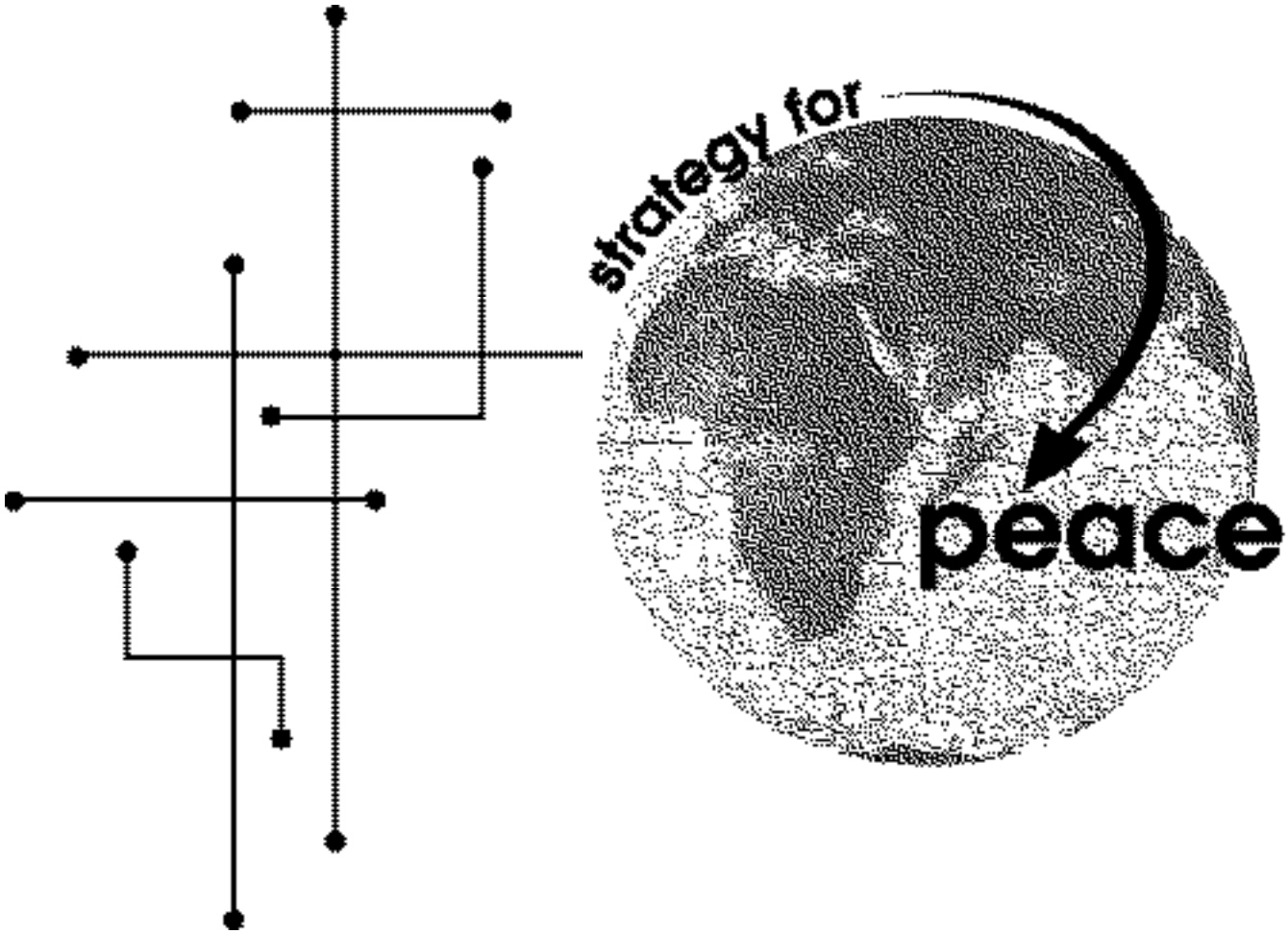


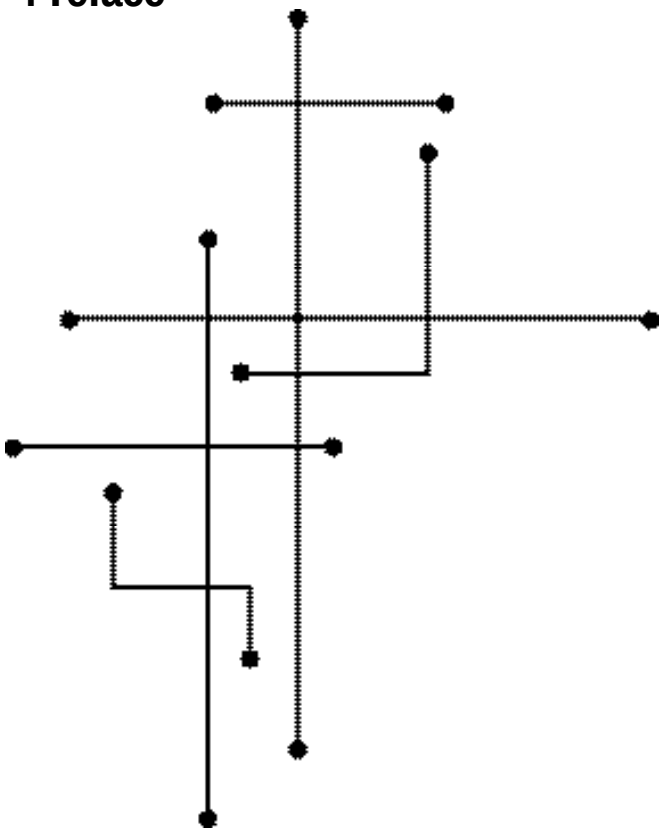
US Strategies for Regional Security

Report of the 42nd Strategy for Peace Conference

Edited by Michael Kraig and James Henderson

Convened at Airlie Conference Center, Warrenton, Virginia
October 25-27, 2001

Preface



Strategy for Peace, the Stanley Foundation's US foreign policy conference, annually assembles a panel of experts from the public and private sectors to assess specific policy issues and to recommend future direction.

The eighty-seven participants who met at Airlie Center were drawn together in four concurrent round-table discussions to examine the current state of relations and recommend elements of a strategy for peace.

All sessions were informal and off the record. In preparing this document following the conference, the rapporteurs tried to convey the areas of consensus and disagreement and the conclusions of the discussion. It contains her or his interpretation of the proceeding and is not merely a descriptive, chronological account.

The participants neither reviewed nor approved the reports. Therefore, it should not be assumed that every participant subscribes to all recommendations, observations, and conclusions.

Production:
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Introduction and Summary

By Michael Kraig and James Henderson
Program Officers, The Stanley Foundation

US Strategies for Regional Security

For the 2001 Strategy for Peace Conference, the Stanley Foundation invited US officials and policy experts to consider US foreign policy and defense strategies for achieving regional security in four major areas of the world: Europe; the Middle East and Persian Gulf; South Asia; and within Northeast Asia, the Korean peninsula. Participants were asked to view the strategic, economic, and political dynamics of individual regions in their entirety. For each separate working group, two to three participants were asked prior to the conference to author "thought-pieces" or short policy briefs on US foreign policy options. These pieces served as a primer for discussion and are reprinted in their entirety within this report. The chair of each working group was then asked to write their own short reports synthesizing, analyzing, and summarizing both the working group discussions and the commissioned briefs.

Working group discussions at Airlie House were informal and off the record. Therefore, the primary policy recommendations listed at the beginning of each chair's report in the following sections of this publication should be viewed as the chair's own interpretations of the substance of discussions.

Why a Focus on Regions?

It may seem that the new realities of transnational terrorism and the global "war on terror" require a purely global focus in conceptualizing US foreign and security policies over the long term. Alternately, many experts might point to the necessity of shoring up US bilateral relations with key potential allies, especially European allies and individual developing countries from these four regions. Both the global and the bilateral points of view are necessary in any comprehensive assessment of US policy options. However, one only has to consider the international events of the first post-Cold War decade to find compelling reasons not to abandon a broad regional outlook as a necessary component of national security strategy:

- Yugoslavia's disintegration and the ensuing humanitarian catastrophes were initially not treated as strategic interests for the United States. However, the potential for instability spreading to regional neighbors threatened the values, political principles, and military credibility of the North American Trade Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU).

- Regional differences have repeatedly challenged the norms and goals of global nonproliferation regimes. The threat environments of the Middle East, South Asia, and the Korean peninsula have required supplementary strategies for preventing the spread of missiles and weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

- The Persian Gulf region—particularly Iraq's relationships with its neighbors—and the dispute between Israel and Palestine constitute the two primary unresolved regional problems

that are fueling the Al Qaeda-related transnational terrorist cells in more than 60 countries around the world.

Successful resolution of these diverse national security challenges will require that the United States deal with the regional issues involved, align regional initiatives with global concerns and regimes, and use US bilateral relations to leverage solutions. In this regard, sound regional security frameworks can provide essential economic, political, and military foundations for making global security initiatives workable.

The primary substantive focus of each separate working group, and the associated findings and policy recommendations, are briefly outlined below. A more complete and detailed set of recommendations can be seen at the beginning of each chair's report.

European Security

The attacks of September 11 have renewed the centrality of the Euro-Atlantic partnership between the United States and Europe and made clear that threats to European security will increasingly come from unstable states and regions bordering Europe. Special attention was focused on the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Mediterranean, and the Near East. Key findings and recommendations were:

- The Euro-Atlantic partnership and transatlantic community are still central components of US and regional security after September 11.

- Europe and the United States should work to further integrate Russia into the Euro-Atlantic system, a goal now made easier by President Putin's recent policies.

- The primary powers and responsibilities of the EU and NATO should not be confused with each other, and membership should not be viewed as automatic. Neither the EU nor NATO is a full-service institution.

- In the Balkans, the United States and its European allies have little choice but to carry on with their present policies. Continued involvement by both the United States and the EU is critical to future progress and stability in the region.

- Turkey remains simultaneously one of the principal bulwarks and one of the major policy conundrums of European security. The problems of Turkey's concerns about NATO-EU arrangements for the EU Rapid Reaction Force and Cyprus's membership in the EU need to be resolved.

