be placed in jeopardy but they are for the moment not contemplating measures that would vitiate the progress made thus far. They would, however, feel the need to deal with the new dimension of threat wherein Pyongyang's proclaimed capability in respect of weapons-grade nuclear material co-exists with a well-

developed capacity to produce medium-range missiles. At the very least, Seoul and Tokyo would be encouraged to move deeper inside the cover provided by the shield of U.S. deterrence. On the other hand, Japan, in particular, might now feel that it needs to erect an anti-missile defence of its own thus setting off a chain-reaction of weapons development that ropes in China. With the U.S. administration, which has the best intelligence on the matter, declining to offer comment there is little to indicate Pakistan's possible role in North Korea's uranium enrichment programme other than two coincidences. The first of these is that Pakistan has a proven capability in enriching uranium to weapons grade and the second coincidence is that Islamabad's acquisition of the North Korea-originated Nodong medium range missile (re-christened the Ghauri on induction into Islamabad's armoury) took place around the time that Pyongyang is said to have launched its new nuclear programme.

Washington's reaction to the news from North Korea has been low key and probably deliberately so since the U.S. administration has reason to believe that it has multiple means at its disposal to deal with this development. However, Washington's response in this particular matter stands out in stark contrast to the manner in which it is hounding Iraq for allegedly undertaking a programme to produce weapons of mass destruction including those of the nuclear variety. Of the three countries that figured in the U.S. President, George W. Bush's now-famous "axis of evil" conceptualisation, North Korea has a declared weapons programme, Iran has at least a nuclear power programme, while Iraq (to go by what weapons inspectors have unearthed so far) has neither. Washington has, for the moment, chosen to paper over the discrepancy in its policies by declaring that Iraq and its President, Saddam Hussein, belong to a particularly roguish category within this axis because they have a history of having used chemical or biological weapons against the Iranians and their own Kurdish minority.

THE HINDU

23 OCT 2002

US scraps arms pact with N Korea

New York, October 20

THE BUSH administration has decided to scrap the 1994 arms control accord with North Korea that has provided Western energy aid in return for the North's promise to freeze the development of nuclear weapons, senior administration officials said today.

North Korea admitted two weeks ago that it was pursuing a covert nuclear weapons programme, and accused the US of taking steps that forced Pyongyang to nullify the accord.

The White House has since debated whether to end the accord, with some aides warning such a step could lead North Korea to even greater nuclear violations, a media report said.

For that reason, the report said the administration plans to caution N Korea of serious consequences if it tries to remove nuclear material now stored under international supervision at Yongbyon, the reactor site that was the centerpiece of a previous nuclear standoff with N Korea in the early 1990s.

American diplomats visiting Beijing apparently asked China this week to convey that warning, though it is not clear whether the message has yet been delivered to the North Koreans, *The New York Times* said today. The immediate practical effect of the decision to scrap the agreement is the halting of the annual shipments of 500,000 tons of fuel oil from the US to North Korea.

Even if the clandestine North Korean programme effectively suspended the accord, the US administration's decision to formally abandon it sends a clear message: it signifies an American effort to pose a stark choice for North Korea, between abandoning all its nuclear weapons programmes and facing near-total economic isolation, the paper said.

Abandoning the accord also means that the US will urge its allies, Japan and South Korea, to suspend, if not end, a multi-billion dollar project to provide modern nuclear power plants to the North, it added.

PTI

21 OCT 2002

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

US confirms Pak-North Korea N-deal

By Chidanand Rajghatta
TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Washington: Pakistan supplied critical equipment to North Korea's nuclear-weapons programme in exchange for ballistic missile technology, US officials and analysts have confirmed.

Non-proliferation circles here have been rife with reports about Pakistan's role in the North Korea nuclear-weapons pursuit and US officials confirmed Islamabad's hand in the development to *The New York Times*, which reported the story on its website late on Thursday.

Officials and analysts said Pakistan supplied equipment, including possibly gas centrifuges used to create weapons-grade uranium, in deals that began in the early 1990s and continued well into the Musharraf regime and beyond the 9/11 catastrophe.

"What you have here is a perfect meeting of interests—the North had what the Pakistanis needed, and the Pakistanis had a way for Kim Jong Il to restart a

nuclear programme we had stopped," one official familiar with the intelligence on the matter was quoted as saying.

Although US experts believe the Pakistan-North Korea deal gathered momentum from 1997 onward, previous intelligence suggests that collaboration between the two countries began during the Iran-Iraq Gulf War and was sealed during Benazir Bhutto's regime in 1988 when Pakistan went covertly nuclear and forced India to weaponise.

The two countries originally began cooperating in the development of ballistic missiles during the Iran-Iraq war when Pyongyang supplied 160 Scud Mod B (known as Hwasong 5 in North Korea) to Iran. North Korean and Pakistani missile engineers and experts are said to have worked



Gen Musharraf



Kim Jong Il

together on the Iranian front.

