

# Nuclear Nexus

Pakistan comes under scrutiny for exporting N-technology

As the world wakes up to yet more evidence of Islamabad's role in the transfer of N-technology — this time to Iran and, possibly, Libya too — General Musharraf has predictably tried to shift the onus of blame on "greedy" rogue scientists associated with the country's N-programme. But even a cursory look at the history of Pakistan's N-programme would raise serious doubts about the general's line of argument. From the time of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who initiated Pakistan's nuclear quest, the country has thought of its nuclear ambitions in civilisational terms. In his death cell testimony — *If I am Assassinated* — Bhutto made the case for an Islamic bomb to match what he described as Christian, Communist, Jewish and Hindu bombs. Pakistan alone in the Islamic world, he believed, had the necessary brainpower to develop the weapon. Indeed, he prided himself on brokering the secret treaty with China, which gave Pakistan access to enriched uranium as well as the bomb design. Other Pakistani sources confirm that Bhutto was also instrumental in obtaining hundreds of millions of dollars from Libya, Saudi Arabia, UAE and even Iraq, which helped Pakistan buy crucial bits of technology and engineering services from the grey and black markets of western Europe. With Bhutto's successor, General Zia, helping the US fight the anti-Soviet Mujahideen war in Afghanistan, Washington was only too willing to condone this systematic quest for the weapon.

At the end of the 1980s, Washington overlooked another strategic shift, namely, Pakistan's promotion of cross-border terrorism as an instrument of state policy. Using the training infrastructure and expertise gained from Afghanistan, Pakistan began, in 1989, to send terrorists across the border to India. The same irrational mindset which allowed it to clothe its nuclear ambitions in religious and civilisational terms also prompted Pakistan to think of cross-border terrorism as a legitimate strategic manoeuvre. What's more, the Pakistani army was the key player in all this. The few senior nuclear scientists, including A Q Khan, who were allowed to travel abroad were always accompanied by ISI personnel. Clearly, General Musharraf cannot disown Pakistan's role by scapegoating individual scientists. But what can the international community do? First, to recognise that Pakistan constitutes at least as much of a threat to international security as North Korea. Second, to evolve a consultative framework similar to the one it has evolved in dealing with Pyongyang. In Pakistan's case, this framework must include the five permanent members of the Security Council in addition to Japan and India.

## BRIEF EXPOSURE

The recent disclosures regarding Pakistan's export of nuclear weapons technology have predictably generated international alarm. While the alleged transfer of sensitive technology seems to have taken place a few years back, concern about the safety and security of Pakistan's nuclear programme is bound to grow. There will also be greater international scrutiny of the role played by the armed forces in the export. The recent revelation is the result of a collaborative investigation by American and European intelligence agencies. This was provoked by evidence discovered during a systematic study of Iran's secret nuclear programme. The evidence pointed to Pakistan as the crucial source of sensitive technology. Indeed, documents provided by Iran itself to inspectors of the International Atomic Energy Agency suggest that Pakistani scientists and companies were the vital sources of key blueprints, technical guidance and equipment for a proposed uranium-enrichment plant. Most critically, it is believed that Mr A.Q. Khan, widely regarded as the "father" of Pakistan's nuclear programme, was directly responsible for this transfer. Recall that Mr Khan, a metallurgist, was — in the past — charged with stealing European designs for enriching uranium to further Pakistan's nuclear programme. Given the mounting evidence, the government of Pakistan has now, of course, conceded that some transfer may have taken place without the knowledge of the government. It has also admitted that "some" of its nuclear scientists were being "debriefed" following information by the IAEA. Reports from Pakistan have suggested that the movements of Mr Khan, who has also established the Khan Research Laboratories at Kahuta, had been restricted. And at least two scientists from Khan Research Laboratories, the country's top nuclear laboratory, have been held for questioning, including its former director-general, Mr Mohammad Farooq. This may well be the tip of the iceberg.

New reports from Washington suggest even a link between Pakistan and Libya's and North Korea's nuclear programmes. It is believed that shipments of sensitive nuclear-related technology were made from Pakistan to North Korea. The decision by Libya to dismantle its nuclear installations has also put Pakistan in a spot. Libya's nuclear equipment included centrifuges that can be used to enrich uranium for a nuclear weapon. Again, Pakistan is believed to be the source of the centrifuges. Concern about Pakistan's nuclear programme will grow in the days to come. If indeed it is proven that Pakistan proliferated technology to states that the United States of America views with deep concern, the Washington-Islamabad relationship could be in deep trouble. More critically, if there is evidence that the military may have played a role in the transfer, it could provoke more direct action from the US.

# Pak passes nuke leak buck to 'greedy' scientists



Pakistan foreign ministry spokesman Masood Khan at a press conference in Islamabad. (Reuters)

Islamabad, Dec. 23: Pakistan admitted today that scientists involved in its atom bomb programme may have been driven by "personal ambition or greed" to export technology to Iran, but added the government had no part in any such deals.

"There are several countries mentioned in the International Atomic Energy Agency's (IAEA) report in connection with supply of nuclear-related technology to Iran and it is important to see if these states have also been approached," foreign office spokesman Masood Khan said at his press briefing.

He said it began questioning scientists from a state-run laboratory set up by the father of its bomb programme, Abdul Qadeer Khan, five to six weeks

ago after approaches by the UN's International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and information from the Iranian government that "pointed to certain individuals".

"There are indications that certain individuals might have been motivated by personal ambition or greed. But we have not made a final determination," he said. Masood Khan stressed that the government itself had never been involved in nuclear proliferation. "It takes its responsibility as a nuclear weapons state very seriously," he said.

"The government of Pakistan has not authorised or initiated any transfers of sensitive nuclear technology or information to other countries," he said. "This is out of the question."

On Monday, Islamabad revealed that Abdul Qadeer Khan,

revered as a national hero for developing a nuclear bomb, was being questioned in connection with "debriefings" of several scientists working at his laboratories.

"Neither is he undergoing normal debriefings nor has there been any restrictions imposed on him," the spokesman said, adding that the debriefings will help ascertain the veracity of the IAEA report.

Masood Khan did not disclose any names or the number of scientists taking part in the debriefings, saying: "The number of people being investigated is very small". However, recent press reports identified them as Muhammad Farooq, Yasin Chohan and Saeed.

Officials at the London Institute of Strategic Studies said the blueprints of the Iranian urani-

um enrichment facility, which the IAEA reviewed recently, showed a type of centrifuge that is nearly identical to a machine used by Pakistan in its nuclear programme.

"Pakistan is a responsible nuclear weapons state which never authorised or initiated any transfers of sensitive nuclear technology or information to other countries," Masood Khan said. He added that Islamabad had a very strong command and control system and a stringent export control regime.

The spokesman said none of the Pakistani institutions had ever been involved in illegal transfer of nuclear technology. But there are indications that personal ambitions and greed may have motivated certain individuals.

Khan also denied involve-

ment of any foreign agency in the debriefing of the scientists.

He added that the debriefings were purely an in-house exercise aimed at probing the alleged transfers and collecting data in order to ascertain the veracity of the report. He said strict action would be taken against all those found involved in such transfers.

Tehran, accused by Washington of trying to develop nuclear weapons, told the IAEA it had got them from a "middleman" whose identity the agency has not determined.

The probe and inquiry is expected to focus not only on Pakistani nationals but also on a number of European sources and individuals including three German businessmen and a Sri Lankan who also allegedly played a role in leaking secret nuclear information to Iran.

G. A. 24/12  
IMTIAZ GUL

# Pakistan gets radioactive

<sup>2011/12 HT-6</sup>  
**I**N ANOTHER time, another place, it would have been almost ludicrous — the way Pakistan's military masters are desperately trying to rub off their muddy tracks from the carpet of nuclear proliferation. Pakistan's top nuclear scientist, the self-proclaimed 'father of the Pakistani bomb', A.K. Khan — hailed as a national hero till yesterday — now suddenly finds himself out of sync with the powers-that-be. His fall from grace probably has a lot to do with Islamabad's inability to sustain the litany of non-proliferation lies it fed the world for so many years, even as it passed on nuclear and missile technology to countries like North Korea, Iran and Libya. Islamabad obviously finds itself in an awkward position as it tries to change its fingerprints.

In fact, successive Pakistani military regimes had perfected the art of nuclear proliferation to such an extent that not even the most astute proliferation sleuths could detect it. And whenever it was detected, a benevolent Uncle Sam looked the other way, which left little choice for the IAEA than

<sup>Disarmament</sup>  
to glibly enjoy the ride offered by Islamabad. But September 11 changed all that. A sleeping world was jolted awake by the clear and present danger from weapons of mass destruction and Islamabad began to feel the heat of western intelligence agencies taking a closer, harder look at the sinister web of proliferation it had cleverly woven.

Islamabad has a lot of explaining to do and the general seems to be in a mood to let Dr Khan do much of that, the way in which the latter is being 'investigated'. With Iran agreeing to let IAEA inspectors poke around its nuclear facilities, and Libya now coming clean on its WMD programmes, it was only a matter of time before the spotlight swung towards the subcontinent. That it happened now indicates the level of concern the N-word evokes in world capitals. The post-Cold War world is still a very risky place to live in with nuclear weapon arsenals of countries in the rapid launch mode. The last thing you need is an odd proliferator like Pakistan loading on more dice for terror merchants.

# Father of Pak bomb grilled on Iran links

Islamabad, Dec. 22 (Reuters) — Abdul Qadeer Khan, the father of Pakistan's atom bomb, is being questioned about reports of possible links between the Pakistani and Iranian nuclear programmes, the Pakistani government said today.

The move follows investigations by the UN's nuclear agency. Tehran has acknowledged using centrifuge designs that appear identical to ones used in Islamabad's nuclear weapons programme.

Foreign ministry spokesman Masood Khan said Qadeer Khan was being questioned in connection with the "debriefings" taking place of several scientists working at his Khan Research Laboratories, a uranium enrichment plant near Islamabad.

"He is too eminent a scientist to undergo a normal debriefing session," Masood Khan said. "However, some questions have been raised with him in relation to the ongoing debriefing sessions."

The spokesman denied reports that Khan was "under restriction" and gave no other de-

tails. Several intelligence sources said, however, the scientist, who is a national hero for developing a nuclear bomb tested in 1998, had not been allowed to receive visitors at his home in Islamabad nor to leave it since last week. One intelligence official said the FBI had taken part in the questioning.

"It is a routine matter," said one of the sources, who did not want to be identified. "We are debriefing every nuclear scientist, so Qadeer is facing the same formality." Diplomats in Vienna said last month the UN's International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was investigating whether blueprints for Iran's centrifuge had come from someone in Pakistan or elsewhere.

Tehran, accused by Washington of trying to develop nuclear weapons, told the IAEA it had got them from a "middleman" whose identity the agency had not determined, a western diplomat said at the time.

Pakistan, a key US ally in the "war on terror", denies exporting nuclear technology and specifically denies any link to

Iran's nuclear programme.

Yesterday, authorities said Yasin Chohan, one of three Khan Laboratories scientists detained earlier in the month, had been allowed home after a "personnel dependability and debriefing session". It said two others, Mohammad Farooq, and another identified only as Saeed, were "still undergoing debriefing".

Opposition politicians have condemned the investigations as a "national insult" and a capitulation to American pressure.

It was inevitable the spotlight of the Iran probe would turn to Khan, who worked in the 1970s at a uranium enrichment plant run by British-Dutch-German consortium Urenco. According to diplomats close to the Vienna-based IAEA, the centrifuge designs used by Iran were of a machine made by the plant in the Netherlands.

In 1983, after his return to Pakistan, Khan was sentenced in absentia to four years' jail by an Amsterdam court for attempted espionage, a decision later overturned on appeal.

# Pariah Libya comes out of the cold

**Tripoli, Dec. 20** (Reuters): A pariah for decades, Libya asked today to come in from the cold after a surprise announcement that it was abandoning illicit weapons programmes.

As the US and Britain promised rewards, Tripoli acted swiftly to give proof of its commitment to the world at large. Libyan officials flew to Vienna for talks with the UN nuclear watchdog, an international diplomat said.

Almost 15 years to the day since his agents brought down a Pan Am airliner over Lockerbie and eight months after US and British troops toppled Saddam Hussein on suspicion of developing banned weapons, Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi has now opened the prospect of an end to sanctions and a return of US oil firms.

Britain said Libya had been close to making an atomic bomb. Details of Tripoli's weapons capabilities were vague. Some US officials cautioned that Libya's

move on arms, the culmination of secret talks with London and Washington, launched around the time of the Iraq invasion and concluded a week after US forces captured Saddam, still left it too early to say when, or if, Washington will lift sanctions.

Britain suggested the Iraqi leader's fate could have been different if he had cooperated. US President George W. Bush, who also accuses Iran and North Korea of seeking nuclear arms, said he hoped others would follow the example set by Gaddafi, a man one of Bush's predecessors called a "mad dog". European critics of the invasion of Iraq remarked pointedly that it showed peaceful diplomacy could bring about disarmament.

"Libya wants to solve all problems and we want to focus on development and advancing our country. This (weapons) programme does not benefit our people or country," foreign minister Mohamed Abderrhmane Chalgham told Al-Jazeera televi-

sion. "We want to have ties with America and Britain because this is in the interest of our people," Chalgham said.

Libyan officials were flying to Vienna for talks on Tripoli's nuclear programme with the International Atomic Energy Agency today, an international diplomat said. Libya said yesterday it was ready to accept strict IAEA nuclear safeguards.

The head of Arab League said Israel, widely believed to have a nuclear weapons capability, should do the same as Libya.

Libya's move came ahead of tomorrow's anniversary of the Christmas 1988 bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Scotland that killed 270 people. British relatives of the victims welcomed the news that dialogue had brought disarmament, Tripoli's second dramatic step this year to rejoin the international community.

Libya was freed of broader UN sanctions this year after accepting responsibility for the

Lockerbie bombing and paying billions to victims' families. Washington left its sanctions in place, alleging Tripoli sought biological and chemical weapons.

US warplanes bombed Tripoli in 1986 after the bombing of a West Berlin nightclub frequented by American soldiers. The US attack hit Gaddafi's home, killing his adopted infant daughter. Washington bans most economic activity and bars visits to Libya using American passports without US government permission.

Echoing London and Washington, Russia, France and Germany — opponents of the Iraq war — praised Gaddafi, whom US President Ronald Reagan once called a "mad dog".

"He needs to be applauded in unqualified terms for what he has done. I believe it is very statesmanlike and courageous," British foreign secretary Jack Straw told BBC radio today.

"If Saddam had come to us a year ago or more... then the situ-



**Muammar Gaddafi**

ation in Iraq would have been a very different one."

While praising Gaddafi, French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin urged Libya to "implement without delay" compensation for families of victims of a 1989 bombing of a French airliner.

US officials said Libya's nuclear programme was "much further advanced" than thought and it acknowledged cooperating with North Korea to develop long-range Scud missiles.

Libya said its move showed commitment to "building a world free of weapons of mass destruction and all sorts of terrorism". Bush immediately praised Libya, saying: "Its good faith will be returned." He said Tripoli's progress would be monitored.

"Today's announcement shows that we can fight this menace through more than purely military means; that we can defeat it peacefully," said British Prime Minister Tony Blair.

21 DEC 2003

THE TELEGRAPH

# Iran, IAEA begin crucial talks to resolve nuclear issue

By Atul Aneja  
**MANAMA, Oct. 2.** Iran and international nuclear monitors have begun crucial talks that could influence a decision on whether Teheran will face global sanctions on account of its atomic programme.

Officials of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) led by Pierre Goldschmidt and representatives for Iran's nuclear establishment began talks in Teheran to determine how Iran could quickly dispel suspicions that it is building nuclear weapons. Pressure on Iran to come clean has been mounting as the IAEA, in a meeting in

mid-September, issued Teheran an October 31 deadline to prove that it is not engaged in building a nuclear weapon capability. Otherwise, the IAEA has clarified that it would have no choice but to refer the case to the U.N. Security Council, which in turn, could subject the country to international sanctions.

Iran has been asked to sign an additional protocol to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of which it is a signatory, that would allow IAEA inspectors to probe any of its suspected sites, virtually without notice. Lately however, the European Union (E.U.), which, unlike the United States, has

been engaging Iran in a "constructive dialogue", has also hardened its position by urging Teheran to stop its nuclear enrichment programme. Compliance with the E.U. demand would amount to Iran rolling back its nuclear programme, including its civilian nuclear programme, as enriched uranium is a fuel for generating electricity, while only highly enriched uranium can be used for building atomic weapons.

The U.S. has even earlier indicated that it wants Iran to wind up its entire nuclear programme by citing that Iran does not need to develop nuclear energy as it has enough oil and gas reserves

to meet its future energy requirements. Besides, so long as Iran has an active nuclear programme, its capability to develop nuclear weapons is not eradicated. U.S. officials have argued that civilian nuclear capability can spin off know-how for atomic weapons and have been pressing Russia to stop helping Iran to develop its IAEA-monitored civilian nuclear power plant at Bushehr.

Mounting international pressure has generated a fierce debate between Iran's hardliners and reformists in the Government of President Mohammad Khatami. Among the hardliners, there are those who advocate that Iran

should go the North Korean way by renouncing the NPT and, with that, liberate itself from any international legal obligations.

However, outside the hardliners' camp, there is a view that the bottom line for Iran should be to save its civilian nuclear programme, which is under mounting threat.

*Iran News*, an English daily from Teheran, said in its editorial on Thursday, "the signing of the additional protocol by Iran is doable but not under threats and ultimatums. Furthermore, Iran should not be forced to give up its nuclear technology dedicated to electricity production."

# Axis of evidence

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**B**ARELY a few weeks after Pakistan's humiliating defeat in the Bangladesh conflict of December 1971, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto convened a meeting in Multan with close aides and nuclear experts. Bhutto announced he was determined never to allow India to repeat what it had done in Bangladesh. He said that given the immense conventional superiority India would continue to wield, Pakistan had no option but to develop nuclear weapons. But Pakistan's nuclear programme never had an exclusively Indian dimension. Writing his memoirs in his prison cell while awaiting the gallows, Bhutto stated that if he had not been overthrown he would have put the "Islamic Civilisation" at par with the "Hindu, Christian and Jewish Civilisations" by giving the "Islamic Civilisation" a "full nuclear capability".