The three countries continued to work together throughout the 1980s, one reason why both Islamabad and Py-

ongyang have much better ties with Teheran than with Baghdad. The cooperation expanded when Benazir Bhutto took over in 1988, with or without her knowledge. It was during Ms Bhutto's visit to the closed country in December 1999, say US analysts, that the two countries stepped up their efforts to expand Pakistan's ballistic missile range to neutralise India's geographic depth. The result, some four years later, was an almost total transposition of the No Dong I into Pakistan's "indigenously produced Ghauri".

India itself obtained separate confirmation of the North Korea-Pakistan axis in 1999 when it

seized a Korean ship in Kandla carrying missile parts.

Reacting to the latest reports, India on Friday expressed deep concern at the "building up of a nuclear arsenal in our region" and called for "serious investigations".

While stating that the reports came as no surprise, the external affairs spokesperson added that they needed "serious investigation". The investigation could, he said, be carried out by the existing international bodies and regimes which governed these issues.

There was great international concern over the clandestine transfer of nuclear and missile technology because "Pakistan today is an epicentre of terrorism", he said.

Our Comment

Now that Pakistan's complicity in international nuclear proliferation has been admitted by the US, Washington should, by its own logic, include Islamabad in the so-called 'axis of evil' and deem Pakistan a terrorist state.

North Korea tells US it has secret N-arms programme

By Harvey Stockwin
Times News Network

Hong Kong: A major East Asian security crisis is in prospect now that North Korea has admitted to the United States that it has continued to pursue its nuclear weapons programme, despite four international agreements that it would not do so.



Kim Jong Il

In marked contrast to the current stand of the Bush administration vis-a-vis Iraq's pursuit of weapons of mass destruction, the US has reacted by keeping quiet for 12 days, and then by issuing a statement late on Wednesday saying that it seeks "a peaceful resolution of this situation".

So far the North Koreans have not claimed that they actually have nuclear bombs and the US so far has not asserted that they do. But even before this development the Central Intelligence Agency suggested that the North Koreans had the capability to possess one or two plutonium-based nuclear devices. Now that capability has almost certainly increased, since North Korea's uranium enrichment programme has been going for several years.

While North Korea has not conducted any nuclear tests, it could have become the fifth Asian nation to acquire nuclear weapons, after China, Israel, India and Pak. The surprising North Korean confes-

sion came just two weeks after North Korean leader Kim Jong Il both admitted and apologised to Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi for North Korean agents abducting Japanese citizens 25 years ago.

During assistant secretary of state James Kelly's visit to Pyongyang from October 3 to 5, he presented to the North Koreans the latest US intelligence on their secret programme to enrich uranium for nuclear weapons. At first, the North Koreans denied the American allegation.

But the next day the North Koreans admitted that the secret nuclear programme was a fact, and said that they considered their 1994 Agreed Framework, under which they promised to abandon the pursuit of nuclear weaponry, was now nullified.

According to *The New York Times* account, the North Koreans also claimed that, in addition to the uranium enrichment programme, they have "more powerful things as well", which the Americans took to mean that they possessed other weapons of mass destruction. This time, unlike with Mr Koizumi, there was no North Korean apology. The attitude towards the Americans was evidently bellicose. This had been reflected in the North Korean statement issued two days after Mr Kelly left Pyongyang, saying that he "took a high-handed and arrogant attitude" in raising issues which "are nothing but a product of hostile US policy towards the DPRK".

CTBTO says 'no' to Article XIV change

By George Chakko

HO 15
discuss
VIENNA, AUG. 28. Amid fears that the Bush Administration is planning to withdraw from the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) late this year to test new smart nukes, the Preparatory Commission (PrepCom) of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Organisation (CTBTO) concluded its 18th session last week, resolving to go ahead with completing its International Monitoring System (IMS) worldwide to ensure absolute verification of the treaty.

In an interview with this correspondent, the new PrepCom chairman, Liviu Aurelian Bota and the CTBTO executive secretary, Wolfgang Hoffmann, said PrepCom was averse to any modification of Article XIV on entry into force. Dr. Hoffmann said the treaty was difficult to negotiate and the Article XIV with the entry into force clause was cumbersome. To a question whether the clause could be dropped, Dr. Hoffmann said, "The only way to change this is to go back to all those who have signed and ratified, and these are 165 states that have signed and 93 states that have ratified. And all of them have to say, yes, O.K. we drop this clause. But I tell you, there will be a terrible upheaval with the Ministries of Justice and Foreign Ministries, because they have to rewrite their internal legislation. All those 93 who have ratified have

to rewrite their ratification law."

Mr. Bota said the objective of the treaty was to completely prohibit nuclear tests. "Therefore I would say that the focus of the ambition and energies should be to keep Art. XIV the way it is operational. I would say there are plenty of states and room for work and initiatives to bring all relevant countries into the treaty. That is why I am saying at this particular point in time, probably the focus should be not so much on the technical or legal aspects related to Art. XIV, he said."