But Bhutto avoided any reference to China's nuclear capabilities. After India's nuclear test in May 1974, China sent its first batch of 12 scientists to assist Pakistan in developing nuclear capabilities. Bhutto alluded to this cooperation in his memoirs where he spoke of a "historic agreement" in 1976 with China that would be "my greatest contribution to the survival of our people and our nation". By the early 1980s, China had supplied Pakistan with enriched uranium to build a few weapons along with designs for these weapons. Even after China acceded to the NPT, it supplied Pakistan with 5000 crucial ring magnets to assist its nuclear enrichment programme. It is currently providing unsafeguarded plutonium processing facilities to enable Pakistan to miniaturise nuclear and thermonuclear warheads. Gary Milhollin, director of the Wisconsin project of arms control, noted: "If you subtract China's help from the Pakistani nuclear programme, there is no Pakistani nuclear programme."

While China's support for Pak-



## The Beijing-Islamabad-Riyadh nuclear nexus poses new challenges

G. PARTHASARATHY

istan's nuclear and missile programme is evidently part of its effort to "contain" India, Bhutto's references to the Islamic dimensions of Pakistan's nuclear ambitions are now coming under closer international scrutiny. His political adviser, Khalid Hassan, has revealed how Bhutto solicited and obtained funding for Pakistan's nuclear programme from Libya and Saudi Arabia. Around the same time, the then Indian prime minister, Morarji Desai, rejected a Libyan request for nuclear assistance in 1978. UN weapons inspectors are reported to have evidence about offers from Pakistan's A.Q. Khan to provide nuclear know-how to Iraq. Iran is

150,000 barrels of oil per day as undocumented economic assistance. Referring to this aid amounting to \$1.4 billion annually, former CIA analyst Robert Baer notes: "Beginning in the 1970s Saudi Arabia poured over \$1 billion into Pakistan to help Pakistan develop an 'Islamic' nuclear bomb to help it counter the 'Hindu' nuclear threat." Saudi Arabia also provided nearly \$1 billion to enable Pakistan to buy nuclear capable F-16s from the US in the 1980s.

Saudi Arabia emerged as Pakistan's closest economic patron in the aftermath of the international sanctions Pakistan faced following its May 1998 nuclear tests. A year

## Analysts say Saudi Arabia is buying nuclear capability from China through a proxy state, with Pakistan serving as the 'cut-out'

also reported to have acknowledged obtaining "second hand nuclear equipment" from Pakistan for uranium enrichment. But, given the antagonism and suspicions that prevail between Iran and Pakistan, it appears that any equipment supplied by Pakistan to Iran would have been given primarily to enable Pakistan to retain some leverage and goodwill in Tehran.

While the Americans have predictably been making a song and dance about Iran's quest for nuclear weapons capabilities, they are remarkably reticent about growing evidence of Pakistan-Saudi Arabia collaboration in nuclear and missile development. The Petroleum Intelligence Weekly reported in July 2000 that Saudi Arabia was providing Pakistan and the Taliban

later, in May 1999, Nawaz Sharif escorted Saudi Arabia's defence minister, Prince Sultan, on a visit to Pakistan's nuclear and missile facilities in Kahuta. This was the first ever visit of a foreign dignitary and only the third by a Pakistani prime minister to these facilities controlled and administered by Pakistan's military. US analysts say the visit laid the basis for closer Pakistan-Saudi Arabia links in missile and nuclear related matters. In September 2000, a Pakistani delegation led by A.Q. Khan visited Saudi Arabia as guests of Prince Sultan.

The Saudi-Pak nexus is being documented by those in the US not as sanguine as Colin Powell about its implications. Anthony Corde-man, author of a State Department study entitled "Weapons of Mass

Destruction: The New Strategic Framework", remarked that very senior Saudi officials have held conversations with officials involved in Pakistan's nuclear programme. A former official of the US Defence Intelligence Agency, Thomas Woodrow, said: "Saudi Arabia has been involved in funding Pakistan's nuclear and missile purchases from China." He added Saudi Arabia was "buying nuclear capability from China through a proxy state, with Pakistan serving as the cut-out".

There are also now a number of reports by well informed analysts indicating that following the recent hurried visit of Crown Prince Abdullah to Islamabad, Pakistan has reached a "definitive agreement" to station nuclear weapons on Saudi soil, fitted with a new generation of Chinese supplied ballistic missiles, which would be under Pakistani command. These missiles would replace the aging CSS 2 missiles with a 2800-km range that China supplied to Saudi Arabia in 1987. Pakistan evidently intends to compensate the "strategic depth" it lost following the ouster of the Taliban in Afghanistan, by positioning missiles and nuclear weapons in Saudi Arabia.

Shortly after the visit of former Chinese prime minister Zhu Rongji to Pakistan in 2001, General Musharraf made it clear that he would not hesitate to provide the Chinese navy a base in the Gwadar port at the mouth of the Persian Gulf which is being built with massive Chinese assistance. Saudi Arabia has also reportedly agreed to provide financial assistance for Gwadar. Given its growing demand for imported energy, it makes sense for China to forge closer strategic ties with Saudi Arabia, using Pakistan as a "cut-out". Are we seeing the emergence of a Beijing-Islamabad-Riyadh missile and nuclear axis that could fulfill Bhutto's vision for Pakistan's self-styled "Islamic Bomb"?



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13/11

## Teheran tears up a pact

Disarmament

THE REPORT of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) on Iran's suspected nuclear weapons programme makes for unflattering reading. A fortnight ago, Iran supposedly came clean on all nuclear goings-on in that country to avoid an adverse IAEA report. Teheran temporarily suspended the enrichment of uranium which could have been used for missile warheads and agreed to increased IAEA inspections of its nuclear facilities. But the UN nuclear watchdog's latest 30-page report describes what looks like a complex Iranian atomic programme that goes back almost two decades and involved cutting-edge technologies to enrich weapons grade uranium. Iran even seems to have produced plutonium for making nuclear arms without anyone being the wiser.

Of course, the Iranians protest their 'innocence' and say it was all part of experiments in 'reprocessing chemistry', and that the quantity of plutonium produced was far less than what's required for a N-bomb. But their claim that the

enriched uranium was meant for use in commercial nuclear reactors is a classic case of being hoist with one's own petard. For they used an exotic laser technique to purify uranium. Despite being the best in the world, the practice of this frontier physics is so prohibitively expensive that no country — not even the US — has found a way to make it cost-effective in producing fuel for civilian nuclear plants.

So, it could only be used for a military programme (where costs rarely stand in the way), and Teheran admitted — if unwittingly — to having had one. This is very disturbing since Iran hid not only its enrichment activities, but also the most sensitive aspects of the nuclear fuel cycle from the IAEA. Perhaps it's the IAEA's turn now to admit it doesn't have adequate inspection tools to detect such undeclared parallel uranium enrichment plants which would be a good first step in checking proliferation. The alternative is to add more members to the list of nuclear weapons powers.

Iran has no  
n-bomb plan:  
IAEA report

**VIENNA, NOV. 11.** The U.N. nuclear watchdog in a confidential report said it had not found evidence of an atomic bomb programme in Iran, but Teheran was associated with activity often connected with arms like plutonium production.

The U.S. had accused Iran of using a civilian nuclear energy programme as a front to build a bomb. Iran denied this and said it was forced to hide some nuclear activities because of decades of sanctions, which it said were illegal. "To date there is no evidence that (Iran's) previously undeclared nuclear material and activities referred to above were related to a nuclear weapons programme," said the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) on Monday. "However, given Iran's past pattern of concealment, it will take some time before the agency is able to conclude that Iran's nuclear programme is exclusively for peaceful purposes." — Reuters

HO-10  
27/11

## IRAN'S SENSIBLE DECISION

41  
Disarmament

IRAN HAS AVERTED a conflict with the United Nations Security Council by meeting a deadline set by the International Atomic Energy Agency. The IAEA had called upon Iran to suspend efforts to enrich uranium, permit intrusive and short-notice inspections of nuclear facilities, and provide a full disclosure of all nuclear activities undertaken in the past. Iran claims it has implemented a decision to suspend the uranium enrichment programme; it has handed over a set of documents to the IAEA; and it has signalled an intent to sign an additional protocol to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty that will facilitate inspections of the kind called for. The IAEA will not need to take the issue to the Security Council as Iran complied with the demands a week before the October 31 deadline. However, the controversy might not have blown over altogether. Iran announced that it would suspend the uranium enrichment processes either for a few days or for a few months. Statements of this nature are bound to provoke powers like the United States, which have pressed for stronger measures to make Iran comply with its NPT obligations. It is also not clear whether Iran has disclosed all details about the sources of its uranium, the extent of its nuclear facilities, and the nuclear-related activities it has carried out. It is also not certain that the IAEA will accept Iran's explanation for the small quantities of weapons-grade uranium found at one of the sites.

Iran's consistent denial of an intent to acquire nuclear arms failed to allay suspicions that it was pursuing a clandestine weapons programme. Its protestations did not convince even Russia, which is helping it build a nuclear power plant. A strong international consensus against any Iranian attempt at nuclear proliferation forced it to take a pragmatic decision. The

Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, France and Germany provided a dignified way to a compromise. They went to Teheran to convince the Iranian leadership that excessive demands would not be made. These countries hinted that they might provide Iran with the technology and assistance to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes if they were convinced that all efforts at weaponisation had been wound up. Iran will win a point of principle if these promises are fulfilled since it has always maintained that it is entitled to assistance for its civilian nuclear programme as a signatory to the NPT.

The decision to comply with the IAEA's demands will affect the internal dynamics of Iranian politics. Conservatives in the Iranian regime accused the Government of undermining the national interest and threatened to launch a nationwide agitation. This is part of a ceaseless reactionary effort to regain the ground lost to the reform movement headed by President Syed Mohammed Khatami. While they are in a minority in Parliament, the Iranian conservatives control the Council of Guardians that monitors all decisions taken by the legislature. They might try to prevent the Government and Parliament from ratifying the agreement with the IAEA in order to show that they are the champions of the national interest. However, they might not push their opposition beyond a point. The decision to meet the IAEA's demands was taken by the National Security Council and not by the Government. This Council answers directly to the Supreme Religious Leader, Ayatollah Syed Ali Khamenei, who has also publicly endorsed the agreement. It is unlikely that the conservatives will be so carried away by ideological fervour that they will defy Ayatollah Khamenei's endorsement of the sensible approach.

THE HINDU

7 NOV 2003

# Iran declaration 'comprehensive': IAEA chief

DAVID LJUNGGREN  
OTTAWA, OCTOBER 31

IRAN'S declaration to the International Atomic Energy Agency about its controversial nuclear programme looks to be comprehensive, the head of the UN agency said on Thursday. The IAEA's governing board had set an October 31 deadline for Iran to come clean about the programme.

"I think we are making good progress. Iran has submitted what (it) assured me to be a comprehensive and accurate declaration," IAEA head Mohamed El-Baradei told reporters in Ottawa.

"I think I could say that at first glance the report is comprehensive but we still have to do a lot of fine-tuning, we we still have to do a lot of questioning, and that is why we are there right now and we will continue to be there doing an inspection for quite a few months in fact."

Iran is allowing UN inspectors to examine thousands of imported uranium enrichment machinery parts to determine the origin of the traces of weapons-



President Khatami

Last week, Iran agreed to freeze uranium enrichment and to sign the Additional Protocol to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, allowing snap inspections.

grade uranium found earlier this year, a senior Iranian official said on Tuesday. El-Baradei did not say whether the declaration answered all the IAEA's questions. Diplomats said UN officials had yet to verify if the answers were true and complete.

Iran agreed to freeze uranium enrichment and to sign the Additional Protocol to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, allowing snap inspections.

of its nuclear sites. "I will expect that, next week, they will send me a letter requesting they will conclude an additional protocol, which also would be a very positive development," El-Baradei said after talks with Canadian Foreign Minister Bill Graham.

A spokeswoman for the Vienna-based IAEA said the declaration contained "a great deal of information addressing key areas of Iran's past nuclear programme which IAEA inspectors had raised questions about."

"Whether it provides all the answers has yet to be verified," said Melissa Fleming, a Vienna-

based diplomat closely following the IAEA inspections in Iran said he expected Tehran had complied with the agency's demand for information to the extent that it "at least gave some kind of answer" to all the questions raised.

These questions included a full picture of Tehran's uranium programme, nuclear import and export lists and other information. The IAEA has been keen to have details about the origin of centrifuge parts, which Iran says it bought on the black market and blames for contaminating sites where the IAEA found traces of uranium.

—Reut

# Warning signs

SF 8  
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## Non-proliferation, despite Teheran

Disarmament

While Teheran appears to have succumbed to international pressure for any-time, any-place inspections by the IAEA following traces of weapons-grade uranium at two of its nuclear facilities, there is news about a secret agreement for sharing nuclear weapons technology between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia during Crown Prince Abdullah's recent visit to Islamabad. Riyadh has long been interested in Islamabad's nuclear weapons programme, and Washington had formally complained when Prince Sultan visited Pakistan's Kahuta uranium enrichment and missile assembly plant in 1999. It must be borne in mind that Islamabad had also been involved in a nuclear bomb for missile barter with Pyongyang — a Pakistani C-130 transport aircraft was spotted by satellite loading North Korean missiles at Pyongyang airport last year. There is a disturbing pattern here. Washington bears down hard on countries designated as part of an axis of evil, but gives a pass to those it considers "allies". Such an approach virtually guarantees that nuclear non-proliferation will fail.

In Riyadh's view Shia Iran, its greatest existential threat, is going to get nuclear weapons sooner or later. It has also been alarmed by reports of a US Defence Policy Board meeting last year, where an expert talked about why and how Washington should seize the oilfields in Saudi Arabia's eastern province. Riyadh has observed how possession of a nuclear deterrent causes Washington to treat Islamabad with kid gloves, hence is considering following suit. A nuclear armed Riyadh will in all probability cause Baghdad, which is moving from Sunni to Shia domination, to exercise the nuclear option as well. The Bush administration is pushing for development of new low-yield "bunker buster" nuclear bombs, which dangerously lower the threshold between nuclear and conventional weapons and make it more likely nuclear weapons will be used. But the history of nuclear weapons shows these things don't stay quiet, sooner or later other governments will acquire them. The current regime of nuclear non-proliferation is unravelling, so much so that it's hard to conceive of a way to fix it. Universal nuclear disarmament, anyone? If that sounds utopian, it's increasingly evident that non-proliferation is unworkable as well. And the more nukes there are, the more likely it becomes that terrorists will also get their hands on them.

# Teheran agrees to nuclear treaty terms

*Disarmament*  
*5-2*  
*27/10*

**Press Trust of India**

DUBAI, Oct. 21. — Bowing to international pressure to clarify its nuclear programme, Iran today said it will sign an additional protocol to the Non Proliferation Treaty, suspend uranium enrichment, allow tougher UN inspections and promised full cooperation with the UN's nuclear watchdog.

At a joint press conference in Teheran with foreign ministers of France Mr Dominique de Villepin, Britain's Mr Jack Straw and Germany's Mr Joschka Fischer, the secretary of Iran's Supreme National Security Council Mr Hassan Rowhani said: "Teheran will sign the Additional Protocol with certain conditions... Teheran is determined to settle the remaining issues with the International Atomic Energy Agency in order to end the current tension in the field of its legitimate nuclear activities and to take the necessary measures to join the Additional Protocol as the 81st country."

The announcement was the result of a intense

diplomatic efforts launched by the three countries to defuse mounting tensions that have raised fears of yet another West Asia conflict.

According to a joint declaration, Iran pledged to show "full transparency" to the IAEA, reiterated its commitment to the NPT and vowed atomic weapons had "no place" in its defence doctrine.

Referring to the conditions Iran set for signing the Additional Protocol, Mr Rowhani said: "Iran will sign the protocol with some reservations."

"The protocol should not harm our national security, national interests and national dignity. We will issue a statement in which Iran's reservations for joining the Additional Protocol will be mentioned explicitly," the Iranian leader added.

"One of the agreements is that the Islamic Republic temporarily suspends uranium enrichment process that Tehran will observe to show good will and to create a new atmosphere of trust between Iran and other countries," he said.

# US fails to find weapons of destruction in Iraq

John J. Lumpkin

WASHINGTON 3 OCTOBER

**T**HE initial report of US weapons hunter David Kay, which says he found no weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in Iraq but possible evidence of covert programmes to make them, drew immediate criticism from those who question whether the war was justified.

Mr Kay insisted he needed another six months to nine months of searching before he would feel confident enough to issue any conclusions about Iraq's weapons programme. The Bush administration is asking for \$600 million to continue the search, according to congressional officials. "We have not found at this point actual weapons," Mr Kay said after briefing lawmakers behind closed doors. "It does not mean we've concluded there are no actual weapons."

In a statement to several congressional committees Thursday, he only made one strong finding, that the regime of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was actively developing missiles that exceeded range limits imposed by the United Nations.

"In addition to intent, we have found a large body of continuing activities and equipment that were not declared to the UN inspectors when they

returned in November of last year," Mr Kay said.

Taken together, Mr Kay's findings do not validate most of President Bush's pre-war assertions that Saddam had widespread chemical and biological weapons and programmes to make more, and was developing a nuclear weapon. Mr Kay did not address US assertions about Saddam's ties to terrorist groups, particularly Al-Qaida. Critics have contended that the US intelligence community

made serious errors in its analysis of the threat posed by Iraq or the administration exaggerated what intelligence information it did have to persuade a sceptical world to support an invasion.

"Did we misread it, or did they mislead us, or did they simply get it wrong? Whatever the answer is, it's not a good answer," said Sen Jay Rockefeller, D-W.Virginia, vice-chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee. "I'm not pleased by what I heard today," said Sen Pat Roberts, R-

Kansas, the committee's chairman, "but we should be willing to adopt a wait-and-see attitude and that's the only alternative we really have." White House spokesman Scott McClellan said the administration was pleased with Kay's report. "This detailed interim report documents how Saddam Hussein's regime was in clear violation of UN Security Council Resolution 1441."

— AP



KAY: HARD TARGET

# N Korea says it has resumed nuclear activity

Seoul: North Korea said on Thursday it had finished reprocessing some 8,000 spent fuel rods and was prepared to reprocess more from its reactor in Yongbyon if necessary. A spokesperson for North Korea's foreign ministry also denied that a new round of six-way talks over its nuclear programmes would be held in October or November, repeating that it had never made a promise to attend new talks, its official KCNA news agency reported.

North Korea has in the past considerably raised the stakes both rhetorically and through announcing developments in the run-up to key security negotiations. "The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) successfully finished the reprocessing of some 8,000 spent fuel rods," the spokesperson said. "As we have already declared, the DPRK resumed nuclear activities for a peaceful purpose." Processed spent fuel rods can be used to make nuclear bombs.

The spokesperson added: "We will reprocess more spent fuel rods to be churned out in an unbroken chain from the 5-MW nuclear reactor in Yongbyon without delay when we deem it necessary." The comment came after a North Korean diplomat

fully finished the reprocessing of some 8,000 spent fuel rods," the spokesperson said. "As we have already declared, the DPRK resumed nuclear activities for a peaceful purpose." Processed spent fuel rods can be used to make nuclear bombs.

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## Fuelling controversy

- N Korea says it has finished reprocessing 8,000 spent fuel rods.
- Says it has resumed nuclear activities for peaceful purposes.
- Foreign ministry denies it promised to attend new round of six-way talks.

was also quoted as saying on Wednesday that Pyongyang had already reprocessed the fuel rods. North Korea's vice foreign minister Choe Su-hon was quoted by China's Xin-

hua news agency as also telling reporters that North Korea would not export its atomic capabilities. The KCNA report did not mention its views on exporting nuclear material. Commenting on the prospects of a new round of six-way talks, the North Korean foreign ministry spokesman said on Thursday it had never made any promise that it would attend the talks. "As far as the resumption of the six-way talks is concerned, the DPRK did not make any promise with anyone at the Beijing

talks and the same holds true even after the talks," the spokesperson said. The United States and North Korea, along with South Korea, China, Russia and Japan, held talks in late August in Beijing to seek ways to defuse the one-year-old crisis but failed to reach any concrete agreement. Officials have said participants had agreed in general that another round of talks would be held, but details including the venue and timing have never been confirmed and North Korea openly denied it had agreed on the idea. Reuters



# Russia warns Iran on nukes

28/9

15-15

Dis armament



Washington, September 27

US PRESIDENT George W. Bush and his Russian counterpart Vladimir Putin on Saturday cautioned Iran and North Korea to stop their suspected nuclear weapons programme with Putin laying emphasis on a "favourable atmosphere for a constructive dialogue" to entice North Korea to end its nuclear drive.

"A favourable atmosphere should be created for a strategic dialogue, including on the nuclear issue, accompanied by corresponding guarantees to North Korea in the sphere of security," Putin said after two days of talks at Camp David. On aid to Korea, Putin made it clear that he would await the UN resolution.

Bush said "we (US and Russia) share a goal that is to make sure that Iran does not have any nuclear weapon or a nuclear weapons programme".

"We also understand that we need to work together to persuade Iran to abandon any ambitions she may have," Bush said.

On North Korea, he said "we strongly urge North Korea to completely and verifiably and irreversibly end its nuclear programme". Despite differences over Iraq war, both the Presidents stressed their strong relationship.

AP  
Presidents George Bush and Vladimir Putin at Camp David on Saturday.

PTI

# Non-proliferation problems

By M.R. Srinivasan

Disarmament (MS)

HD-10 23/8

**T**HE U.S. President, George W. Bush, had included North Korea and Iran along with Iraq in the 'Axis of Evil'. The Saddam Hussein regime has been overthrown in Iraq by the U.S.-U.K. military strike but despite thorough searches, no weapons of mass destruction (WMD) have been found. The U.S. leadership, of course, assures the world that they will eventually be found in Iraq.

In the meantime, North Korea has asserted it has some nuclear weapons and has warned the U.S. against threatening its sovereignty. North Korea is technically still at war with the U.S., although hostilities ceased some 50 years ago. No peace treaty was ever negotiated between Washington and Pyongyang. North Korea joined the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) many years ago. The former Soviet Union supplied North Korea with a research reactor and a small capacity nuclear power unit. The latter can produce plutonium in the spent fuel.

In the 1990s, the U.S. in cooperation with South Korea and Japan agreed to supply two large capacity nuclear power units on the condition that North Korea desisted from making nuclear weapons. The U.S. also agreed to arrange supply of petroleum to meet the energy needs of North Korea; however, relations between Washington and Pyongyang have lurched from one misunderstanding to another over the years. Dissatisfied with the situation, some years ago North Korea notified that it was withdrawing from the NPT. However just a day before the notice period expired it announced that it would suspend the withdrawal notice.

As of now is it unclear if North Korea is bound by the NPT or not. North Korea has claimed that it has reprocessed spent fuel from its reactor and if this were so, it will be in possession of plutonium. North Korea has been cooperating with Pakistan for many years. Islamabad has received missiles from Pyongyang and this has greatly increased the reach of Pakistani nuclear weapons vis-à-vis Indian targets. Missile technology has also been transferred from

*Given the policies the U.S. is pursuing unilaterally, the world will have to prepare itself to face a highly unstable nuclear future.*

North Korea to Pakistan. It is widely believed that North Korea in return received from Pakistan technology for enriching uranium and for making nuclear weapons. U.S. intelligence agencies are fully aware of this two-way exchange. Pakistan's nuclear expert, Qadir Khan, has visited North Korea frequently. If North Korea does have a nuclear weapon, it is quite likely to be derived from a Pakistani design. As is well known, Pakistan itself received substantial help from China on nuclear weapons, including certain items of hardware.

In a strange irony of events, China has now assumed the role of a champion of non-proliferation in North East Asia. China has taken the initiative to arrange a six-nation meeting with the U.S., Russia, Japan and the two Koreas attending it. Both China, Pyongyang's longstanding friend, and South Korea are in favour of finding a diplomatic solution that does not humiliate North Korea. If North Korea were to conduct a nuclear test and go overtly nuclear, then pressure will build up in Japan to launch a full-scale nuclear weapons programme.

It may be recalled that the NPT was devised by the U.S., the USSR and the U.K. to prevent Japan and Germany from ever acquiring nuclear weapons. North Korea's economy is in desperate condition and it is too small a state to withstand sanctions if it were to declare itself a nuclear weapon state. The calibrated steps to build the bridges between the two Koreas, in progress in recent years, would also suffer a serious setback in consequence. Besides, the earlier hostility between the two Koreas would return thus perpetuating the isolation and suffering of North Korea's population. The U.S. must end the state of war, which Pyongyang believes it is continuing, and facilitate North Korea's return to the international community. However, it is clear that North Korea must dismantle all its activities related to nu-

clear weapons. It has to restrict nuclear activities solely to civilian applications as it undertook to when it joined the NPT.

Iran embarked on a wide-ranging nuclear programme in the days of the last Shah. Many wondered why Iran wanted nuclear power given the large oil and natural gas available to it. As it turned out, by the time the Islamic revolutionaries came to power, some research facilities had been set up and a nuclear power station with two units was under construction at Buser. When Iraq attacked Iran, it also fired missiles at the power station under construction. Work was suspended for many years and eventually Germany, which was building the project, withdrew. Iran persuaded Russia to take up work on the partly built reactors and one unit is now in an advanced stage of completion. Through the 1990s, the U.S. spread stories that Iran was working on building nuclear weapons. Iran signed the NPT many years ago, when the Shah was in power. It maintains that its programmes are entirely for peaceful purposes and that it has abided by the provisions of the NPT.

The U.S. applied pressure on Russia over a long period of time to stop extending assistance to Iran, but Russia argued it was only for civilian power production. Lately a new element has surfaced; Iran is reported to be building a uranium enrichment plant. There are no reliable reports as to who may be assisting Iran in this venture. There is speculation that Pakistan may be providing the technology, which Qadir Khan stole from Holland many years ago. Usually enrichment plants are uneconomic unless they are built with substantial capacity. With Iran building just one or two power units using enriched uranium to fuel its reactors, it could quite easily get the fuel from Russia which is supplying the reactors.

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) is holding discussions

with Iran on the scope of safeguards. The earlier practice was that when nuclear technology was supplied from another country, IAEA safeguards would operate to ensure that no diversion from peaceful to non-peaceful applications took place. After the Iraq episode of the 1990s a more intrusive safeguards regime applied to all nuclear activities of a state party to the NPT has been the norm. The IAEA is discussing with Iran such a regime, which could involve surprise inspections. Since Iran has signed the NPT and reiterates its adherence to the treaty, it cannot develop nuclear weapons or technologies leading to them. However, Iran has the right to use nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

We are now in a period when the chief sponsor of the NPT has itself jettisoned many of the basic premises of a fragile nuclear equilibrium existing for the past five decades. The U.S. now claims its right to mount pre-emptive strikes on any person or state who in its opinion may pose a threat to it. It has proclaimed it could deploy nuclear weapons even against states that do not possess nuclear weapons. Specifically it has warned that a chemical or biological threat could be countered by nuclear retaliation. It is seriously considering placing nuclear weapons on space platforms; the justification is that in the Iraq episode it did not get prompt cooperation from Turkey and Saudi Arabia in the use of bases. In future engagements, the U.S. would like to be able to launch attacks from space platforms avoiding the need for bases around the world.

The U.S. is developing a new range of deep penetration nuclear weapons to destroy bunkers, control centres and silos of potential enemies. The U.S. weapon designers are urging resumption of nuclear tests even as early as next year. This could trigger tests by China, India and Pakistan. Given the policies the U.S. is pursuing unilaterally, whatever equilibrium obtains in nuclear matters will be seriously disturbed and the world will have to prepare itself to face a highly unstable nuclear future.

*(The writer is a former Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission.)*

THE HINDU

HINDU

29 AUG 2003

# IAEA probe exposes Pak-Iran N-nexus

By Chidanand Rajghatta  
TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Washington: Pakistan's nuclear proliferation has once again come into focus following investigations by a UN body that implicates Islamabad in the supply of nuclear materials to Iran.

The issue has surfaced after inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), a UN body, found traces of highly-enriched, weapons grade uranium at an Iranian nuclear facility last month.

Iran, which had earlier maintained that it was not making enriched uranium, told IAEA officials that the uranium came into the country through contaminated equipment such as gas centrifuges purchased from another country, according to new UN report disclosed on Tuesday.

Although Teheran did not name Pakistan immediately, it has offered to come clean about the origins of the material and sign up for more intrusive in-

spections if it is assured of its sovereignty. But, based on the nuclear material and the kind of centrifuges found on the site, UN inspectors and other officials and analysts are of the view that Pakistan is the proliferating source.

The equipment, said to be tainted, was from a type of centrifuge acquired by Pakistani scientists in the 1970s and used in Pakistan's domestic nuclear programme, two officials familiar with the find-

ings were quoted as saying in the US media, which widely reported the UN investigation.

Reports of Pakistan's nuclear proliferation to Iran have been in the air for some time now and only last week Islamabad made a flagrant attempt to deflect attention on to India by planting a story in the media that New Delhi and Teheran were in a nuclear deal. The story, based on leaks from Pakistani intelligence in Washington and reported in an Islamabad newspaper, was evidently aimed at pre-empting the UN report, but found no takers anywhere.

## Pak lie nailed

- The UN body found traces of weapons grade uranium at an Iranian nuclear facility
- Teheran has offered to come clean about the origins of the material
- Reports of Pakistan's nuclear proliferation to Iran have been in the air for some time

Pakistan has repeatedly denied that it is proliferating, but following persistent reports over several months about its nuclear nexus with the rogue regime in North Korea and now with Iran, its disclaimers are straining credibility. David Albright, a Washington-based proliferation expert is among many who points to Pakistan as the likely source of the Iranian programme.

The Indian nuclear programme, incidentally, is largely plutonium-based while Pakistan mostly uses uranium. "The notion that Pakistan wasn't involved is getting less and less tenable," Henry Sokolski, another Washington expert and Pentagon nonproliferation official during the first Bush administration, was quoted as say-

ing. "Some might make the claim that this was something that happened in the past. But it wasn't all that long ago."

The comment was seemingly aimed at senior administration officials such as Secretary of State Colin Powell who have glossed over Pakistani help in nuclearising North Korea by suggesting that it was all in the past and Islamabad has now shut off the proliferation tap.

Iran reportedly told inspectors that it acquired design plans for the centrifuge in 1987, although the transfer of technology appears to have continued over several years. The timeline suggests that the transfers took place when Pakistan-Iranian relationship was at its best, including during the rule of Benazir Bhutto, whose mother Nusrat is an Iranian. Ms Bhutto is also said to have initiated the transfer of nuclear material to North Korea in exchange for ballistic missiles, a deal that continued well into the Musharraf regime. In fact, ahead of the US supply of six new C-130 transport aircraft, New Delhi has pointed out that Pakistan used the same US-supplied aircraft to ferry nuclear and ballistic material to and from Pyongyang.

Meanwhile, Pakistan-Iran ties have since deteriorated sharply, particularly over the last few years, as extremists in Sunni-dominated Pakistan have terrorised and killed hundreds of Shias and Hazaras. Iran is mostly Shiite and the two countries now share an uneasy relationship especially after Iran has moved closer to India over the past couple of years.

According to the UN report, Iranian officials have promised to provide the IAEA with a full account of where it acquired each piece of equipment and how it was used.

# N. Korea, US begin nuke talks

Beijing, Aug. 27 (Reuters): After months of threats and rhetoric, the US and North Korea sat down today for nuclear crisis talks with the communist state's neighbours, and even made time for a bilateral meeting on the side.

There was no sign of any early diplomatic progress. One Japanese press report said the US had rejected beleaguered North Korea's key pre-condition — that the two countries sign a non-aggression treaty.

South Korea said US assistant secretary of state James Kelly held informal talks with vice-foreign minister Kim Yong-il of North Korea, whose half-declared desire to become a nuclear power triggered the crisis in the region.

By the end of the day, though, Russia, like China a traditional friend of the reclusive and impoverished North, was talking about blockage. "So far, the countries have put forward several preliminary demands regarding each other, which are blocking the development of these talks,"

said deputy foreign minister Alexander Losyukov, quoted by Russia's Itar-Tass news agency.

Host China put a more positive spin on the first day, describing it a success. "I heard talks this morning and this afternoon were very successful," foreign minister Li Zhaoxing said during a reception later.

"I congratulate you. This also implies everybody reached an important consensus and that is everybody hopes the Korean peninsula will be stable, peaceful and de-nuclearised."

China appealed for restraint before the six countries took their places at a specially chosen hexagonal table in Beijing's Diaoyutai state guest house, scene down the centuries of palace intrigues and secretive communist plots. It conjured up a group handshake when its chief negotiator pulled together his counterparts from North Korea, the US, Japan, South Korea and Russia before the three-day meeting began.

North Korea reminded the world in an unusually mild newspaper editorial of its core demand for a US security guarantee.

But Tass, quoting a source at the talks, said the north's chief delegate later told the meeting it had neither nuclear weapons nor plans to develop them, but would develop "more powerful

deterrence" if its demands were not met.

Japan, within range of North Korean planes and missiles and the only country in the world to have suffered a nuclear attack, made no bones about where it stood, insisting that Pyongyang must not be allowed to develop nuclear weapons.

But Wi Sung-lac, deputy head of the South Korean delegation, said the heads of the US and North Korean delegations found time to talk. "The US and North Korea freely held bilateral talks in the meeting room," Wi said, adding that they did not leave the main room where the formal discussions were taking place and chatted on a sofa.

"The talks lasted about 30 or 40 minutes," he said.

The negotiators smiled and looked relaxed as they went into their first session. Chinese negotiator Wang Yi said the talks marked a new beginning.

But there was little indication of how the six countries would bridge the gaps as delegations staked out their positions.

In 2002 the US branded impoverished North Korea, which relies on foreign aid to keep its economy afloat, part of an "axis of evil" along with Iraq and Iran.

The US, which says North Korea may already have one or two nuclear weapons, is looking for a commitment that Py-

ongyang will scrap its programme. North Korea wants security guarantees before dismantling. Japan's Kyodo news agency, quoting Japanese officials, reported that the US had rejected Pyongyang's insistent call for a bilateral security pact.

This came as no great surprise. US officials have often said they are not interested in a formal non-aggression treaty but would find a way to assure North Korea they have no plans to attack once Pyongyang had listed all its nuclear facilities, allowed site inspections and rejoined the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

US assistant secretary of state James Kelly, described as being in "listening mode", is not authorised to reply to the North Koreans, who had red, flag-shaped pins with images of their late "Great Leader" Kim Il-sung above their suit breast pockets.

His North Korean opposite number will have scant power beyond relaying the stand of reclusive leader Kim Jong-il.

China, keen the dispute should not boil into a destabilising conflict at its back door, says North Korean security concerns should be addressed and called for level heads and restraint.

In that spirit, Beijing placed closest together the parties whose positions stand furthest apart.

# Prospects brighten for talks on Korean N-crisis

Washington: Prospects for new talks on the Korean nuclear crisis brightened on Thursday as US officials said the Stalinist state appeared ready to join another negotiating session with China and the United States.

Even as North and South Korean troops exchanged fire across the demilitarized zone (DMZ) that has divided the peninsula for 50 years, a new flurry of diplomacy was under way aimed at finding a negotiated way out of the drama which erupted last October.

There were signs that the three-way dialogue could be expanded to include Japan and South Korea, as Chinese deputy foreign minister Dai Bingguo was due in Wash-

ington to brief top US policymakers days after meeting North Korean leader Kim Jong-Il.

"From what we know so far, and what we have been talking to the Chinese about, North Korea is willing to resume another round of Beijing talks that could be expanded," a senior US official said. The United States has always insisted on a multilateral format for the talks and has been eager to include its Japanese and South Korean allies.

"We think at this juncture it's important to move to five-party talks," said State Department spokesman Richard Boucher. "We'll continue to press for that but I'm not going to speculate. We

haven't ruled out the formula that was used in Beijing."

North Korea has consistently demanded one-on-one talks with Washington, which officials here have declined, anxious not to "reward" the Stalinist state for, as they see it, precipitating the crisis. It was not clear if the United States will grant Pyongyang a one-on-one meeting, within the multilateral format, as an inducement for the Stalinist state to take part in the talks.

"There is very active diplomacy that is pointing in the direction of getting multilateral discussions started again but (I don't want to count chickens before they're hatched)," said one senior State Department offi-

cial. The White House, meanwhile, heaped praise on China, which has been trying for weeks to get Cold War foes in Washington and Pyongyang to agree on when, how and where to meet.

"We are hopeful for some progress," said spokesman Scott McClellan. "China has been very helpful because China recognises that we should not have a nuclearised peninsula. We continue to pursue a diplomatic solution through multilateral talks, and that's where our focus is: talks that would include South Korea, as well.

We think that's important," he said. Commenting on new diplomatic bids to set up a talks format, another US offi-

cial remarked drily: "What's going on, is everyone is trying to save face." Mr Dai was expected to meet senior State Department and White House officials on Friday, following his discussions with North Korean leader Kim Jong-Il and other top officials in Pyongyang between July 12-15. But Mr Boucher said he was regarded by Washington as a "shuttle" diplomat, and wouldn't be taking any messages back to Pyongyang.

China hosted the United States and North Korea for trilateral talks in Beijing in April.