Asked which country wanted Art. XIV, Mr. Bota said, "The point I am making is that this treaty as a model, as a universal vocation should become universal."

At this point of time, the focus of energy and work should be not so much on the technical language of the treaty but to cling together all countries to the universal spirit of the treaty."

In the context of questions raised on laboratory computer simulation and sub-critical tests, Dr. Hoffmann added that when this issue came up in Geneva for inclusion into the treaty, the majority felt it was not controllable, therefore not verifiable.

The aim was a verifiable treaty. India, he said, did not sign because it thought lab and sub-critical tests should be included, but did not win a majority.

2 2 2002

Russia not to cut missiles

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, AUG. 18. Russia has abandoned plans to slash its land-based nuclear missile forces, a decision that is bound to affect global strategic equations. Visiting a unit of intercontinental ballistic missiles in the Urals region at the weekend, the Russian Defence Minister, Sergei Ivanov, said the armed forces would retain the deadly "Satan" missiles and train-mounted mobile missiles, armed with 10 nuclear warheads each.

The news must have come as a nasty surprise to U.S. military strategists, who have been reassured by Moscow's plans to destroy the land-based multiple-warhead missiles, the most feared component of its nuclear forces. Russia was to scrap 154 RS-20 (SS-18 "Satan" in NATO classification) missiles and about 45 train-mounted RT-23 "Scalpel" missiles under the 1993

START-II arms reduction treaty with the United States.

Even though the treaty never came into force, the Russian General Staff as recently as last year insisted on destroying the aging missiles on safety grounds. However, Russia's defence chief now describes the land-based multiple-warhead missiles as "a most important factor in the deterrence of

aggressive aspirations and intentions toward Russia and our allies" and vows to give them "priority attention."

A top missile commander explained that engineers had found a way to overhaul the missiles in such a way as to keep them on duty at least till 2015. Nikolai Solovtsov, deputy chief commander of the Strategic Rocket Forces, told *Izvestia* that Russia might even slow down the deployment of the newest Topol-M missiles in order to free funds for upgrading the ol-

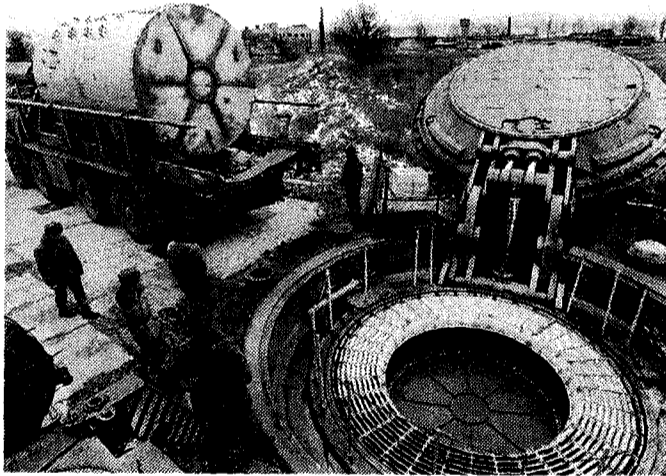
der missiles. Russia had planned to replace the multiple-warhead "Satan" missiles with the single-warhead Topol-M, but could build only six new missiles last year because of a shortage of funds. If it went ahead with the massive decommissioning of the "Satan" missiles, its nuclear arsenals would have shrunk from about 5,000 warheads today to a few hundred warheads ten years from now. This inspired the American military to hope that their missile shield would be able to handle a massive missile attack not only from China, but also from Russia. These hopes will prove illusive if Russia succeeds in giving a new lease on life to the "Satan" missile, whose ten warheads can pierce any sophisticated missile defence with the help of look-real decoys.

It is planned to continue deploying two or three of the four "Satan" divisions and one of the three divisions of train-mounted missiles. The Russian decision to retain the multiple-warhead missiles has

Disarmament
come in response to the U. S. withdrawal from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, no matter how hard Russian officials deny the connection. Moscow had proposed to amend the treaty to allow a limited missile defence in a package with the destruction of the multiple-warhead missiles. However, Washington rejected the deal destroying a balance between offensive and defensive weapons built over decades.

The new arms reduction treaty Russia and the U.S. signed in May calls for slashing their nuclear arsenals by about two-thirds, to 1,700 to 2,200 warheads apiece, but specifically leaves it to

each nation to decide which weapons to scrap. Extending the service life of the multiple-warhead missiles will allow Russia to maintain an overall strategic balance with the U. S. even if the latter succeeds in building a national missile defence in the foreseeable future. This will enable Moscow to talk to Washington as an equal, rather than, a junior partner.



A Russian Army missile launch pad is seen during a display of the replacement of a nuclear missile by another at the Tamanskaya division, Saratov region, Russia, in this 1998 file picture.

Strategic Stability

Arms Control Regimes post-9/11

By C Uday Bhaskar

Mid-June 2002 will be remembered by historians as the period when arms control in the post-Hiroshima context was formally buried. Despite this potential significance for posterity, it received little attention in the contemporary global consciousness, which was preoccupied with smouldering West Asia and the purported nuclear crisis in the subcontinent. Is arms control as related to WMD (weapons of mass destruction) really dead or will it have to be resurrected to deal with the new challenges now facing the global comity?

On June 13, the US formally withdrew from the ABM (anti-ballistic missile) treaty it had signed in 1972 with the former Soviet Union. This treaty forbade the two sides from acquiring the capability to defend against incoming nuclear-tipped ballistic missiles and thus was born the doctrine of mutually assured destruction. This was a techno-strategic peak, the nirvana of the Cold War that assured strategic stability. Concomitantly arms control spawned an alphabet soup that began with SALT (strategic arms limitation talks) and peppered its way into START (strategic arms reduction treaty) et al. The Cold War decades were punctuated with imposing summits between US and Soviet presidents wherein arms control experts, a medley of technical wizards, lawyers and political scientists came up with acres of agreements and verification protocols. The ABM was perceived as the lynch-pin of global strategic stability and when the US declared its intent in the mid-90s to acquire national missile defense (NMD) capability that could violate this treaty, the dominant view was that Moscow and Beijing would rock the strategic stability boat violently and angrily since their ability to deter the US would be degraded.

However, Moscow's response was a case of deftly squaring the circle. On June 14, Russia declared that it was no longer bound by the strictures of START II signed in 1993. This implied that if the US was determined to acquire credible NMD, then Russia would have the flexibility to mount multiple warheads on its missiles, an activity prohibited as per START since it was perceived to be destabilising. In short, the principal parties had abandoned both the ABM and START that were essentially bilateral treaties. US unilateralism and Russian flexibility have become the signature tune of the US-Russia relationship as they cemented a new agreement.

The May 24 Bush-Putin summit was radical as regards strategic arms reduction. It has set a ceiling of 2,200 strategic warheads for the US and 1,086 for Russia to be effected unilaterally by 2012. This is a sharp drop from the 3,500 ceiling of START II that is yet

to be realised, for currently the US is estimated to have 6,144 strategic warheads while Russia has 5,814 in its inventory. Thus the latest deal represents a victory for stockpile reduction for it would bring the current strategic arsenal to a third of their present levels in a decade. However, this agreement while being short and swift was shorn of the intricate binding legal framework that accompanied earlier arms control treaties which now appear to have been thrown out of the post-9/11 window. Cause for cheer since arms reduction, global WMD stability and disarmament have been advanced? Not quite as other developments suggest.

In the same period that the Bush-Putin peace macarena was unspooling, the world had to deal with a nuclear-tinged Indo-Pak tension. The nascent bilateral arms control agreement mooted in the Lahore Declaration of March 1999 was wrecked in the craggy heights of Kargil that summer and with Agra 2001 also derailed, the Sisyphean odyssey has to now begin anew.

On a completely different plane, the nuclear factor came into sharp focus on June 10 when US officials arrested a suspected Al-Qaida member at Chicago airport with plans to detonate a "dirty" bomb. American anxiety about such a terrorist attack had already been outlined by president Bush in a speech (June 1) when he declared that the US would act to strike pre-emptively against terrorists with WMD capability.

Thus, arms control which had a certain state-centric template to its evolution is now all set to be dismantled. Yet its elements will have to be resurrected and re-configured to deal with the new challenges. In the past, there were two tracks to arms control — a dominant track that focused on the US-Soviet axis and a second framework that encompassed the other nuclear powers within the exclusive nuclear club. The entry of new nuclear powers after May 1998 and the discourse about rogue states and the axis of evil have added to the complexity of rationalising arms control.

And even as the post-Cold War nuclear turbulence was yet to crystallise, the tragic events of 9/11 have muddied the arms control domain. Pristine deterrence that was the defining determinant between rational states to embed strategic stability has now become invalid. The non-state actor determined to acquire WMD capability and the deviant state that supports such endeavour is the new nightmare. Consensual arms control agreements appropriate to the post-9/11 nuclear entropy and related verification protocols will have to be evolved, for at the end of the day, even one nuclear bomb is one too many — irrespective of the pedigree of the finger on the button.

IN BRIEF

- State-centric arms control is all set to be dismantled
- New arms control regimes must take into account new nuclear powers

25 JUN 2002

THE TIMES OF INDIA

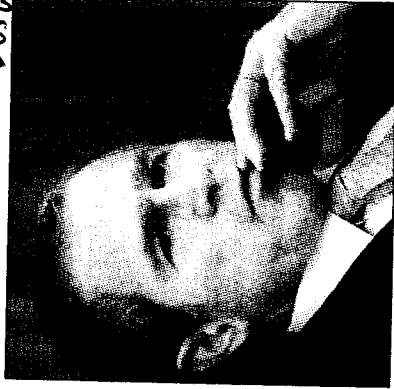
United States pulls out of ABM treaty

By Arshad Mohammed

Washington: The United States on Thursday formally withdrew from the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty and President George W. Bush called for an aggressive push to build missile defences against "terrorists" and "rogue" states who could work together to try to destroy US civilisation.