A South Korean official indicated earlier Thursday in Seoul that the three sides were likely to meet again as early as next month. AFF

■ TROOPS EXCHANGE FIRE ALONG BORDER ■ CHINA STEPS UP TALKS EFFORTS

# Nuke row approaches critical stage

55.3 1997

AFP & PTI

SEOUL, July 17. — South and North Korean troops exchanged fire today in a border shootout that triggered alarm as tension persisted over the communist nation's nuclear weapons drive.

The shootout erupted at 6.10 a.m. (local time) in the demilitarised zone which has divided the peninsula since the Korean War, the South's joint chiefs of staff (JCS) office said adding that North Korean soldiers fired first.

The one-minute shootout occurred at the guard posts near Yoncheon, some 50 km north-east of Seoul, on the central portion of the Demilitarised Zone (DMZ), a 4-km wide buffer zone

THE dispute over North Korea's nuclear weapons programme is entering a decisive phase, which will lead either to diplomatic talks or to a new and dangerous escalation of the dispute, according to Asian diplomats.

After nine months of simmering hostility, North Korea is expected to respond in the next few days to a Chinese proposal for talks aimed at curbing its nuclear ambitions.

If it refuses, the scene will be that runs 240-km from sea to sea across the Korean peninsula.

No casualties were reported, but North Korean machine gun rounds caused slight damage to the wall of the South Korean

set for a nuclear confrontation that could result in international sanctions, North Korean nuclear tests and, potentially, a second Korean War. Some diplomats believe, however, that

## The situation as it stands

Pyongyang will yield to intense international pressure and agree to negotiate an end to its nuclear weapons programme.

After two months of stalemate, there has been a burst of diplomatic

activity this week among the governments most concerned about North Korea. Government officials from North and South Korea, China, Japan and the USA have had intensive consultations in an effort to bring Pyongyang to the negotiating table.

Both Tony Blair and John Howard, the Australian Prime Minister, are touring northeast Asia this week to discuss the North Korean problem with regional leaders.

— The Times, London

A ministry official said an official protest will be lodged through the "proper channels" as North Korea violated the armistice agreement.

But an unnamed South Korean military official played down today's shootout, ruling out further escalation of tensions.

Meanwhile, China today stepped up efforts to urge the USA to revert to a 1994 Agreed Framework with North Korea by sending its special envoy to Washington to break the impasse on Pyongyang's suspected nuclear weapons programme.

"China hopes that various parties can stick to the direction of a peaceful settlement and continue the process of Beijing talks," Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Mr Kong Quan said.

# Bush wary of N. Korean claims

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JULY 16. The Bush administration has now a new and different foreign policy challenge on its hands, not sure if North Korea is speaking the truth or bluffing when it says that it has produced enough plutonium for about half a dozen nuclear bombs. "I'm not in a position to characterise the intelligence assessment of what the North Koreans are telling us, but certainly what they have told us in the past has been worth paying attention to," said Lawrence Di Rita, a top aide to the Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld.

The North Korean declaration on the completion of plutonium extraction was made in New York at a meeting last week between a State Department official dealing with North Korean issues and Pyongyang diplomats based out of the United Nations.

The Pentagon said that it was unlikely that North Korea had finished processing fuel rods at its Yongbyon complex. But offi-

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cial here and in South Korea believe that the process may have begun.

The administration here is terrified at the prospect of North Korea sitting on a cache of nuclear weapons; and the bottomline fear is that Pyongyang might end up selling weapons or technologies to interested countries or even to terrorist outfits. "It's a country that has sent ballistic missile technology to a lot of bad places. It's a country that, if it felt were in its interest, it would sell nuclear technology," Mr. Di Rita has said. The problem to the administration is that the claims of North Korea cannot be brushed aside too quickly or easily.

The President, George W. Bush, has said in the past that a nuclear armed North Korea is unacceptable to the U.S. But officials have been persistent with the theme that the U.S. is looking for a diplomatic way out of the problem. The refrain here is that the situation is serious but has not risen to the crisis levels.

At the White House, the new

spokesman, Scott McClellan, stressed that Washington was not about to cave in to the demands of Pyongyang "We will not submit to blackmail or grant inducements to the North to live up to its expectations," the spokesman said. At the same time, when asked if the President might resort to the use of military force against North, Mr. McClellan remarked, "The President never takes options off the table, but it's something that we want to address in a multilateral way."

Disarmament  
Meanwhile, the Director of the Central Intelligence Committee, George Tenet, is appearing in a closed-door session with the Senate Intelligence Committee later today where this issue could be raised. The meeting is expected to be heavily focussed on Iraq and in the kind of intelligence assessments particularly in the context of Iraq's uranium purchase efforts from Africa. But many Senators in the past have been quite critical of the CIA as it related to intelligence gathering on North Korea as well.

THE HINDU

# China, U.S. explore DPRK issue afresh

7/17/77

17/7

discriminate

By P. S. Suryanarayana

**SINGAPORE, JULY 16.** China and the U.S. have intensified efforts to kick-start the 'Beijing process' on North Korea's nuclear-weapons 'programme'. The Chinese Foreign Minister, Li Zhaoxing, and the U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, today held a telephonic conversation on the subject.

The "Beijing process" involves discussions among the U.S. and North Korea, with China playing the proactive host-participant. Several key countries in the strategic neighbourhood of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea — South Korea and Japan, in particular, besides the U.S. — have pressed for larger multilateral talks, involving themselves too, in the place of the current format of trilateral discussions.

While no new formula was announced after the fresh round of Sino-American consultations, an "inside version" that has gained currency within the Asia Pacific diplomatic circuit is that China is inclined to consider multilateral talks with a "compromise format" as the defining feature. The idea is that

such multilateral talks could have a specific sub-text — bilateral exchanges between North Korea and the U.S., albeit under the overarching framework of parleys among the countries directly concerned with the nuclear puzzle on the Korean peninsula.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry is understood to have briefed Western diplomats in Beijing on its latest thinking on the DPRK's nuclear profile and on the ways in which the question could be addressed.

The Chinese authorities have so far declined to confirm or contradict the diplomatic speculation that Beijing has now begun to actively press Pyongyang to accept the "compromise format" of multilateral talks with a U.S.-DPRK bilateral stream within the overall framework of parleys.

The farthest that China is willing to specify at this stage is that the "Beijing talks" must be kick-started again.

The only hint of China's possible preference for a conditional multilateral format is that manner in which Beijing has at this time underlined its willingness to be 'open' to various

ideas in which the DPRK issue could be considered.

The DPRK's reluctance to countenance the idea of multilateral talks is rooted in its belief that its nuclear status is not an international issue.

In Pyongyang's reckoning, the nuclear issue is traceable entirely to the manner in which the 1994 U.S.-DPRK Agreed Framework had unravelled in recent years, especially so in recent months.

Reckoning that the DPRK would not wish to be encircled by the critics of its nuclear-weapons 'programme' in multilateral parleys, South Korea, Pyongyang's ethnic kin, has begun yet another round of internal security consultations today.

On a separate but related front, the Australian Prime Minister, John Howard, now on a visit to Tokyo, has identified Japan as also South Korea and China, besides the U.S. and Russia, as the five countries that could bring about "steady diplomacy" to resolve the DPRK nuclear issue.

Australia has interacted with the DPRK in the past on this issue.

17 JUL 2003



# More transparency on N-plan is a must, IAEA chief tells Iran

**Teheran:** International Atomic Energy Agency chief Mohammed ElBaradei urged Iran on Wednesday to improve international confidence in its peaceful intentions by opening up its nuclear programme to closer inspections.

"I think it is necessary for Iran to have maximum transparency and through this maximum transparency to create trust," Mr ElBaradei told reporters following a meeting with Iran's foreign minister Kamal Kharrazi.

Mr ElBaradei is expected to press Iranian officials during his one-day trip to sign up to the IAEA's Additional Protocol which would allow more intrusive, short-notice inspections.

Diplomats in Teheran say there appears to be a lively debate going on within Iran's political establishment on whether to agree to the tougher inspection regime with some signs that Iran may be moving closer to signing the Additional Protocol.

"Reading between the lines, it seems like they may be preparing the ground to sign," said one European diplomat.

Sandwiched between Iraq and Afghanistan, Iran is conscious that failure to address concerns about its nuclear ambitions could increase pressure from Washington and jeopardise relations with other countries, diplomats say.



**M. ElBaradei**

The EU has warned Iran a potential trade deal depends on greater transparency over its atomic programme. Japan has put a \$2 billion oil deal on hold over the nuclear concerns.

Iran insists it has no desire to make N-weapons. But it has so far refused to sign the IAEA's Additional Protocol until an international embargo on the export of N-technology to Iran is scrapped.

"Mr ElBaradei in his talks with officials will see that Iran wants to cooperate and we hope there will be answers for the concerns of both sides," Mr Kharrazi told reporters.

"Our activities have always been transparent and we are determined to continue this transparency because we have nothing to hide."

Iran is seen as the biggest concern among states that are part of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) but have not signed the Additional Protocol. Less than half of NPT signatories have signed the Additional Protocol, and around half of those who have signed it have put it into effect.

Other states known or suspected to have N-weapons programmes but have not signed the NPT include India, Pak-

istan and Israel, while North Korea quit the NPT last year.

Local media on Wednesday reflected divided opinion in Iran on whether to agree to tighter N-inspections.

The reformist English-language 'Iran Daily' newspaper argued that doing so would counteract accusations that Teheran is secretly developing N-weapons.

"Permitting unrestricted access to N-facilities will prove the transparency of the Iranian programme and the falsity of enemy propaganda," the paper said in a front-page commentary.

But other voices in Iran argue that signing the Additional Protocol would not bring an end to Washington's demands on Iran.

"If the UN and the IAEA think Iran should give something to America it means they are too much under the influence of Washington's psychological war and propaganda," the hard-line 'Resalat' newspaper said in an editorial.

Mr ElBaradei said there was no reason for Iran to delay answering the many open questions the IAEA discussed in a June report to the agency's board of governors, including details of their research and development on uranium enrichment centrifuges and the uranium enrichment programme. Reuters

## Iranian ship in N.Korea for arms: report

**Seoul:** A South Korean newspaper reported on Wednesday that an Iranian cargo ship arrived in North Korea last week, probably to pick up weapons, but Seoul's defence ministry could not confirm the report.

The *JoongAng Ilbo* newspaper, quoting unnamed intelligence sources, said the Iranian ship docked at Haeju port, 120 km south of Pyongyang, and may carry home small patrol boats, radar equipment and possibly missile parts from North Korea.

Another Iranian ship visited North Korea last year to buy patrol boats, it said. "We are aware of the news report, but we cannot confirm it," said Maj. Ha Ju-Hyun, a spokesman for the South Korean defence ministry.

Washington has vowed to curb the alleged North Korean trade in weapons, illicit drugs and counterfeit money. It considers North Korea a key proliferator of missile technology in the Middle East.

The United States and its allies are mustering interna-

tional pressure on North Korea to give up its suspected development of nuclear weapons. They fear that Pyongyang may attempt to export nuclear materials to earn badly needed cash.

Meanwhile, a high-level North Korean delegation warned on Wednesday that "the black clouds of a nuclear war" were approaching, but pledged its willingness to work for reconciliation with South Korea.

The trademark North Korean rhetoric came on the first day of talks in Seoul be-

tween cabinet-level delegations from the South and the North. A group of five negotiators and 27 other North Koreans arrived on a commercial jet from Beijing because direct flights between the Koreas are rare.

"Our nation faces a stark situation as the black clouds of a nuclear war are coming toward the Korean peninsula minute by minute," the North Koreans said in a reference to the dispute over their nation's suspected development of nuclear weapons. AP

10 JUL 2003

# Iran stands firm against double pressure

**Tehran, June 16** (Reuters): Iran stood firm today against two-pronged outside pressure, branding US support for student rebels as interference and saying any stricter UN checks on its atomic programme must be rewarded with aid.

The UN's nuclear watchdog and several European Union foreign ministers urged Tehran to accept the tougher controls that are designed to make sure its nuclear power programme is not a cover for making bombs as the US alleges.

Iran, currently also facing some of the most outspoken domestic protests since the 1979 Islamic revolution, said it would consider the inspections "with a

positive view" but stuck by a demand it should get Western technology in return.

A diplomat close to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) said Iran's statement offered "nothing new", but one European diplomat said Tehran's position may be softening.

IAEA chief Mohammed El-Baradei appealed for Iran's compliance after presenting a harsh report saying Tehran was in breach of its current obligations, although it was now making amends.

"The report points out that Iran has failed to report certain nuclear material and activities, and that corrective actions are

being taken in co-operation with the Iranian authorities," he told a meeting of the IAEA board in Vienna.

The criticism should please Washington, which has piled pressure on Iran since ousting Iraq's Saddam Hussein.

President George Bush has said both countries, along with North Korea, form an "axis of evil" aiming to spread weapons of mass destruction and acting in league with terrorists.

Yesterday, Bush openly cheered the Tehran students who have protested for six nights against Islamic clerical rule, the only government most of them have known.

"This is the beginning of peo-

ple expressing themselves toward a free Iran which I think is positive," Bush said.

Iran's foreign ministry officially protested and called the comments "a blatant interference in Iran's internal affairs".

"America is waging a psychological war," newspapers also quoted intelligence minister Ali Yunesi as saying.

Gunshots rang out overnight near Tehran University but witnesses said the atmosphere was calmer than previous nights when headline vigilantes attacked demonstrators who had hurled unprecedented insults at conservative and reformist leaders.

While the protests in Tehran appeared to be fizzling out or entering a lull, state media reported smaller demonstrations in three other cities in which one person was killed.

In Vienna, IAEA board members received copies of the report by ElBaradei, who said Iran should sign an additional protocol to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The protocol, which Tehran has so far resisted, grants inspectors wider access and more intrusive, short-notice inspections to verify assurances about Iran's atomic plans.

Iran's Atomic Energy Organisation said Tehran might be willing to sign the protocol, but

reiterated a demand for access to western nuclear technology in exchange.

"We have not yet decided about signing the additional protocol, but we are studying it with a positive view," spokesperson Khahil Mousavi said.

IAEA officials say privately it would be unprecedented to bargain over the protocol, which is supposed to show a country's transparency and which 78 states have so far signed.

In Tehran, though, the European diplomat said Iran's remarks could show signs of a shift to a more conciliatory attitude.

"I get the sense that they are

yielding ever so slightly to the pressure. But I don't see any sign of them dropping any surprises and signing the protocol just yet," he said.

The European Union was due to demand Iran accept "urgently and unconditionally" tougher nuclear inspections and to link compliance with a pending trade deal.

"We want firm assurances that there is no nuclear weapons programme," said Finland's Erkki Tuomioja, one of several EU foreign ministers who called on Iran to act as they arrived for an EU meeting to assess the trade pact.

"The onus is on them to come clean."

17 JUN 2003

THE TELEGRAPH

**N-PROGRAMME / TEHERAN RESENTS 'U.S. PRESSURE'**

410-15  
17/6

## IAEA seeks credible assurances from Iran

**VIENNA, JUNE 16.** The head of the U.N. nuclear watchdog agency appealed to Iran to give "credible assurances" of the peaceful nature of its nuclear activities, as the forum began a meeting on Monday amid worries about the spread of atomic weapons.

With reports that Iran may be trying to develop a nuclear arsenal, along with worries about North Korea, experts are questioning whether it's really possible to stop countries — let alone terrorists — from acquiring such weapons.

The weeklong meeting of the board of governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency began 10 days after an internal report claimed that Iran failed to honour promises to disclose its use of nuclear material. The United States wants the agency to declare Iran in violation of

the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The Director-General of the IAEA, Mohamed ElBaradei, appealed to Iran in an opening statement to "provide credible assurances regarding the peaceful nature of its nuclear activities".

"I also continue to call on Iran to permit us to take environmental samples at the particular location where allegations about enrichment activities exist," Mr. ElBaradei said. "This is clearly in the interest of both the agency and Iran."

Just before the closed-door meeting began, Iran's chief representative to the IAEA, Ali Akbar Salehi, said he was optimistic the issue would be resolved, but described U.S. pressure as counterproductive.

"It's very obvious that this whole issue has been politically motivated and politically charged," Mr. Salehi said.

The U.S. Ambassador to the agency, Kenneth Brill, described the internal report as "a very serious and sobering report and we have to deal with it."

The meeting comes at a time of growing concern for the control of nuclear material.

"We are at a very important time," said David Albright, a nuclear weapons expert.

"If the non-proliferation regime cannot solve this problem with Iran, I think the Non-Proliferation Treaty will become not irrelevant, but a place where the good guys show that they are good guys — not a real treaty that can be used to resolve tensions." — AP

17 JUN 2003

**THE HINDO**

# US wants IAEA to act against Iran

**New York:** Concerned over the alleged stepping up of its covert nuclear programme by Iran, the US was pressing the International Atomic Energy Agency to declare that Teheran had violated its commitment not to produce nuclear weapons

The United States was seeking broad support among nations that sit on the board of the IAEA, which oversees peaceful nuclear programmes, to declare that Iran has violated the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, a media report said here, quoting American officials.

Such a finding could lead to punitive action by the United Nations, adding pressure on Iran, which is already nervous about American troops in Iraq, the officials told "The New York Times."

The atomic energy agency is to meet on the matter next month. Administration officials said a new intelligence assessment had led them to conclude that North Korea may have resumed production of small amounts of plutonium, which could be used for nuclear weapons.

Intelligence officials had earlier assured the White House that no plutonium was being produced there.

While the North Korean situation has received more

public attention recently, in part because it has acknowledged its nuclear ambitions, administration officials told "The Times" that Iran was an equally urgent problem because its programme is further along than previously thought.

"It's not just that Iran is speeding up its nuclear plans," an administration official said. "It's also that we have only recently learned some things about their programme that have been going on for two years. There's also a lot of hammering from the Israelis for US to take this problem seriously."

Of greatest concern, the paper said, is the recent disclosure that Iran has built a uranium enrichment plant at Natanz in central Iran, a site not known to nuclear experts until last year.

The site contains large underground structures believed by intelligence experts to contain centrifuges used in producing highly-enriched uranium, a fuel for nuclear weapons. The Natanz site is said by experts to be more worrisome than the Russian-assisted nuclear reactor at the Persian Gulf city of Bushehr, which they say has the potential of producing weapons-grade plutonium, it said. PTI

THE TIMES OF INDIA

- 9 MAY 2003

ACTIVITY... OUT. JAWNE CHAI TUIS across a square

# 'Nukes only for Big Five'

Press Trust of India *3*

WASHINGTON, May 6. — Even though India and Pakistan have proven capabilities of manufacturing nuclear weapons, USA holds the view that only the five major powers — USA, Britain, France, Russia and China — should possess them.

USA continues to support the goal of "universal NPT adherence," which means that no country other than the five permanent members of the Security Council should be allowed to possess nuclear weapons, deputy assistant secretary of state Mr Andrew Semmel told the sec-

*875*  
**US on Pak offer**

WASHINGTON, May 6. — The US state department has reacted cautiously to a Pakistani offer to give up its nuclear weapons if India did the same.

"It's good to see them making this proposal, but a great deal of work needs to be done before this could be implemented," a state department official said. "Both countries will have to decide on certain steps as they strive to improve bilateral relations."

— Indo-Asian News Service

*Disarmament*  
ond session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2005 Nuclear Proliferation Treaty Review Conference in Geneva. India, Israel and Pakistan have not joined the NPT.

"Israel supported the NPT at the UN in 1968 but due to regional security factors declined to be a party. Pakistan has said in the past it would join the NPT if India did. India rejected the NPT on grounds that it differentiates between nuclear weapon states and non-nuclear weapon states," Mr Semmel said. "India and Pakistan severely undercut nuclear nonproliferation objectives in 1998 by conducting nuclear weapon tests."

# North Korea wants aid, festivals but no atomic talk

MARTIN NESIRKY  
SEOUL, APRIL 28

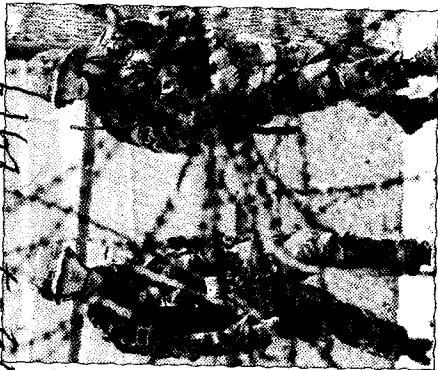
NORTH Korea told South Korea on Monday it would discuss its suspected nuclear arms programme only with US but was happy to talk about boosting North-South economic cooperation and staging festivals together. The North and South — divided by the fortified Demilitarised Zone — were holding the second of three days of talks in Pyongyang.

"Our side demanded an official explanation of the 'nuclear possession comment'," a South Korean report from Pyongyang said. "But the North avoided direct responses to these requests, countering with requests to dis-

cuss economic cooperation," the report said. Economic cooperation is often a euphemism in inter-Korean dialogue for South Korean aid or assistance. The North made no mention of atomic bombs.

US administration sources said last week N Korea had told US Assistant Secretary of State James Kelly at talks in Beijing that it had atomic bombs and could make more because it had reprocessed thousands of spent nuclear fuel rods. Reports said North told the South, as it did on Sunday, it would discuss the nuclear crisis only with Washington. "It resulted from US moves to isolate and crush N Korea," a report quoted the North as telling the South.

That message did not bode well for



South Korean soldiers patrol the Demilitarised Zone in Paju on Monday. Reuters

a proposed multilateral meeting at a regional security summit in Cambodia in June. A statement from officials meeting in Cambodia to agree an agenda for the ASEAN Regional Forum on June 18 said on Monday that Cambodia proposed N Korea, South Korea, China, Japan, Russia and the US sit together to discuss the crisis.

South Korea said it would seek support at the summit. South Korean President Roh Moo-Hyun told his Foreign Minister the crux of the crisis was scrapping nuclear capabilities in return for security guarantees. He also told troops departing for Iraq he would talk with US President George W. Bush next month about ways to try to solve the nuclear impasse.

The North's official KCNA news agency said N Korea had made a series of proposals on Sunday to South Korea. It did not mention the South's demand for nuclear details. It said the North had proposed two sides should stop loudspeaker broadcasts across the DMZ, agree on allowing commercial ships into the other's waters and speed up existing projects such as rail and road links and an industrial centre.

Roh has pledged to continue Kim's policy of engaging North Korea but one official made it clear that it might not be at any price. "We will not display an appearance of avoiding issues that must be raised for the sake of keeping open communication channels," said an official.

— Reuters

# Talks begin on N. Korean N-issue

**Beijing:** Senior envoys from the United States, North Korea and China on Wednesday kicked-off closed-door negotiations here on ways to peacefully resolve Pyongyang's nuclear issue, diplomatic sources said.

Washington is represented by US assistant secretary for East Asia, James Kelly, North Korea by a deputy director-general for US affairs, Li Gun, and the Chinese side by the director-general, Asian department, Fu Ying.

The start of the three-day negotiations mark the first face-to-face talks by Washington and Pyongyang since talks broke up in October last year over North Korea's alleged nuclear weapons programme.

While no one is willing to say what would be the outcome of the secret parleys, some analysts say the fact that the two warring sides have agreed to sit down to talks represents a breakthrough in itself.

Mr Kelly, who left his hotel here for the heavily guarded Diaoyutai state guest house, did not speak with the

waiting reporters.

On Tuesday, Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Liu Jianchao had told newsmen that the meeting would be out of bounds for the media. Mr Liu said China had arranged the meeting between the US and North Korea so that the two sides could better understand each other's stand on the issue and take steps to peacefully resolve the issue.

Prior to the talks, Chinese leaders held several meetings with both North Korean and US officials. Chinese vice foreign minister Wang Yi is reported to have met Mr Kelly prior to the tripartite talks.

The visiting head of the North Korean army's political bureau met on Tuesday with Chinese President Hu Jintao as well as the defence minister Gen Cao Gangchuan here on Monday during which the Chinese side restated their resolve to find a peaceful solution to the Korean nuclear crisis.

North Korea has made it clear that it wants a security guarantee from the United States and says it needs a power-

ful deterrent to stave off the threat of attack. Washington says Pyongyang must abandon its nuclear programme before it could think of offering a guarantee.

Diplomatic sources say the Beijing meeting could be the first in a lengthy process since the mistrust between Pyongyang and Washington is "huge" and would take time to bridge the gap.

North Korea's reclusive Stalinist regime has been active ever since US President George W. Bush bracketed North Korea in an 'axis of evil' with pre-war Iraq and Iran in January last year.

The US-North Korea diplomatic stand-off began in October last year, when Mr Kelly, during a visit to Pyongyang, claimed that North admitted to a covert programme to make enriched uranium for nuclear weapons, violating a bilateral agreement signed in 1994.

North Korea furiously reacted to Mr Kelly's charge and has been issuing commentaries flaying Washington's attempts to wage a war against the country. PTI

24 APR 2003

THE TIMES OF INDIA

# US, N Korea agree to direct talks

PAUL RICHTER &  
BARBARA DEMICK

WASHINGTON, APRIL 17

1874  
THE US and N Korea on Wednesday ended a six-month standoff by agreeing to resume direct talks on security issues, but only after the Bush administration made an important concession.

Officials said the two countries will meet in Beijing, probably late next week, for three-way talks with the Chinese. The agreement came after the US administration abandoned its insistence that the talks also include the South Koreans and Japanese.

Instead, US officials said they will press to include the two countries in later rounds of talks, although N Korea has not yet agreed to this. US, South Korean and Japanese officials hailed the planned talks as an important step forward, though the Americans acknowledged that it will not be easy to get Pyongyang to give up the nuclear deterrent it has sought to acquire.

96-6  
“We’re not looking for a solution in one meeting of a couple days’ duration,” US Secretary of State Colin Powell said. “We believe this is the beginning of a long, intense process of discussion.”

Though the outlook is unclear, the fact that talks are scheduled was widely viewed as a breakthrough after a half year of growing tensions and intermittent threats of war. The US-N Korean relation-

**‘We’re not looking for a solution in one meeting lasting a couple of days. We believe this is the beginning of a long, intense process of discussion,’ says US Secy of State Colin Powell**

ship deteriorated last October after Pyongyang acknowledged that it had violated pledges by carrying on a secret bomb-making programme. Since then, N Korea has ejected UN weapons inspectors and taken a series of steps suggesting it wanted to begin a weapons programme that could make it a major exporter of nuclear materials.

“The priority is to lift the atmosphere of crisis from the Korean Peninsula,” said Yoon Young Kwan, Foreign Minister of South Korea, whose economy has been badly stressed by talk of war. Intensive talks on a meeting have been going on for weeks, but the breakthrough came last week. On Saturday, the N Korean government, in a shift, said it could agree to multilateral talks.

The US delegation will be led by Assistant Secretary of State James Kelly. Powell said the US delegation is “placing no conditions on the meeting. We are not afraid of talking.” And he emphasised that President Bush “is looking for a diplomatic solution.”

He said US officials hope the meeting might be held next week. “We’ll have to see

the reaction we get to news of this arrangement,” he said without elaborating. US officials said the Chinese became the third party in talks because the N Koreans, after balking at inclusion of South Korea and Japan, said they would consent to Beijing’s participation.

The Chinese have recently begun working hard to move the North Koreans into talks.

On Thursday, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Liu Jianchao however declined to confirm US-N Korea talks will be held in Beijing.

Meanwhile, South Korean President Roh Moo-Hyun fended off criticism on Seoul’s exclusion from talks on the North’s suspected nuclear arms ambitions. Roh urged detractors to focus on results at next week’s talks in Beijing after media criticised Seoul’s failure to win a seat at the table. “It is the outcome that must be good,” he said at a meeting. US officials have said the US would help North Korea, only after it consented to strict verification. —LATWP

18 APR 2003

INDIAN EXPRESS



## N. Korea fires missile, tension escalates

11/3  
Disarm  
11-10

Seoul: North Korea fired a cruise missile into the Sea of Japan on Monday, ratcheting up tensions as it tries to force the United States into nuclear negotiations at a time when Washington's eyes are firmly on Iraq.

The United States, which wants to keep the standoff with Pyongyang from hindering its buildup for possible war with Saddam Hussein, had anticipated the launch, the second in as many weeks, and played down its significance.

So had South Korea, after Pyongyang declared a maritime exclusion zone in the Sea of Japan from March 8 to 11.

The firing nonetheless caused Seoul's stock markets

to dip, adding to fears voiced by a Seoul private-sector think-tank that a prolonged nuclear crisis and any protracted Iraq conflict would slash 2003 growth prospects for Asia's fourth-largest economy.

"The missile was fired around noon today into the Sea of Japan, and we judged it was the same type as was test-fired on February 24," a Seoul defence ministry spokesman said by telephone.

"We are still trying to find out exactly what type of missile it was," he added. Yonhap news agency quoted a senior official as saying the missile flew about 110 km. Reuters

1 1 MAR 2003

THE TIMES OF INDIA

# Blix hands top marks to Iraq

UNHQ, March 7 8/11

JUST HOURS after George Bush threatened to push for a war against Iraq within days, the chief UN weapons inspector on Friday described Iraqi cooperation on disarmament as "substantial, active or even proactive".

Hans Blix, reporting to the UN Security Council, called for inspectors to be given more time — "not weeks but months" — echoing the stand taken by France, Germany and Russia.

Blix told the council that 34 of Iraq's illegal Samoud 2 missiles had been destroyed, and this — whatever the US or Britain said — was a "substantial measure of disarmament".

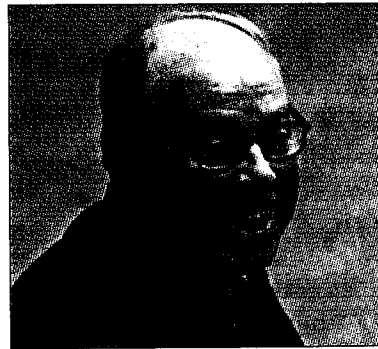
"We are not talking about the breaking of toothpicks," he said. "These are lethal weapons being destroyed."

Blix said that, in general, his inspection teams had "been able to perform professional, no-notice inspections all over Iraq". But intense searches with hi-tech equipment had revealed no evidence supporting US claims that Iraq was concealing banned weapons in mobile laboratories. Nor was there any sign of underground chemical or biological production or storage facilities in Iraq.

He was fully supported by UN atomic energy chief Mohammed El-Baradei, who said, "After three months of intrusive inspections, we have found no evidence or plausible indication of the revival of a nuclear weapons programme in Iraq."

ElBaradei said the allegations that Iraq had tried to acquire uranium from the African nation of Niger were false, and that the documents said by the US and Britain to support the accusation were fraudulent.

ElBaradei took a swipe at US intelligence, saying his analysis definitively showed that suspect aluminum



Blix before presenting his report to the Security Council. AP

tubes were not destined for equipment that could be used to refine uranium for nuclear weapons.

Blix also reported progress in attempts to interview Iraqi scientists with knowledge of proscribed weapons programmes, with Iraq having provided the names of "many" such scientists.

However, he criticised Iraq for failing to provide documents of past production of chemical and biological weapons. The Iraqis had handed over some papers detailing the destruction of anthrax and VX, he said, but that only raised questions about how much had been produced in the first place.

US Secretary of State Colin Powell dismissed Blix's praise of Iraq as a "catalogue of non-cooperation" and demanded a vote on the second Security Council resolution — which authorises force to disarm Baghdad — in the "very near future".

But to gain support from undecided council members, the US and Britain revised the resolution to give Baghdad more time. A draft of the amended resolution will give a specific date, around March 16-17, for Iraq to disarm or face war.

See also Page 15

8 MAR 2003

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

# Iraq

AP & AFP

BAGHDAD, March 2. — Iraq began today to destroy six more banned Al-Samoud 2 missiles with bulldozers under the supervision of the United Nations at a site close to Baghdad, Iraqi and UN sources said. Washington dismissed the move and continued to push for war.

"Destruction of six missiles started at 11.30 a.m. at Al-Taji," a huge military complex, some 20 km north of Baghdad, said Mr Uday al-Tai, director general of the information ministry.

A casting chamber used in the manufacture of the missiles was also to be destroyed Sunday at Al-Rashid, south of the Iraqi capital, he said. UN weapons inspectors' spokesman Mr Hiro Ueki confirmed that more Al-Samoud 2 missiles were to be destroyed at Al-Taji and one casting chamber was to be scrapped at the Al-Rashid facility.

Asked about the number of

## Turkey rejects US plan

ANKARA, March 2. — In a stunning reversal that could undermine USA's war plans, Turkey's Parliament refused to approve a Bill allowing in US combat troops to open a northern front against Iraq. The development is a serious blow to US efforts to show Iraq leader Saddam Hussein that he is surrounded and his neighbours are part of a US-led coalition. — AFP

missiles to be destroyed, Mr Ueki said he did not want to comment "before our team of inspectors returns back and reports to us." Iraq yesterday destroyed the first four of its banned Al-Samoud 2 missiles in line with a key UN disarmament demand, amid calls by Washington and its allies for Baghdad to disarm fully or face military action.

The destruction of the Al Sa-

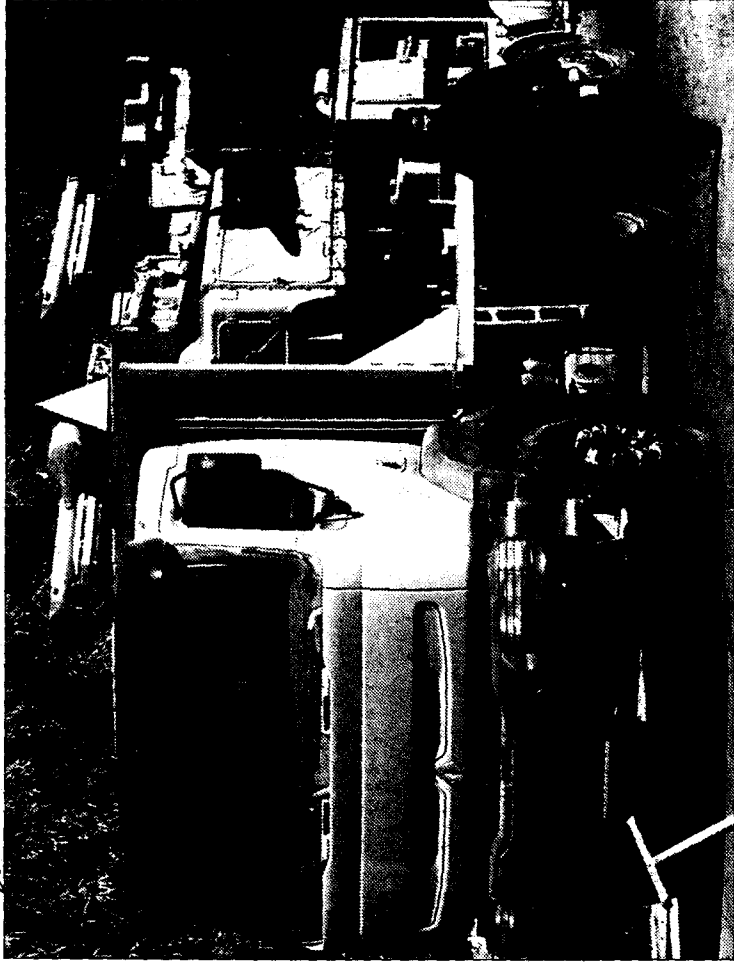
# crushes banned missiles

round 2 missiles had been ordered by chief weapons inspector Mr Hans Blix, who said Iraq had to begin the destruction by Saturday.

In a sprawling military complex on a desert plain just north of Baghdad, UN weapons inspectors watched Saturday as Iraqi workers tried to crush an Al Samoud 2 missile, then had to wait for bigger bulldozers to finish the job. "They built it very strong," joked Mr Blix's deputy, Mr Demetrius Perricos.

Perricos, who traveled to Baghdad to work out the last-minute details on destruction, held technical discussions with the Iraqis before the operation began. He said he would hold more Sunday morning about stores of anthrax and VX that Iraq says it destroyed.

Perricos said he had agreed on a timetable of "a few days or a very short few weeks" to destroy Iraq's 100-plus missiles — as well as components, software and machines used to make them.



An Iraqi missile launcher being moved from the Al-Rashid facility near Baghdad on Sunday, where a casting chamber used to manufacture Al-Samoud missiles was destroyed. — AFP

## North Korea, US line up allies on nuclear issue

By Paul Eckert

Seoul: The US envoy in South Korea called for a global approach to the North Korean nuclear crisis on Friday as communist Pyongyang lobbied non-aligned states to put pressure on Washington.

The four-month-old impasse over North Korea's alleged drive to make nuclear weapons will dominate US Secretary of State Colin Powell's trip to Japan, China and South Korea starting at the weekend.

Thomas Hubbard, the US Ambassador in Seoul, stressed Washington's desire for a multilateral approach to the crisis.

"Because other nations have much to lose from North Korea's dangerous actions, the challenge to regional and global peace and stability concerns us all," he said in a speech. "It must be met by a combination of concerned states."