The 1972 treaty served as a bedrock of US-Soviet nuclear deterrence by essentially barring either side from building missile defences, leaving each vulnerable to the other's arsenal. Mr Bush on December 13 announced his decision to pull out of the treaty in six months, having decided it as a cold war relic and warned of new threats from what he has called rogue states or terrorists that might attack the US.

In a sign of Mr Bush's determination to push ahead with a missile defence system, the Pentagon is set to break ground this week at Fort Greely, Alaska, on the previously prohibited construction of six underground silos for missile interceptors.



George W. Bush

"As the events of September 11 made clear, we no longer live in the cold war world for which the ABM treaty was designed," Mr Bush said in a written statement marking the formal US withdrawal from the 30-year-old treaty.

"We now face new threats from terrorists who seek to destroy our civilisation by any means available to

Russia tears up Start II pact

ABM treaty.

Moscow: Russia on Friday tore up the 1993 Start II treaty, a nuclear arms reductions pact, saying it is made irrelevant by US missile defence plans.

"Russia sees no conditions in which the Start II (Strategic Arms Reduction Talks) treaty can take effect and no longer feels bound under international law" to observe its terms, the foreign ministry said in a statement. The move comes a day after the official expiry of the

two countries' nuclear arsenals. AFP

rogue states armed with weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles," he added. "Defending the American people against these threats is my highest priority as commander in chief."

The term "rogue states" dates to the Clinton administration and is used to denote countries viewed by the US as a threat generally, includ-

ing Iran, Iraq and North Korea — the three nations that Mr Bush has called an "axis of evil."

The US President's decision to unilaterally withdraw from the treaty was initially opposed by Russia, China and European nations which argued it could undermine nuclear deterrence and spur an arms race, but criticism has since died down. Reuters

Russia tears up Start II

Agence France Presse

MOSCOW, June 14. — Russia today tore up the 1993 START II treaty, a nuclear arms reductions pact it said was made irrelevant by US missile defence plans.

“Russia sees no conditions in which the START II (Strategic Arms Reduction Talks) treaty can take effect and no longer feels bound under international law” to observe its terms, a foreign ministry statement said. The move comes a day after the official expiry of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty, abrogated unilaterally by the USA last December. It also follows the May 24 signing by the Russian and US presidents Mr Vladimir Putin and Mr George W Bush of an arms cuts agreement in which they pledged to slash their offensive weapons arsenals by two-thirds over the next decade.

The START II treaty, signed in January 1993 by Russian and US Presidents Mr Boris Yeltsin and Mr George Bush, stipulated a two-thirds reduction in the two countries' nuclear arsenals. Further protocols were added to the treaty in September 1997.

THE STATESMAN

15 JUN 2002

US, Russia agree to cut nuke arsenal

FROM RANDALL MIKKELSEN

Washington, May 13 (Reuters): US President George W. Bush today announced an agreement with Russia on a treaty to cut the two countries' nuclear arsenals by two-thirds and "liquidate the legacy of the Cold War."

"The United States and Russia have agreed to a treaty which will substantially reduce our nuclear arsenals to the agreed upon range of 1,700 to 2,200 warheads. This treaty will liquidate the legacy of the Cold War," Bush said in a surprise announcement at the White House before leaving on a day trip to Chicago.

Bush said he would sign the treaty in Moscow on an upcoming summit with Russian President Vladimir Putin May 23-26.

Putin welcomed the pact, which gives Russia the binding treaty it wanted and gives Washington the flexibility to store some weapons rather than dis-

mantle them. The deal also reverses a potential stumbling block to US plans to deploy a missile defence system over Russian objections.

"We are satisfied with our joint work," Putin said in Moscow. Russian foreign minister Igor Ivanov yesterday called the pending deal not "overly ambitious" but nonetheless important.

The agreement to cut deployed strategic nuclear warheads was reached this morning by US and Russian negotiators in Moscow, said US National Security Council spokesman Sean McCormack.

It follows intensive negotiations by the two sides over issues including Russia's U.S. proposals for the weapons to be stored rather than dismantled. Under the new agreement some weapons would be put in storage and others dismantled, said White House spokesman Ari

Fleischer. McCormack said the two sides agreed on a formal treaty, which had been sought by Russian President Vladimir Putin while Bush had pursued a less formal deal. A treaty would require ratification by both sides and presumably a means of verification, although details of how these issues would be dealt with were not immediately available.

Russian foreign minister Igor Ivanov said yesterday an arms deal was "vital" despite reservations by some academics that it ran counter to Moscow's interests. He dismissed suggestions that the deal being worked out failed to meet Moscow's concerns to ensure reductions were real and verifiable.