US disagreements with Asian states over how to end the standoff with North Korea will be an important part of Mr Powell's agenda. He is also to attend the inauguration of South Korean President-elect Roh Moo-hyun on Tuesday.

Mr Roh, in contrast to the United States, says he will rule out the use of force with North Korea. On Thursday,

he said he believed the crisis could be settled through dialogue.

"The mere hint of war and the anxiety it entails can inflict great losses upon us," the 56-year-old Mr Roh said. "We do not want war or North Korea's collapse," he added, while calling on his impoverished neighbour to "open up and reform".

Hubbard said Washington shared Seoul's aims if not its tactics.

"We in the United States want to resolve the issue of North Korea's nuclear weapons programme through diplomacy and dialogue. Prudence, however, requires that we keep all options available," the US envoy said.

North Korea insists on bilateral talks with the United States and a non-aggression treaty to defuse the second crisis over its nuclear ambitions in a decade.

On Thursday, North Korea said that "the situation on the Korean peninsula and northeast Asia is so alarming that a nuclear war may break out at any moment".

In a lengthy anti-US commentary ahead of Mr Powell's Asian tour, North Korean state media said Washington was "fabricating" a secret Pyongyang nuclear arms programme in a bid to dominate the region. Reuters

## NPT Unravelling

Consequent to North Korea acknowledging its clandestine nuclear weapons programme and withdrawing from the non-proliferation treaty, US intelligence authorities have warned of a possible spurt in nuclear proliferation among the developing nations. Put another way, the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) regime has all but collapsed. Israel, India and Pakistan have always stayed out of the NPT and, therefore, their nuclear status does not damage the NPT regime, which covers all other nations. The Iraqi attempt to go nuclear in the '80s and the North Korean acknowledgement of a covert nuclear programme are a direct challenge to the non-proliferation regime as they are both signatories to the treaty. The NPT itself was unwisely extended unconditionally and indefinitely in 1995, legitimising the nuclear weapons in the hands of the five original nuclear powers. Indeed, this is what is at the heart of nuclear proliferation. Under US pressure, NATO, in its policy review on its 50th anniversary, refused to yield to pleas by Germany and Canada to adopt a no-first-use policy. The US justification was that the threat of first use of nuclear weapons was necessary to deter a larger conventional threat by the Soviet forces. That threat disappeared in 1992, and yet the US, with its unparalleled military might, threatens the world not only with its first-use policy but also a declaration that nuclear retaliation may be resorted to against chemical and biological attacks.

The latest reports from the US give rise to further concerns in this regard. Under new directives from president Bush, defence secretary Rumsfeld has tasked the strategic forces command to plan for the use of tactical nuclear weapons in the war against Iraq. The applications are meant for deep bunker-busting and against the use of biological and chemical weapons. These plans have been questioned by a number of experts. The US has a record of sacrificing long-term enlightened self-interest in favour of immediate gain. This happened during the Cold War arms race, the Vietnam war, support to Pol Pot regime, nurturing the Islamic fundamentalist forces during the Afghan war, overlooking the China-Pakistan nuclear-missile axis and the Pakistan-North Korea missile-nuclear exchanges. A mindset that ignores the majority world and American public opinion on a unilateral unleashing of war on Iraq can also conceivably resort to the shortsighted use of N-weapons in Iraq. In that event nuclear proliferation will be unstoppable.

19 FEB 2003

THE TIMES OF INDIA

## IAEA refers N. Korea stand-off to U.N. Council

*187* *10-11* *man*  
VIENNA, FEB. 12. Raising the stakes in the nuclear stand-off with North Korea, the U.N. nuclear agency on Wednesday reported the reclusive communist country to the Security Council for violating its international obligations.

The International Atomic Energy Agency's 35-nation board

of governors made the decision — its last resort after months of intransigence by Pyongyang — in an emergency closed-door session in the afternoon at the agency's headquarters in Vienna.

Russia and Cuba abstained from the vote, which sets the stage for possible sanctions.

"We consider the sending of this question to the U.N. Security Council to be a premature and counterproductive step," said Russia's representative in a statement.

North Korea has not met its obligations under international nuclear accords, and the U.N. watchdog agency said it "re-

mains unable to verify that there has been no diversion of nuclear material" for weapons use. The IAEA urged the North to comply, but also said it "in parallel stresses its desire for a peaceful resolution of the nuclear issue and its support for diplomatic means to that end."

— AP

1 3 FEB 2003

# Iraq gives N-papers to inspectors

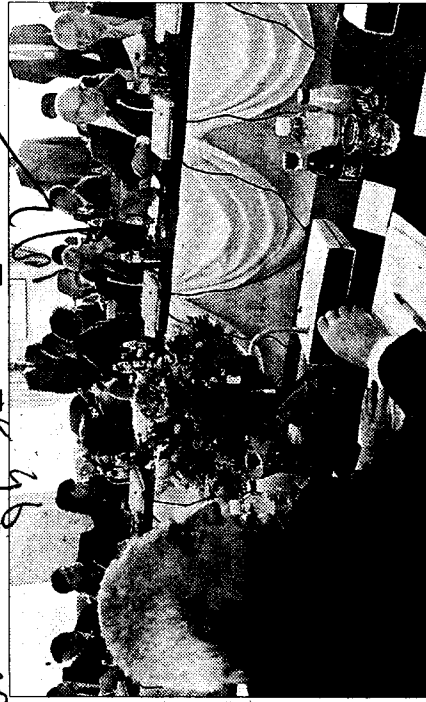
AGENCIES  
BAGHDAD, FEBRUARY 9

**C**HIEF UN weapons inspectors seeking guarantees on such key issues as spy flights held a second day of talks in Iraq on Sunday that could decide whether their report this week to the Security Council triggers war.

After talks on Saturday, Chief inspector Hans Blix and Mohamed ElBaradei, head of the UN nuclear watchdog, were locked in discussions with Iraqi officials in Baghdad as news emerged of a Franco-German peace initiative.

Germany confirmed forging a joint initiative that could block any UN Security Council resolution authorising military action against Iraq. A German magazine said it involved sending thousands of UN peacekeeping troops to Iraq.

Iraq handed over more docu-



**General Amir al-Saadi (left) with Blix and ElBaradei (second and third from right) during Sunday's talks. Reuters**

ments to chief weapons inspectors during the talks, a UN source said. Blix and Mohamed ElBaradei met for 2-1/2 hours of talks with an Iraqi monitoring team led by presidential adviser Amer al-Saadi.

Iraqi officials said Blix and ElBaradei met with Iraq's Vice-Pres-

adding that discussions focussed on chemical and biological weapons. "The discussions were very detailed," said a UN source. He said documents would be assessed in coming days. "It is too early to judge" the significance of the documents, he said. There was no comment from Iraq.

A third and final round of talks was scheduled for late Sunday. The inspectors will leave Baghdad early on Monday.

Blix said after a 4-1/2 hour first round of talks on Saturday that discussions were "very substantial". Iraq handed over documents to the inspectors at the meeting but the contents were not known.

Iraq relented last week on private interviews of Iraqi scientists, allowing inspectors to carry out such questioning for the first time. But it has so far given little on high-altitude overflights by U-2 spy planes.

# N. Korea nuke plant restarted

6/2 Dis on hand  
1-3

Seoul, Feb. 5 (Reuters): North Korea said today it had restarted atomic facilities at the centre of its suspected nuclear weapons programme and was putting them on a normal footing, and blamed the US for the crisis.

"The DPRK (North Korea) is now putting the operation of its nuclear facilities for the production of electricity on a normal footing after their restart," said a foreign ministry statement carried on the official Korean Central News Agency (KCNA).

The statement came five days after US officials said satellite surveillance had shown North

Korea was moving fuel rods around the reactor complex, including possibly some of the 8,000 spent rods experts consider a key step in building bombs.

But the US officials added that there was no sign that crucial reprocessing of those spent rods had begun. North Korea's statement did not mention the fuel rods, and repeated its assertion that it had ended the freeze on its nuclear reactor solely in order to produce electricity.

North Korea rejected the International Atomic Energy Agency's plans to refer the issue to the UN Security Council.

6 FEB 2003

THE TELEGRAPH



# On the very edge ✓

Hold the war juggernaut: that's what the UN  
9b.8 inspectors seem to imply 23/11

THE long-awaited report of the UN Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) along with International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) clearly indicates that there is no 'smoking gun' to eliminate which the US should launch a war against Iraq. In fact, Dr Al-Baradei, head of the IAEA, has reported to the UN Security Council that the inspections found 'no evidence that Iraq has revived its nuclear weapon programme' since it was eliminated in the nineties. The normally careful head of UNMOVIC, Hans Blix, conceded that after inspecting 350 sites in two months, with Iraq co-operating in the process, the inspectors had not found any evidence of 'banned activity or production facilities'. But the UN inspectors in their report to the UN Security Council have also confirmed that Iraq is co-operating in the 'process' but not in 'substance'.

Continuing the inspections would no doubt lead to greater substance and Iraq must cooperate fully in this process — both in spirit and in substance. At the same time, by any logic, the aim of the UN resolutions must remain the central factor for any move to use force. This seeks Iraq's disarmament in relation to weapons of mass destruction. Doubts so far seem to revolve around chemical and biological weapons and stocks. Although there is evidence with regard to their existence in Iraq — which used chemical weapons against Iran and its own citizens in 1988 — these are far more difficult to verify. The

risks in hasty judgement are well known, as the 1998 US missile attack on a pharmaceutical installation, believed to be chemical weapons plant in Sudan, showed. The US has been saying it has unambiguous evidence about Iraq's possession and programmes of weapons of mass destruction. Hopefully this will be time they will provide that information to the inspectors before launching a war.

Washington would, no doubt, also be sensitive to changing public opinion within the US and among its key allies, who would prefer extending the mandate to continue inspections as the route to Iraq's disarmament. France, Germany, Russia, China — possibly for their own reasons — and indeed most of the influential countries of the world now insist that whatever needs to be done to implement the UN resolutions, must remain within the UN ambit. The problem has been complicated by Washington often indicating that the goal was a 'regime change' in Iraq. Most of Iraq's neighbours may also want this; but others also see it as struggle to control oil. A war with multiple aims not clearly mandated by the UN would set a wrong precedent. Nothing has emerged so far to justify an early, leave alone immediate, military attack on Iraq. The US is fully ready to use overwhelming military force with phenomenal technological advantage. But its use would carry greater impact and international support if a credible case to justify war could be made.

# South Korea fails to extract North's pledge on nukes

91-10  
5/1

**Seoul:** South Korea failed to extract an agreement from the north to abandon its nuclear weapons programme during marathon talks that ended here on Friday, but both sides pledged to resolve the issue "peacefully".

The South Korean delegates to the cabinet-level talks said they had "strongly demanded" that their counterparts declare that North Korea would quickly abandon its nuclear weapons programme.

A spokesman for the south side, Rhee Bong-Jo, said the North Koreans were also urged to announce Pyongyang would reverse its recent withdrawal from the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

However Mr Rhee said the five North Korean delegates were adamant they were not prepared to give any concessions unless Pyongyang could discuss the matter directly with Washington.

"North Korea kept contending that this nuclear issue should be resolved through dialogue with the US," Rhee said.

"North Korea has a different view towards the nuclear issue from ours.

"Of course we have failed to narrow the differences but the agreement to peacefully resolve the issue has significance... and we conveyed enough of what we wanted to say and what we had to say to the north side during the talks."

The joint statement released after the talks, which lasted through the night and ended about 6:00 a.m. on Friday (2.30 a.m. IST) said both sides would work together to

avoid the nuclear crisis escalating into a military conflict.

"North and South Korea have exchanged enough of each others' positions on the nuclear issue and agreed to actively co-operate to settle this problem in a peaceful manner," the statement said.

An opportunity for further negotiations will be available with the joint statement announcing another round of cabinet-level talks from April 7 to 10, this time in Pyongyang.

Separate economic co-operation talks were also announced for February 11 to 14 in Seoul.

The North Korean delegation emerged from the talks trying to foster anti-US sentiment and calling for reunification between the two nations.

"At this time when the dignity and sovereignty of the Korean people are being threatened, there cannot be any distinction between the North and the South," the delegation said in a statement as it prepared to leave Seoul.

"The North and South must join forces and continue marching forward down the road toward reconciliation, co-operation and unification."

However North Korea has equally rejected South Korean efforts to be a key player in brokering a resolution to the crisis, insisting it will only negotiate directly with the US.

The head of South Korea's delegation to the talks in Seoul, unification minister Jeong Se-Hyun, was downbeat on Friday morning but stressed that at least both sides had engaged in dialogue during the four days of tense talks.

Meanwhile South Korean President Kim Dae-Jung will send a special envoy to Pyongyang next week to discuss the nuclear crisis, the presidential Blue House said on Friday.

Mr Kim's top advisor on North Korea, Lim Dong-Won, will visit Pyongyang for three days from Monday. AFP

# North Korea won't make nukes: South

Associated Press

SEOUL, Jan. 22. — North Korea said today it has no intention of making nuclear weapons and repeated that the standoff can be resolved through dialogue with the USA, officials said.

"We have made it clear that inter-Korean relations could be affected if the nuclear issue remains unresolved," South Korean delegate Mr Rhee Bong-jo said after hour-long talks with North Korean officials. "North Korea

## Korean reunion

SEOUL, Jan. 22. — South and North Korea agreed today to hold more temporary reunions next month for a small number of families separated for half a century. Red Cross officials from the two Koreas agreed to start work in April on establishing a permanent reunion Centre, according to a joint statement. — AFP

stressed that it has no intention of making nuclear weapons".

The Cabinet-level talks, along with three other sets of inter-Korean meetings this week, continue contacts started by a North-South summit in June 2000. They are the highest-level regular contacts between the two countries.

UN may handle nuke 'crisis': US arms control chief Mr John Bolton said today the 'crisis' over North Korea's nuclear weapons drive could be referred to the UN Security Council within days, a move which may infuriate Pyongyang, adds AFP.

# Nuclear weapons' evolving role

By V. R. Raghavan

*Nuclear weapons have been used as negotiating levers and as means of compelling political, military and economic responses preferred by the smaller nuclear state.*

HD-10 17/1

**T**HE YEAR just ended and the one begun are marked by an unmistakable nuclear meaning. Nuclear weapons have played a major part in the strategic considerations of both major and regional powers. They show every sign of continuing to do so this year. They may even pave the way for a new approach to exploit the possession of these weapons. The frequency with which nuclear weapons have been brought into play in the realpolitik of managing strategic interests is a pointer to a disturbing if not dangerous future. It demonstrates the confidence in exploiting or failing to comprehend, depending on the nuclear prism of the users, the meaning and purpose of a nuclear deterrent by new nuclear powers.

At the end of the Cold War, analysts in the nuclear weapons states had talked of the Second Nuclear Age. The phrase was meant to differentiate the changed strategic interests and challenges that were emerging after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The growth of new regional powers, possibility of new nuclear weapons states and the absence of the Cold War certainties of bipolar nuclear deterrence had changed the strategic scene dramatically. Non-proliferation, counter-proliferation and test ban initiatives that were launched with great power assumptions soon floundered in the face of double standards applied for the nuclear haves and the have-nots. There was a strong probability of the old nuclear order coming under stress. Today, after the readiness to use not only the grammar but instruments of nuclear deterrence demonstrated in South Asia and in the Korean peninsula, the Second Nuclear Age can be said to be truly in place. The shape of the new nuclear era is, however, not only not clear but raises serious apprehensions as well.

The South Asian and Korean nuclear play is marked by an uncanny mystique. It is not unlike the oriental shadow theatre where puppets are used with a cacophony of sounds to create an impact. The metaphor of shadow theatre is apt to distinguish the audience of major powers from the new nuclear weapons participants. South Asia witnessed a military crisis of unprecedented scope in

2002. This had been preceded in 1999 by the Kargil conflict in which the Indian strategy was to limit its operations to recapturing the territory Pakistan had stealthily occupied. This happened within months of the two states having gone overtly nuclear. The Indian leadership assessed that its restraint in the scale of military operations not only obtained international support but also put Pakistan on notice about taking recourse to military means against India. Pakistan's leadership assessed that nuclear weapons had deterred India from widening the conflict. The first conclusions of the two states' leadership on the role nuclear weapons could play were thus at the opposite ends of the deterrence continuum.

Faced with Pakistan's ever-increasing recourse to the instrument of terror against India and its belief that nuclear weapons had placed limits on Indian options, New Delhi concluded that the option of war needed to be exercised. In the aftermath of the terrorist attack on India's Parliament, the public mood was extremely strong against Pakistan. The Indian military was placed at its battle stations and the Air Force and the Navy moved into a state of operational readiness. In Pakistan and India there were a number of statements from the leaders in charge of policy, indicating their readiness to use nuclear weapons if necessary. That credible threat of war from New Delhi evoked the predictable response. Major powers rushed to lean on Pakistan to end its terrorism policy against India. Nuclear weapons in the subcontinent played a decisive part in the conciliation role of the major powers. These weapons were thus raised from being deterrents to being productive.

When faced with strong international criticism the leaders in both India and Pakistan denied the intent of using nuclear weapons. Months after the two states started rolling back their war deployment, both sides continue to talk of having been ready

to use the weapons. Pervez Musharraf leaves no room for doubt that India was restrained by his readiness to use nuclear weapons. In other words, he confirms his confidence in the value of nuclear weapons as instruments to obtain a political outcome on Jammu and Kashmir through terrorism. This perspective on nuclear weapons was considered both dangerous and unacceptable by the U.S. and the Soviets in their Cold War standoff. Nuclear weapons have, however, now become instruments of raising international fears and obtaining a political advantage through major power involvement. The dividing line between the shadow theatre of threats which are denied then repeated and reconfirmed, and the reality of catastrophic possibilities remains shadowy.

North Korea's admission that it possesses nuclear weapons and its carefully calibrated moves to raise the ante against economic sanctions is now holding centre stage. States in North Korea's neighbourhood are clear about the immense dangers the latter's nuclear weapons pose. Pyongyang is in fact challenging the credibility of the U.S.' extended nuclear deterrence guarantees in the region. Its technology transfers and missile sales to different parts of the world are another bow in its nuclear armour. The threat of reactivating plutonium-processing facilities, ordering out of inspectors and the shutting down of monitoring instruments, are all designed to force the major powers to give up on sanctions. The vulnerability of the U.S.' allies to North Korean conventional and nuclear capabilities adds urgency to the short fuse lit by the latter. The U.S. has attempted to stem the situation by reiterating its ability to fight two wars simultaneously. It is, however, not the superpower's military capability that is in doubt but its ability to both keep its promises with allies and simultaneously work its military pow-

er in the new environment. It would be hard to deny that China as an old and strong nuclear power is part of the Second Nuclear Age problem. Its policy on transfer of nuclear technology has been contrary to its assurances. Its part in bringing about nuclear capabilities which are challenging the older deterrence assumptions has been significant. The implications of its role in and outside the club of five nuclear powers has not been lost on the new or putative nuclear powers. Its ability to persuade or coerce North Korea from desisting from its proliferation agenda remains doubtful even as its stand on U.S. military action against Pyongyang is unclear.

The meaning of the continuing nuclear discourse needs to be considered carefully. It is clear that new nuclear weapons states have found it advantageous to exploit the threat potential of their assets. They do not see nuclear weapons as merely a means to deter. There is a new value being added to nuclear weapons that goes beyond deterrence. They are visualised as instruments of a policy that creates global fears of a nuclear exchange taking place between regional adversaries. They are being used as tools to involve major powers to one's advantage in regional conflicts; they are being seen as levers which can force economic and political accommodation upon major powers as a price for nuclear restraint.

The evolution of nuclear weapons in the hands of new nuclear powers from deterrence to larger and more finite ends is apparent. They have in the recent past been and will continue to be used to fulfil other roles; they have been used as negotiating levers and as means of compelling political, military and economic responses preferred by the smaller nuclear state. We are also witnessing the use of nuclear weapons to impel international action in favour of one nuclear adversary against the other. From nuclear deterrence to compellence to impellence is an evolutionary cycle whose implications are yet to be clear. Whether it leads to a change in international behaviour from major and medium powers, or, reinforces the old assumptions of strategic power projection remains to be seen.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 14, 2003

49-10  
14/11

## AN OMINOUS DECISION

*Disarmament*

BY WITHDRAWING FROM the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), North Korea has ratcheted up its confrontation with the global community, especially the U.S., to a dangerous new level. Under the terms of the NPT, a signatory state would be deemed to have terminated its obligations only 90 days after it has proclaimed its decision to do so. Pyongyang has, however, maintained that its withdrawal was of immediate effect since it had merely suspended a declaration on the same lines issued in 1993 (the declaration was suspended in 1994 after a deal was struck with the previous U.S. administration). The semantics of the issue might no longer be of great relevance since North Korea has already expelled the technicians who were monitoring its nuclear facilities on behalf of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and disabled the equipment used for this purpose. Neither does Pyongyang's promise, that it did not intend to move towards the production of nuclear weapons, provide for much comfort since it has begun work to operationalise these facilities and could therefore generate sufficient plutonium for almost half a dozen bombs by the middle of the year. Since Pyongyang appears to be relying on a very dubious interpretation of the relevant article of the NPT, which permits signatories to withdraw when faced with dire circumstances, there is a strong possibility that it can spin out further justifications to defend a decision to go nuclear. The U.S. President, George W. Bush's categorisation of North Korea as a part of the "axis of evil" and his administration's new doctrine of pre-emptive strikes have already been cited by Pyongyang as evidence that it faces the threat of a nuclear attack. Pyongyang can readily extend this argument, currently being used to justify the decision to withdraw from the NPT, to cover a decision to build its bombs.

North Korea announced its decision when it was already faced with a final warning from the

IAEA that the United Nations Security Council would be urged to impose sanctions if the monitors were not allowed to return and resume their task. While the IAEA can now be expected to intensify its efforts to convince the Security Council of the need for sanctions the process will be time-consuming. These efforts might not meet with much success either since China and Russia — which have condemned Pyongyang's decision to withdraw from the NPT — prefer to cajole rather than force North Korea to keep the nuclear genie in the bottle. In this situation, the main burden of ensuring that North Korea does not become the next nuclear-armed power falls on a U.S. administration which appears to be caught in two minds as to how it should respond to Pyongyang's manoeuvres. One section of senior U.S. officials apparently believes that the most appropriate response to the provocation from North Korea would be to step up the drive to further isolate it from the global community, while another section is more in tune with the approach of allies such as South Korea and Japan which hope to contain Pyongyang's nuclear ambitions through a process of engagement.

A major problem confronting Washington as it tries to decide on the approach that it must take is the uncertainty about North Korea's real intentions. Pyongyang has indicated that it will reverse course if Washington agrees to sign a non-aggression treaty or even if it lives up to its obligations under a 1994 agreement and resumes supplies of fuel oil (so that North Korea can meet its energy requirements without needing to resort to a nuclear programme). What is difficult to pinpoint is whether Pyongyang's threat to add a weapons dimension to its nuclear programme is for real, or whether it is merely a show of aggression intended to force Washington to engage. Events have taken a very dangerous course and Washington would ill-serve global interests if it did not accord sufficient attention to these developments.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

# Envoy says US ready to resolve North Korean nuke crisis

Seoul: The top US envoy for Asia said on Monday that Washington was willing to talk to communist North Korea and would even address its energy shortages if the nuclear crisis could be resolved.

While Washington insists it is not prepared to negotiate new terms to resolve the standoff, assistant secretary of state James Kelly, visiting South Korea, indicated the US government had not abandoned pre-crisis plans to help the impoverished North.

"We are of course willing to talk," he said in the capital Seoul. "Once we get beyond nuclear weapons, there may be opportunities with the U.S., with private investors, with other countries to help North Korea in the energy area."

At the same time Pyongyang, one day after threatening to turn

"the stronghold of the enemy into a sea of fire," ratcheted up the rhetoric with a warning of "thousand-fold" revenge against any US aggression.

Mr Kelly, who arrived on Sunday and is scheduled to leave on Tuesday, was in talks with South Korean foreign minister Choi Sung Hong following hour-long talks with President-elect Roh Moo-Hyun.

Mr Kelly expressed disappointment at the outcome of three days of discussions between a North Korean delegation and former Clinton administration troubleshooter Bill Richardson in New Mexico.

"We really hadn't heard anything from the North Koreans speaking to him (Richardson) that we hadn't heard in their public pronouncements before that," said Mr Kelly of the talks that concluded on

Saturday.

In exchange for North Korea's mothballing of a reactor suspected of producing plutonium for weapons, Washington and its allies had promised to build two safer reactors in the North and provide heavy oil until the reactors were completed.

US diplomats and South Korean analysts said Mr Kelly's hint of energy aid was not a fresh concession to Pyongyang, but a restatement of Bush administration offers of humanitarian help for Pyongyang once the nuclear issue was resolved. Mr Kelly, following the talks with Mr Roh, said his primary purpose in coming to South Korea was to hear directly from Mr Roh of his plans for South Korea's development once he takes office on February 25. Mr Roh's spokesman said he

had told Mr Kelly that Seoul was worried about reported US plans for sanctions. The spokesman quoted Mr Kelly as telling Mr Roh that Washington had no sanction or attack plans for the North.

President Kim Dae Jung said U.S.-North Korea talks were key. "I believe there is no problem that can't be solved through dialogue," he told former Japanese prime minister Yoshiro Mori, stressing Seoul's opposition to communism and weapons of mass destruction. Mr Mori, special envoy of his successor as prime minister Junichiro Koizumi, is here to elaborate on Japan's latest proposal to resolve the nuclear crisis.

In Vienna, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) said it was unlikely to convene an emergency board meeting on North Ko-

rea this week, deferring critical discussions on whether to pass the issue to the United Nations Security Council. "Diplomacy is being given a chance to work," IAEA spokeswoman Melissa Fleming said about the timing for the meeting.

Russia said it had agreed with other major powers on outlines of a plan to defuse the crisis and Japan's Kyodo news agency said Moscow was considering sending officials to Pyongyang soon.

The North has thousands of loaded artillery pieces aimed at Seoul and half of its army is deployed within 65 km of the demilitarised zone dividing the peninsula, the world's most heavily fortified border.

But Koreans in the South have lived with the threat for 50 years and appear sanguine about the current standoff. Agencies

AFP

# US envoy in Seoul to defuse crisis

JANE MACARTNEY &  
ADAM ENTOUS  
SEOUL/WASHINGTON, JAN 12

WITH the world gripped by fear of a nuclear-armed North Korea, a US envoy arrived in Seoul on Sunday to try to defuse the crisis. In the latest diplomatic response to North Korea's decision to pull out of a global treaty preventing the spread of nuclear arms, US Assistant Secretary of State James Kelly was making his first visit to the region since October, when he said Pyongyang admitted to a nuclear arms programme.

Kelly is due to meet officials on Monday and hold talks with President-elect Roh Moo-hyun. "We are going to talk positively," he said. After a senior North Korean official wrapped



Over a million North Koreans turned up at an anti-US rally in Pyongyang on Saturday. Reuters photo

up three days of talks in New Mexico with Democrat and former US ambassador to the UN Bill Richardson, Washington said Pyongyang had failed to address issues of concern.

"The North Koreans told

me that they don't plan to build nuclear weapons and I took that as a positive statement," Richardson said after concluding almost nine hours of talks with Han Song Ryol, a high-ranking member of the North

Korean delegation to the UN. "Ambassador Han has expressed to me North Korea's willingness to have better relations with the US. He told me the government of North Korea wants to resolve the nuclear issue through dialogue."

The Bush administration said the talks in Santa FE had not addressed issues of concern and warned Pyongyang was taking steps in the wrong direction. Richardson said the onus was now on Pyongyang and Washington to open an official dialogue. The US said threats to end a moratorium on missile testing would only increase tensions. But it added it is still "prepared to talk to North Korea about how it would meet its obligations to the international community." —Reuters

# N. Korea threat to end missile testing ban

JANE MACARTNEY AND  
JONATHAN ANSFIELD

Seoul/Beijing, Jan. 11

(Reuters): North Korea today threatened to end a moratorium on missile testing, escalating tensions on the day it became the world's first country to withdraw from a treaty preventing the spread of atomic weapons.

The secretive Communist state has caused alarm across the world since expelling UN nuclear inspectors last month and ratcheting up the rhetoric in an attempt to win concessions, recognition and security guarantees from the US.

Pyongyang stunned its neighbours in 1998 by firing a medium-range ballistic missile

that arched over Japan. The following year, the North announced a self-imposed moratorium on missile flight tests to last until this year.

"The moratorium on our missile test firing will be of no exception, now that the US has reneged all agreements reached between the United States and North Korea invalid," North Korean ambassador to China Choe Jin-su told a news conference.

Such a move was essential to counter possible US attack, Choe said, blaming the United States for failing to maintain talks and move towards establishing diplomatic relations.

He spoke a day before US assistant secretary of state James Kelly is due in Seoul on the first

leg of an Asian tour and as North Korea presses its own diplomatic offensive.

## Reactor ready soon

Another North Korean diplomat said today in Vienna that a Soviet-built nuclear research reactor in Yongbyon, believed to be at the centre of the country's covert nuclear weapons programme, would become operable in a few weeks.

The North's anger at the US deepened after a speech last year by President George W. Bush, in which he bracketed North Korea with Iraq and Iran in an "axis of evil". That speech convinced Pyongyang it was under threat and the brief detention at US behest of a ship exporting missiles to

Yemen late last year only heightened the north's anxiety.

In yesterday's announcement of its immediate withdrawal from the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), with notice of a single day, Pyongyang blamed Washington's "hostile" policy but said it had no intention of developing nuclear arms.

Voicing "burning hatred" for the US, more than one million people massed in the North Korean capital to support the their government's decision, the official Korean Central News Agency (KCNA) said. The report could not be independently confirmed.

On the other side of the world's last Cold War flashpoint, tens of thousands of people ral-

lied on a wintry day in central Seoul in support of the US military presence in the south and to denounce the north's moves to resume its nuclear programme.

Pyongyang's decision has triggered worldwide condemnation, cries of concern from neighbours and suggestions the issue be placed before the UN Security Council.

The US played down the nuclear standoff, saying the north's latest move was cause for concern but not unexpected.

The UN International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) sought to reassure worried governments, saying it did not see North Korea's decision to withdraw from the treaty as raising the stakes in the crisis and felt

there was room for diplomacy to work.

North Korea's official news agency poured out a series of attacks against the US.

"If the US brings dark clouds of war to hang over this land, the army and the people of (North Korea) will remove the land of the US from the earth and root out the very source of evil and war," KCNA quoted one speaker as telling the rally in Pyongyang.

Tensions have been rising on the divided Korean peninsula since Pyongyang admitted to Kelly in October it had been pursuing a nuclear arms programme in violation of a 1994 agreement.

But South Korean commentators focused on a line in yester-

day's furious statement from Pyongyang that appeared to leave the door ajar to a diplomatic solution by inviting the US to verify that the north did not possess nuclear weapons.

Diplomatic sources with close ties to Pyongyang said in Tokyo that North Korea would agree to scrap its weapons plans if Washington reaffirmed a 2000 joint communique that declared the two nations had "no hostile intention" towards each other.

North Korea clearly did not eschew diplomacy. New Mexico governor Bill Richardson planned a final round of talks with North Korean officials as the US sought a diplomatic solution to persuade Pyongyang to abandon its arms programme.



# N Korea may resume missile tests

ASSOCIATED PRESS

SEOUL, Jan. 11. — North Korea warned today it may end a self-imposed moratorium on missile testing, as more than one million people reportedly rallied in the communist nation's capital to support its withdrawal from a global nuclear pact.

The missile testing announcement was likely to boost tensions in an intensifying nuclear stand-off, despite a global chorus of condemnation of the North Korean government.

If launches resume, they will be the first since 1998, when North Korea shocked the region by test-firing a missile over Japan into the Pacific. Pyongyang subsequently announced a moratorium on testing that is supposed to last beyond the end of this year. It is observing a moratorium on testing supposed to last into 2004.

In Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA, North Korean deputy ambassador to the UN Mr Han Song Ryol, however, sought to allay the spurt in fears telling Governor Mr Bill Richardson today that his nation has no intention of building nuclear weapons.

Late tonight, in Pyongyang, the Communist regime talked tough, mincing no words in a renewed call for a "holy war against the United States". North Korea also said it may start reprocessing spent fuel rods from its nuclear reactor to make atomic bombs.



Protesters at an anti-US rally in Seoul on Saturday. — AFP

The North's ambassador to China, Mr Choe Jin Su, said earlier in the day that if the USA doesn't take steps to improve relations, it may resume missile tests. The statement comes just a day after Pyongyang said it was pulling out of the

Korean border was flaring today, with

large rallies in the South and North Korean capitals. In Seoul, about 30,000 people turned out to support the US military presence here. But in the North, state media reported that more than a million people flooded the streets to praise the communist government's decision yesterday.

The world however continued to search for a diplomatic solution. Russia's nuclear energy minister suggested today that Moscow build a nuclear power station in North Korea to help diffuse the crisis. Russia could assist North Korea with its nuclear energy programme to help bring the country back into the framework of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, Mr Alexander Rumyantsev said.

The global outcry against the North spread, with the EU expressing "grave concern". The most advanced missile under development in North Korea is a two-stage rocket, an advanced version called Taepodong-2, that if deployed, analysts believe, could deliver a several-hundred kilogram payload as far as Alaska or Hawaii, and a lighter payload to the western half of the United States. Technical and economic problems have hindered the North's missile programme.

US defence experts say North Korea has one or two nuclear bombs, as well as chemical and biological weapons that can be deployed in warheads.

# The nuclear Pandora's box

North Korea's withdrawal from the NPT has far reaching consequences for the world

**N**ORTH Korea has withdrawn from the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) with immediate effect, claiming 'freedom from the binding force of the safeguards accord with the International Atomic Energy Agency'. The treaty caters for a 90-day notice of withdrawal by a member state. North Korea had given such a notice in March 1993, but had 'suspended' the withdrawal notice a day before the deadline. This was the period when the agreement to provide nuclear reactors for power generation and food and oil supplies were promised in return of the suspension. Technically, Pyongyang may be right and therefore its acquisition of nuclear weapons now would not violate any international obligations. But here is still a ray of hope. Its officials have affirmed that its nuclear programme is for peaceful purposes and the country would be willing to reverse its decision if supply of oil and food is recommenced.

Obviously the issue goes far beyond North Korea. The provision of withdrawal in the NPT always represented the Achilles' heel of the non-proliferation regime so assiduously built up over the decades. Withdrawal from the NPT by North Korea and the acquisition of nuclear weapons may well lead to the unwinding of the nuclear order with unpredictable consequences. India, which has had serious reservations about the NPT, has always cautioned the international community of the goal of pursuing non-proliferation without corresponding

*Disarmament*  
progress on global nuclear disarmament. India itself was unlikely to have gone nuclear if nuclear disarmament had been accorded even some priority after the Cold War ended. But the indefinite extension of the NPT in 1995 sought to freeze the global nuclear order in spite of even eminent Japanese leaders cautioning about the risks of such a step. It has been clear since 1998 that a new nuclear weapon state could now emerge only either through the clandestine route, or after a legally valid notice of withdrawal from the NPT.

The challenge ahead for the world now is a twin one: dealing with North Korea and, secondly, ensuring a viable, durable non-proliferation regime. Both are deeply intertwined. Given the rate at which the situation has been escalating over the past few months, Washington would do well to give diplomacy a higher priority than it has done so far. North Korea represents a far greater strategic and foreign policy challenge to Washington than even the war against Iraq. Stopping supplies of oil and food during the peak winter season is perhaps not the best way to invite co-operation from North Korea. Concurrently, there is an urgent need to pay serious attention to building a global regime that revives the principle of a balance of obligations between those who possess nuclear weapons and those who don't, a principle unanimously approved by the UN General Assembly in November 1965, and to which the NPT commits all member states.

# N. Korea willing to give up N-plan if US sticks to pact

10/1  
Seoul/Tokyo: North Korea will agree to abandon its nuclear arms programme if the United States reaffirms the contents of a 2000 joint communique which declared they had "no hostile intention" towards each other, diplomatic sources with close ties to Pyongyang said on Thursday.

The possible way out of a stand-off over North Korea's nuclear arms programme comes a day after Washington offered dialogue with the reclusive communist state, but refused to offer incentives for scrapping its atomic ambitions.

In public, at least, the North maintained its fierce anti-American rhetoric and has yet to respond to Washington's offer, but a diplomatic source with close ties to Pyongyang suggested they were softening their stance.

"Reaffirming the joint communique issued in October 2000 would suffice," the source told Reuters in Tokyo.

"The North would agree to abandon its nuclear programme if the United States agrees to go back to the joint communique and re-affirm it."

In the 2000 statement, North Korea and the United States vowed to end decades of hostility and work for better ties. Shortly after its signing, then US secretary of state Madeleine Albright visited Pyongyang to meet North Korean leader Kim Jong Il. Her trip was intended to lay the groundwork for a visit to North Korea by then President Bill Clinton, but his term ended before the trip materialised.