"We are about to sign — I would not call it an overly ambitious document — a vital document ... and a real one from the standpoint of continuing the process of arms control," Ivanov said. The pact would usher in a

new era of US-Russian relations, Bush said. "The new era will be a period of enhanced mutual security, economic security and improved relations."

An agreement on arms reductions represents a second leg of a new US-Russian strategic relationship sought by Bush.

Bush has also planned to scrap the 1972 Anti Ballistic Missile Treaty in order to develop a US missile defence system Russia has opposed.

Shortly after Bush took office in January 2001 he said he would make unilateral arms cuts if necessary and made clear he intended to move beyond the ABM treaty's limitations to deploy a missile defence system regardless of Russia's position. He nevertheless struck up a warm personal relationship with Putin and the two leaders continued talks on a new strategic relationship in Europe and at Bush's ranch.



President George W. Bush gets a kiss from Guadalupe Meza, a United Parcel Service employee, during a welfare-to-work event in Chicago. (Reuters)

HPD-14
25/5

Bush, Putin sign disarmament treaty

MOSCOW, MAY 24. The U.S. President, George W. Bush, and the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, signed a landmark nuclear disarmament treaty today and hailed a new era in relations that the U.S. leader said would lead to "incredible cooperation."

The treaty, the first strategic arms reduction pact in nearly 10 years, obliges the U.S. and Russia to slash their nuclear arsenals by two-thirds to between 1,700 and 2,200 warheads over the next decade, bringing them down to their lowest level ever. Mr. Bush told his Russian host that the historic accord proved "that we are friends, that we are going to cast aside old doubts, old suspicions and welcome a

new era in relations between your great country and our country."

"I am confident that this sets the stage for incredible cooperation that we've never had before between our two countries," Mr. Bush said, after the two leaders signed the Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty in the Kremlin's Andreyevsky Hall. The nuclear arms treaty and a separate strategic partnership accord signed along with a series of other cooperation accords underscored the new relationship between the former Cold War rivals in the wake of the September 11 attacks. Mr. Putin has wholeheartedly supported Mr. Bush in his war against terror-

ism and the new entente has generated benefits in almost every area.

"Today we are speaking about an absolutely new quality of our relationship, regarding questions of security, questions of reducing our strategic potentials and creating a new secure world," Mr. Putin said, after one-on-one talks with his U.S. counterpart. They also signed a joint statement on combating terrorism, in which they have mentioned their desire to closely interact with Shanghai Six, of which China is a key member along with Russia. The dangerous situation along the Indo-Pakistan border war was also discussed, Kremlin officials said. — PTI

THE HINDU

25 MAY 2002

US comes clean, says N-option open

AGENCIES

WASHINGTON, MARCH 11

THE US today asserted using nuclear weapons was definitely an option before the country after several rounds of squeakish explanations failed to convince Washington's several adversaries and key partners alike of its designs.

With countries unable to recover from the shock of the secret paper leaked recently that said the US had planned to make at least seven countries target of a potential nuclear attack, Secretary of State Colin Powell and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice have confirmed the plans.

"Just as US officials made clear before the Persian Gulf War in 1991, the US President and the American people had a full range of options available to them. Obviously, the full range of options goes from an M-16 rifle to a nuclear device," Powell said.

Rice too confirmed the Bush administration was examining a range of scenarios, including possible use of nuclear weapons. She said the only way to deter the use of weapons of mass destruction against the US and its allies is "to be clear it would be met with devastating response".

"The use of a weapon of mass destruction against American military forces, American territory or

American friends and allies," she said, "would be a horror. The responsibility of the President is to make certain that that does not happen."

China shocked

■ **BELJING:** China said on Monday it was shocked by the *Los Angeles Times* report on the proposed US nuclear move. State TV quoted Foreign Ministry spokesman Sun Yuxi demanding an explanation and stressing China and the US had agreed not to target the other with nuclear weapons. "China is deeply shocked with this report," Sun said. "The US has a responsibility to explain."

Koreas silent

■ **SEOUL:** North and South Korea maintained official silence on Monday over the reported US nuclear contingency plans. Seoul's main political parties, however, voiced alarm. South Korea's Foreign Ministry spokesman Kim Euy-taek said: "With the full details of that report not known, it would be inappropriate to comment," spokesman said. North Korean state media repeated its daily anti-US rhetoric, but did not address the Pentagon study.



A US soldier from the 101st Airborne hugs gear from Chinook helicopters on arrival at Bagram air base in Afghanistan on Monday. Reuters

INDIAN EXPRESS

12 MAR 2002

Bush has N-plans ready against 7 countries: Report

PAUL RICHTER
WASHINGTON, MARCH 9

10/3
Disarmament

THE Bush administration has directed the military to prepare contingency plans to use nuclear weapons against at least seven countries and to build new smaller nuclear weapons for use in certain battlefield situations, according to a classified Pentagon report obtained by the *Los Angeles Times*.

The secret report, provided to Congress on January 8, says the Pentagon needs to be prepared to use nuclear weapons against China, Russia, Iraq, North Korea, Syria, Iran and Libya. It says the weapons could be used in three situations: against targets able to withstand nuclear attack, in retaliation for attack with nuclear, biological or chemical weapons, or "in surprising military developments".

Defence analyst and *LA Times* contributor William Arkin obtained a copy of the report. Officials have long acknowledged that they had detailed nuclear plans for an attack on Russia. However, this *Nuclear Posture Review* apparently marks the first time an official list of potential target countries has come to light, analysts said.

Some predicted the disclosure would set off strong reactions from governments of target countries. "This is dynamite," said Joseph Cirincione, a nuclear arms expert at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington. "I can imagine what these countries are going to be saying at the UN."

Arms control advocates said the report's directives on development of smaller nuclear weapons could signal that the Bush administration is more willing to overlook a longstanding taboo against the use of such weapons except as a last resort.

"They warned such moves could dangerously destabilise the world by encouraging other countries to believe that they, too, should develop weapons. 'They're trying desperately to find new uses for nuclear weapons, when their uses should be limited to deterrence,'" said John Isaacs, president, Council for a Livable World. "This is dangerous talk...Dr Strangelove is clearly still alive in the Pentagon."

But some conservative analysts insisted the Pentagon must prepare for all possible contingencies, especially now, at a time when dozens of countries, and some terrorist groups, are engaged in secret weapons development pro-

grammes. They argued that smaller weapons have an important deterrent role because many aggressors might not believe the US forces would use multi-kiloton weapons that would wreak huge devastation on surrounding territory and friendly populations.

"We need to have a credible deterrence against regimes involved in international terrorism and development of weapons of mass destruction," said Jack Spencer, a defense analyst with the conservative Heritage Foundation, Washington. He said the contents of the report did not surprise him, and represented "the right way to develop a nuclear posture for a post Cold War world".

Pentagon spokesman Richard McGraw declined comment because the document is classified. —*LA Times-Washington Post*

Meanwhile...

■ **KABUL:** Afghan interim leader Hamid Karzai said on Saturday US-led forces were near victory in the biggest battle of the Afghan war, adding that when it was won the last main base of Al Qaeda in the country would have been wiped out. Karzai said the US-led forces were in sight of victory in the weeklong fighting around Gardez, about 150 km south of Kabul. "Since the day before yesterday (Thursday) that (Al Qaeda) resistance has diminished tremendously and some areas have been taken and I believe that situation has been resolved," he told reporters.

■ **ISLAMABAD:** At least 15 Afghan civilians were killed when US war planes bombed their vehicles as they were travelling to a religious shrine in eastern Afghanistan, media reports in Pakistan said on Saturday. The Kharoti tribesmen were in two vehicles when they came under attack between the Landai Doag and Shakeen areas of eastern Paktika province, English-language daily *Dawn* reported. One of the vehicles was destroyed.

■ **SYDNEY:** One of Osama bin Laden's wives has claimed he is alive and would never abandon his base in Afghanistan. The woman, identified only by initials AS, was interviewed by London-based *Asharq al-Awsat* paper which said this was her first interview since she left Afghanistan. "He once told me if he left Afghanistan, he'd leave to God," she was quoted as saying. Asked if bin Laden were alive or dead, AS said she "feels deep down he's alive". —*Agencies*

Abrogating the ABM Treaty

By Rajesh Rajagopalan, P.K. Ghosh & M.V. Rappai

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THE U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, has announced that the United States intends to withdraw from the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty and the formal six month advance notification to Russia, as required under Article XV of the Treaty, has been given. This is the first time since the end of World War II that the U.S. has decided to walk away from a major international treaty. There are technological, domestic political and diplomatic reasons for the decision.

The ABM Treaty was signed between the U.S. and the erstwhile Soviet Union on May 26, 1972 at the peak of the nuclear rivalry between the two superpowers. However, the Treaty has assumed a larger role than its original scope of limiting the number of interceptor sites and anti-ballistic missiles deployed by each country. Thus ensuring strategic deterrence through each other's vulnerabilities. The Treaty prioritised the concept of deterrence over defence and for 30 years was considered a bulwark of nuclear stability in the world. Russia, France, China and many other nations still treat it as a cornerstone of the deterrence framework.

Analysts attribute a variety of reasons for the U.S. quest for a missile shield. These range from its search for absolute security to the possible inception of a new strategic order in the post-Cold War era. Further, this was also made feasible due to the new possibilities in the field of technology and space research. American Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) research has been progressing rapidly while the architecture of the missile defence system continues to evolve. It has reached a stage where further developmental trials would have violated the ABM Treaty, which is one of the immediate reasons for the U.S. decision. These activities include plans for a new test-bed at Fort Greeley (Alaska), use of the Navy's Aegis SPY-1 radar to track ICBMs and a System Integration Test in February 2002 with ABM-capable air defence radars. The U.S. has already conducted five Integrated Flight Tests (IFTs) of NMD technologies and plans to conduct over a dozen additional flight tests for validation. Though a nascent Na-

tional Missile Defence (NMD) could be positioned by 2004/2005, a fully operational, expanded system is unlikely to be ready before the next decade.