Tensions on the divided peninsula have

risen since U.S. officials said in October that North Korea had admitted pursuing a nuclear arms programme in violation of a 1994 pact, and escalated further after Pyongyang threatened to reactivate a nuclear plant capable of producing weapons-grade plutonium.

North Korea kept the world waiting on Thursday for a direct response to the U.S. offer of talks, repeating stock demands and denunciations of Washington which is insisting Pyongyang take the next step.

A day after the United States changed tack and offered a dialogue with the East Asian communist state, White House spokesman Ari Fleischer said on Wednesday that "the ball is in North Korea's court."

But North Korea has not so far acknowledged either Washington's offer or Monday's ultimatum from the UN nuclear watchdog to readmit the inspectors it expelled last week. Instead, North Korean radio repeated Pyongyang's demand that Washington signs a non-aggression treaty to end the row.

U.S. officials insisted the United States would not dangle additional inducements to try to persuade Pyongyang to abandon a programme believed to have spawned one or two nuclear weapons. A U.S. diplomat in Seoul said Washington "doesn't like the idea of carrots" because Pyongyang has broken previous nuclear pledges. "The whole idea of a non-aggression treaty doesn't ring well with Americans. US aggression is not the issue. The issue is North Korea's nuclear programme," the diplomat said. Reuters

10 JAN 2003

# Koizumi to discuss crisis with Putin

By P. S. Suryanarayana

**SINGAPORE, JAN. 8.** South Korea and Japan today intensified their diplomatic pressure on North Korea after joining hands with the United States to urge Pyongyang to "eliminate its nuclear weapons programme". Noting that no time-table had been set at this stage for any such action by Pyongyang, South Korea indicated that the issue, however, had to be sorted out, in view of the worsening situation on this front.

The Japanese Prime Minister, Junichiro Koizumi, sought to widen the circle of pressure by indicating in Tokyo today that he would discuss the North Korean issues, including the nuclear question, with the Russian President, Vladimir Putin.

Mr. Koizumi was reported to have told the Japanese journalists in Tokyo, on the eve of his departure for Moscow, that he would focus attention on the North Korean issue in addition to his country's ties with Russia. This aspect of Mr. Koizumi's agenda is in sync with a statement that Japan issued on Tuesday to underline that it "intends to strive for the peaceful resolution of the (North Korean nuclear) issue by "consulting closely" with Washington and Seoul and also by seeking "cooperation with other interested countries such as China and Russia and with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)". Japan underscored its 'hope' that the North would "quickly take concrete action to abolish in a verifiable manner" all of Pyongyang's plans for nuclear weapons development.

The general expectation within the Asia Pacific diplomatic circles was that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (or the North) might

come up with a considered response to the latest U.S. offer. The U.S. has indicated its willingness to engage Pyongyang in talks "about how it will meet its obligations to the international community" by renouncing the North Korean nuclear weapons programme itself.

However, the DPRK today renewed its demand that the U.S. sign a bilateral non-aggression pact as the best means to ensure a complete de-nuclearisation of the Korean peninsula. This demand acquired importance in the context of America stating categorically that it "will not provide quid pro quo to North Korea to live up to its existing obligations" of not moving forward along the nuclear arms avenue.

In a strongly worded statement, the North Korean official news agency today outlined the Kim Jong-il regime's updated position in highly polemical terms. The U.S., it was said, "is well advised not to forget the lesson drawn from the history of the DPRK-U.S. relations and the present reality". Asking the U.S. to give up its "anachronistic hostile policy" towards the DPRK, it called upon the U.S. to "immediately withdraw its aggression troops from South Korea".

China, arguably the most influential player in North-East Asia as regards the DPRK's nuclear weapons issue, did not rush to respond to the latest consensus among the U.S. as also South Korea and Japan in this connection. Japan, on the other hand, reaffirmed its status as a proactive member of the IAEA's Board of Governors, besides arguing that North Korea should abide by the latest resolution adopted by this organisation in Vienna.

# IAEA will give N Korea final chance to comply

Associated Press *SR*

VIENNA, Jan. 6. — The UN nuclear agency convened an emergency meeting today on the North Korea crisis, and an official said the organisation would give the communist country a final chance to abandon its covert weapons programme and readmit inspectors.

Resisting pressure to report the nation's defiance to the UN Security Council, the International Atomic Energy Agency instead was considering a draft resolution urging North Korea to comply with its obligations under global nuclear accords, an agency official

told AP.

"North Korea will be given another chance to come into compliance," the official said, speaking on condition of anonymity.

Although parts of the declaration were to be hashed out in today's meeting of IAEA's 35-nation board of governors, there was a consensus that "reporting to the Security Council would be something that would happen if they do not comply," the official told AP.

There appeared to be broad support on the agency's board for the idea of giving North Korea a final chance, and turning the issue over to the Security Council today, as some had expected the IAEA to do,

was seen as "very unlikely," the official said.

Referring the dispute to the council — a last resort for the IAEA, the United Nations' nuclear watchdog — could lead to punitive sanctions or other actions against North Korea's regime for expelling IAEA inspectors last month and reactivating an idle nuclear complex.

'Subtle diplomacy is the key': Asserting that nuclear programmes themselves do not necessarily mean atomic weapons, Russia today called for "subtle" diplomacy to resolve the North Korean crisis, adds PTI from Moscow.

"This problem must be settled by diplomatic means

only.

What is necessary at the moment is subtle diplomacy," Russian defence minister Mr Sergei Ivanov said.

Russia, he said, is among the principal parties concerned about defusing the heightening tension surrounding North Korea after it announced de-freezing its nuclear projects, according to Interfax news agency.

However, Mr Ivanov said: "In and of themselves nuclear programmes are not yet nuclear weapons." "We border North Korea and are concerned that everything be predictable there," he said, adding it would be premature to raise the North Korea issue at the UN Security Council.

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THE STATESMAN

# N. Korea *Qin* ready *VA* for talks *all* with US

**Beijing, Jan. 3 (Reuters):** North Korea said today it was willing to discuss its nuclear programme with the US and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), but insisted a non-aggression pact was the only way to defuse the crisis.

The reclusive Communist state's ambassador to China, Choe Jin-su, told a news conference the North's decision to reactivate its nuclear programme was an act of self-defence and denounced Washington as the aggressor.

"Only when both teams sit together can there be a dialogue, and without dialogue, no one can talk about a peaceful solution," he said, criticising Washington for labelling North Korea as part of an "axis of evil" and accusing the US of aiming missiles at it.

"If the US legally assures us of security by concluding a non-aggression treaty, the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula will be settled," he added.

Choe said talks with Washington about how to safeguard the framework governing its nuclear programme had been broken off.

"This issue should be negotiated in the future," he said. "If time permits, we will discuss with the IAEA."

Washington, which announced in October that the north had admitted to a secret nuclear weapons programme, has said it will not reward bad behaviour by holding talks with the north.

North Korea set off alarm bells around the world by starting to reactivate a nuclear complex, mothballed under a 1994 deal with Washington but capable of producing weapons-grade plutonium.

Calling for direct talks with Washington and a non-aggression pact, it expelled UN inspectors monitoring the complex and said it would no longer abide by the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Diplomatic efforts to bring the north into line gathered pace today with South Korea, which held talks with China yesterday, sending an envoy to Russia for weekend talks.

**THE TELEGRAPH**

APPEAL FOR NON-AGGRESSION PACT

# N Korea ready for talks with USA

Press Trust of India

BEIJING, Jan. 3. — North Korea today said it does not trust Mr George W Bush and asked Washington to agree to sign a non-aggression pact with it and not put any pre-conditions for opening a dialogue on Pyongyang's secret nuclear weapons programme.

"To solve the North Korean nuclear issue peacefully, the USA should start dialogue with no pre-conditions and sign a non-aggression treaty to provide a legal guarantee for the safety of North Korea," Pyongyang's ambassador to China, Mr Choe Jin Su, told reporters here.

"The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is willing to talk to the USA for a peaceful solution on the North Korean nuclear issue," Mr Choe said, a day after China and South Korea held talks on North Korea's nuclear issue.

Termining the nuclear issue as "at its most grave moment", he said the situation has arisen because the USA waived its obligations under the North Korea-US agreed framework of 1994 and suspended the supply of heavy fuel oil to Pyongyang.

**From page 1**

**SCIENCE CONGRESS:**

To begin with, at the suggestion of Union S&T minister Mr Murli Manohar Joshi, Mr Vajpayee agreed to set up a new award for scientists that would carry a prize money of Rs 25 lakh. Talented scientists moving out of research laboratories and science students preferring to spend their life in office rather than research labs, however, are not the only areas that Mr Vajpayee thought merited reiteration.

Bureaucratisation of R&D establishments was an equally tricky area and one that Mr Vajpayee has been referring to in different fora for some years. Today, he cautioned scientists to ensure that "scientific



Two South Korean soldiers stand guard on the demarcation line between North and South Korea at Panmunjong on Friday. — AFP

"Under such conditions, North Korea had to lift the nuclear freeze and ask UN nuclear inspectors to leave Pyongyang." Describing as "Cold War style thinking" the US stance which "frightened" North Korea, Mr Choe said he did not believe Mr Bush's remark that he was not interested in attacking the North.

"North Korea cannot believe these words," he

said. "All the time they say they have no intention to attack the DPRK by military devices, but who can believe these words?"

South Korea's deputy foreign minister Mr Lee Tae-shik held talks yesterday with his Chinese counterpart Mr Wang Yi and exchanged views on how to maintain stability in the Korean peninsula.

institutions do not become afflicted with the culture of our governmental agencies". "Talent should not be suppressed and individualism should not replace teamwork," he told them, pointing out that this was linked to the increasing frustration of younger scientists.

Indicating that the scientific community also needed to take a closer look at some of the substandard institutes and take corrective measures, Mr Vajpayee said India had several exceptional scientific and technological institutions while "some others turn out graduates and postgraduates of indifferent quality".

At the macro-level, the PM called upon the scientific community to play a more active role to attain the 8 per cent growth rate. "Economic actors and scientists did not

recognise each other sufficiently," he said, while acknowledging that "there are clear winds of change".

Mr Vajpayee also referred to the disconnect between science and policy, asserting that policy problems called for a multi-disciplinary approach that required scientists and technologists to be "pro-active" in throwing light on policy concerns. Policymakers in the government should seek inputs from the scientific community.

**On VHP's criticism:** Mr Vajpayee took time off to make light of the VHP's criticism of his "pseudo Hindutva", and refused comment on the 22 February ultimatum served by the saints for handing over undisputed land acquired at Ayodhya. "Everyone knows what is their stand" is all that he chose to say.

# US threats hamper N. Korea nuke plans

9-3 *Disarmament*  
Seoul, Dec. 31 (Reuters): Expelled UN inspectors left North Korea today after the Communist state set alarm bells ringing by ending independent monitoring of its nuclear programme.

A senior North Korean envoy added a new dimension to the crisis when he said Pyongyang was unable to meet its obligations under the Non-Proliferation Treaty because of nuclear threats by Washington.

In the South Korean capital, Seoul, which is within range of the North's artillery, thousands braved the New Year Eve cold to chant slogans and songs by candlelight in a protest against the US, which has been the nation's top ally against the North since 1950.

The UN inspectors, who flew to China, were told to leave on Friday after North Korea started reviving a mothballed complex capable of producing plutonium for nuclear weapons.

But US efforts to ensure a coordinated diplomatic riposte have drawn a mixed response, with South Korea and Russia taking issue with Washington's handling of their neighbour.

The inspectors, a Chinese woman and a Lebanese man working for the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), declined to comment on the diplomatic standoff.

"We have some job to do and we need to contact headquarters," the man, who declined to give his name, said on arrival in the Chinese capital, Beijing. He said he was heading for Vienna.

The IAEA, the UN's nuclear watchdog, said the inspectors would submit a report to the agency's board on January 6.

North Korea, which has disabled UN monitoring devices at the nuclear complex at Yongbyon, is demanding direct talks with Washington to defuse the crisis.

Washington, which has branded North Korea part of an "axis of evil" with Iraq and Iran, says the North must halt its nuclear programme and respect a 1994 non-proliferation agreement that ended an earlier crisis.

THE TELEGRAPH

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# STRATEGIC STABILITY

## A Year Without The ABM Treaty

By VIKTOR LITOVKIN

13 December marked one year since the day President George Bush announced his country's withdrawal from the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, better known as the ABM Treaty. Six months later, on 13 June, 2002, the treaty, which was called "a cornerstone of strategic stability" and the foundation of the entire Russia-US arms control and arms reduction system, became part of history.

The Russian leadership, it will be recalled, was strongly opposed to denouncing this treaty and called Washington's decision a "historical mistake with unpredictable consequences".

### Fixed idea

But no demonstrative moves to oppose the US decision were made. It is easy to see why. First, each of the signatories had a sovereign right to withdraw from it, having warned the partner in good time about such a decision. Second, Moscow had no real chances to suspend or slow down this process. Though, as it was suggested in the White House, Moscow could have accepted the repeated US proposals to update the 1972 Treaty.

However, it is still believed in Moscow that the US proposals to modernise it would in fact mean rejecting the treaty. They proposed agreeing to the establishment of another zone for deploying their National Missile Defence system (NMD), increasing the number of interceptor missiles in both countries, and allowing construction outside the national territory of new early-warning radar stations and conducting relevant research and development. But this kind of modernisation erodes its essential mission — limitation of anti-missile defence systems — and gives the green light to an arms race, in which we neither want nor have economic

*The author is a Ria Novosti military observer.*

capabilities to take part.

Even without consent to modernise the 1972 Treaty it was obvious that the US would not give up effecting its fixed idea — relying on the economic might of the state and its research and technological potential to defend itself against a missile strike from any part of the world. And not only strikes from the rogue countries (the list of these countries possessing nuclear arms includes,

short-lived, research and development to provide an anti-missile umbrella have never stopped in the US. At first, however, that work proceeded without significant violations of the ABM Treaty.

In the 2001 fiscal year \$4.5 billion was spent on NMD research and development, and in 2002 the figure rose to \$8.3 billion. Future research and development for deploying only two NMD regions in Grand Forks, North Dakota,



according to Washington, North Korea, Iran, and Iraq, to mention a few) but also from Russia, though it was not mentioned openly.

### Successful tests

Staggering funds had annually been allocated for NMD development. As much as \$95 billion had been spent for these purposes from 1983, the year when President Ronald Reagan launched a programme of the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), which was then called Star Wars, to 2001, when President Bush Jr. announced US withdrawal from the ABM Treaty. And though SDI proved

and Alaska will require, as estimated by the U.S. General Accounting Office, at least about \$100 billion. Of course in these conditions the 1972 ABM Treaty became a real burden for Washington. And it got rid of that burden, dead weight was to be discarded.

Six tests of new land-based anti-missiles have already been conducted on the Kwajalein Atoll in the Pacific in 2002. Most of them have been successful. The US has already learned how to discern a training warhead among several dummies, and to hit precisely that warhead beyond the atmosphere.

The attitude to this in Russia is

quite calm. The defence-industrial complex spokesmen and army generals said more than once to a military observer that they have been watching closely this process and found no extraordinary achievements in NMD development. Moreover, at present the US is following the road we passed over three decades ago. And there are no serious threats to Russia in all that.

All the more so, since after the signing last May of the Treaty on Strategic Offensive Reductions, which guarantees reductions of nuclear warheads in both countries in the coming decade and does not prevent Russia from taking appropriate, or "asymmetric", as they are sometimes called, measures for strengthening national security, Moscow has a good chance to make up for the absence of the ABM Treaty. And it will require no additional spending.

### Combat duty

Russia's asymmetric measures include revision of plans to reduce strategic offensive arms. If prior to the US withdrawal from the ABM Treaty Moscow intended fully to liquidate its Strategic Missile Force with 154 "heavy" R-36 Voyevoda missiles and ten MIRVed warheads capable of penetrating any anti-missile defence (they are called SS-18 Satan in the West), then now it has been decided to keep them on combat duty until 2012-2015, that is, until their guaranteed and extended service life expires.

The reduction of railway based missile complexes, equipped with Molodets RT-23 missiles (SS-24 Scalpel), carrying ten MIRVed warheads each, has also been suspended. Russian designers have a technical possibility to equip the new silo-based strategic RT-2 PM Topol-M missile (SS-25 Sickle) with MIRVed warheads. It is believed in the Kremlin and in the Defence Ministry that all this will help make up for the loss of agreements on anti-missile defence limitations.

THE STATESMAN

1 JAN 2003

giving  
to  
IAEA

By P. S. Suryanarayana

**SINGAPORE, DEC. 31.** With time ticking inexorably, the inspectors of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) stuck to a previously indicated deadline and left North Korea today. In the process, the 'Stalinist regime' in Pyongyang was left to its own nuclear devices, in a literal sense as also in the American sense of a strategic metaphor of 'proliferation'.

Two of the three-member IAEA team, reckoned to be the only 'remaining' human-resource-inspectors at North Korea's Yongbyon nuclear complex, left the country today. They did so in deference to Pyongyang's assertion that the atomic watch-dog's mandate had automatically lapsed several days ago in line with the North Korean decision to resume operations at Yongbyon in the context of the (alleged) American infractions of the relevant Agreed Framework (AF) of 1994.

Calling upon the U.S. to do a "soul searching" in this context, Pyongyang's official news agen-

# IAEA inspectors leave N. Korea



**Two U.N. nuclear inspectors expelled by North Korea, believed to be a Lebanese man (with cap), and a Chinese woman, at the Beijing airport after arriving from North Korea on Tuesday. — AP**

cy explained that the decision to lift "the temporary freeze" of the North Korean "nuclear facilities", the crux of the AF, was designed only to "cope with" America's own stoppage of heavy oil shipments to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

While the DPRK lashed out against the IAEA, too, by accus-

ing it of colluding with the U.S., the White House maintained that it was entirely up to the international agency to decide whether North Korea's intransigence as regards the nuclear issue should be brought up before the United Nations Security Council.

The U.N.'s locus standi is related to North Korea's status as a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Pyongyang has, in recent days, signalled that it might possibly review its commitments under the NPT.

It is in these evolving circumstances that the South Korean President-elect, Roh Moo-hyun, said in Seoul today that he was doubtful whether the American strategy, which was described as a "tailored containment" of the DPRK would be viable at all.

More significant, though, is the statement today by the Russian Foreign Minister, Igor Ivanov, urging the DPRK to honour its international commitments. The Russian stand is being viewed in Beijing as an endorsement of its own stand that the AF should be adhered to by both North Korea and the U.S.

THE HINDU

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