The missile defence programme is expensive even for a nation like the U.S., which is estimated to have spent over \$60 billion so far. The \$8.3-billion budget allotment for fiscal 2002 requested by the Administration is unlikely to be reduced significantly despite the demands for

defensive weapons to the 1500-2200 level, lower than the START-I, START-II numbers. For Russia, it makes more diplomatic sense, possibly, to have the U.S. abrogate the Treaty rather than permit modifications to it and enable the U.S. to deploy its NMD. Threats made by various senior Russian officials regarding the conditionalities for withdrawal from arms control treaties such as START-I, II and INF that were part of the Duma's directive when it ratified START-II are unlikely to

the international disarmament and arms control efforts". Beijing may have felt partly mollified because Mr. Bush had called the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, before the announcement and offered a high-level strategic dialogue on the issue. The Chinese media had earlier played up the negative aspects of the U.S. move, even suggesting that Washington may deploy BMD systems in Afghanistan in due course.

What can China do now? It can respond in a variety of ways. It can decide to stop further negotiations on nuclear proliferation and adopt a tougher posture at the Conference on Disarmament. Anticipating the deployment of BMD systems in Taiwan, China has increased its deployment of M-9 and M-11 short-range ballistic missiles (a total of over 100, according to some reports) near Taiwan. It could also increase the number of strategic vectors through MIRVing (Multiple Independently-Targetable Re-entry Vehicles) of missiles, and deploying decoy warheads with other Penetration Aids (PENAIDS). In addition, work on cruise missiles may be accelerated.

The abrogation of the ABM Treaty is unlikely to have any direct impact on India since it is not planning to deploy ICBM-range missiles. However, there could be indirect effects stemming from China's reaction to the U.S. decision. First, China may expand its nuclear arsenal. Also, China may decide to adopt further proliferation of missile technology in the region, including Pakistan. Since deterrence is not a matching game, expansion of the Chinese nuclear arsenal may not have any significant impact on India.

The Indian Government has done a lot of tightrope walking on this issue by balancing its reaction so that it would not provoke the parties concerned unduly. The External Affairs Ministry spokeswoman said India was in close touch with Washington and Moscow on the issue of BMD. She stressed the necessity of negotiations between the two nations. It is obvious, India is looking for a new strategic framework based on cooperative mechanism as opposed to "unilateralism".

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Further development trials of ballistic missiles by the U.S. would have violated the ABM Treaty, which is one of the immediate reasons for the decision to abrogate it.

homeland protection and anti-terrorist activities.

In domestic political terms, the Bush administration has staked considerable prestige on building a BMD system and, during the 2000 election campaign, Mr. Bush had emphasised the need for moving out of the restraints imposed by the ABM Treaty. From the technological angle, the U.S. missile defence research programme has reached a stage where further development threatens to violate the provisions of the Treaty. The choice the Bush administration faces is either to curtail further research or amend/abrogate the Treaty. On the diplomatic front, the negotiations with Russia over this issue have reached a dead-end.

Russia has been unwilling to modify the Treaty and condone further development which would lead to the deployment of the American NMD system. The U.S. decision to withdraw from the Treaty at a time when both the nations are perceived to be coming closer on issues concerning global anti-terrorism policies post-September 11, has come as a surprise. This is seen across the world as a reinforcement of unilateralism in the U.S. dealings. However, the Russian response to the withdrawal notice has been relatively mild, at least at the official level. The President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, has termed the U.S. move a "mistake", but called for a new agreement for a reduction of the existing strategic of-

be followed through. On the domestic front, the military top brass and the conservatives still play a key role, and it will not be easy for Mr. Putin to avoid these constituencies totally.

Russia is, at present, working towards a reduction of nuclear vectors. In addition, Moscow also expects economic assistance from the U.S., which in turn rests on positive and broad-based relations. Keeping in view the ongoing dialogue between NATO and Russia, as well as NATO's recent willingness to allow Russia a certain say in relation to the European security structure, is also important.

Once the U.S. decision to withdraw from the ABM Treaty was made known, China went on the diplomatic offensive and sent its Vice-Foreign Minister, Mr. Wang Guangya, to Moscow and started negotiations by invoking the relevant clauses of the "Good Neighbourly Treaty" signed between the two nations a few months ago. Beijing also engaged the visiting U.S. delegation headed by Ms. Avis Bohlen, Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control, and received certain assurances from both these meetings for further consultations.

Overall, China's response to the decision has been milder than expected. It has expressed concern about the U.S. withdrawal from the Treaty and called for "strategic dialogues... to maintain the global strategic balance without harming

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