- The Caucasus will be increasingly important for European security. European countries should pay greater attention to the region, including problems such as those faced by the government of Georgia in Abkhasia.

- Economic and demographic pressures in the Mediterranean and Near East may increasingly present European countries with security challenges at their borders and internally. The EU is

the proper institution for fashioning “soft security” measures to prevent the worst possible outcomes from materializing.

Korean Peninsula Security and Northeast Asia

Special attention was given to the problems of the Korean peninsula within Northeast Asia because it represents one of the few Cold War territorial and ideological divisions still operating. As such, it is a de facto obstacle to further progress toward a wider multilateral security framework in East and Southeast Asia. Key findings and recommendations were:

- New forms of US engagement are needed to reduce the massive uncertainty about long-term North Korean goals and intentions. A consistent US policy strategy for both Korea and for Northeast Asia is hampered by lack of US understanding about North Korean intentions and goals.

- Coordination with South Korea remains critical. To reduce confusion, there should be an explicit agreement confirming the division of labor on WMD issues, missile proliferation, and conventional arms control talks.

- The United States should acknowledge the positive role that China and Russia, as interested regional powers, could play in reducing tension on the Korean peninsula.

Middle East Security

Central concerns revolved around the future of the Israeli nuclear, chemical, and biological programs; US efforts to keep Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states committed to the war on terror; missile and WMD development trends for Syria, Iran, and Iraq; and US bilateral policies toward both Iran and Iraq. Key findings and recommendations were:

- Avoid unilateral actions against Iraq unless firm evidence of connections to Al Qaeda emerges. For now, leverage the new post-September 11 relationship with Russia to gain approval for smart sanctions toward Iraq.

- Improve public relations in the Arab world and the Persian Gulf. Make every effort to better understand Arab and Persian culture and society.

- Craft a consistent policy in the Middle East in regard to human rights and democracy.

- In the near term, avoid regional arms control and disarmament initiatives meant to alter the status quo of Israeli nuclear opacity. In the long term, however, the quest for regional stability will require the United States to work with Israel in changing the nuclear status quo.

South Asia Security

For this region, the primary policy conundrum was on how to balance three competing US security mandates: the need to win quickly and decisively the post-September 11 war in

Afghanistan; the need to ensure the security of South Asian nuclear stockpiles against terrorist theft or diversion; and the broader, longer-term requirement of preventing operational nuclear deployments and the further improvement of both countries' nuclear and missile capabilities. In turn, these linked concerns drew attention to the roots of the India-Pakistan rivalry: Kashmir. Key findings and recommendations were:

- Recognize the fact that regional and nuclear issues in South Asia are inextricably linked. US policy has suffered from an overemphasis on the nuclear issue. The United States must play a discrete role in convincing both sides to commit themselves to a viable political process that addresses the Kashmir dispute.

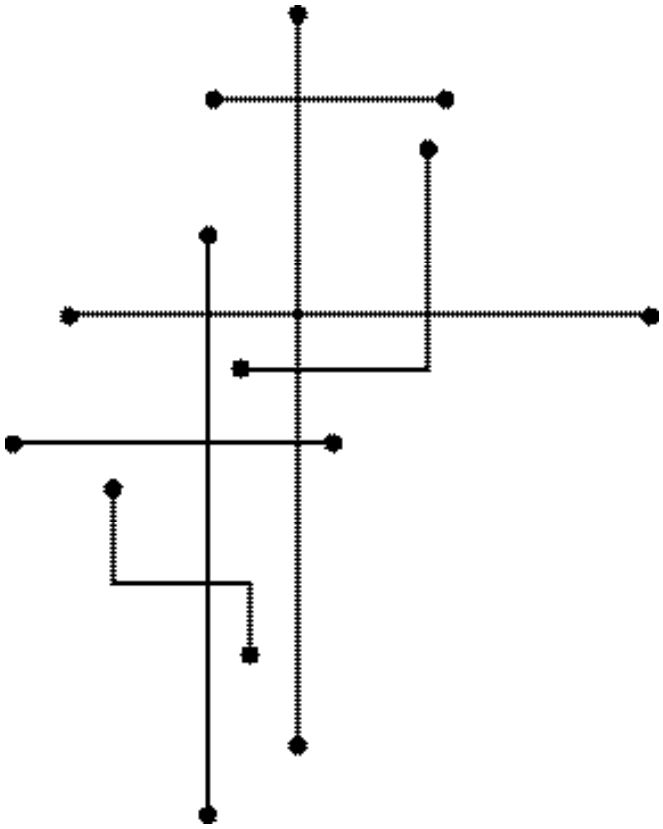
- To prevent accidental or unintended escalation to a nuclear war in South Asia, the United States should share its own experiences (positive and negative) with nuclear safety and nuclear command and control during the Cold War.

- To prevent the diversion of nuclear weapons or materials to terrorists, the United States should provide equipment that indirectly increases security of nuclear materials and arsenals.

- However, the guiding principle of all US aid and advice should be "Do no harm." Washington should withhold any technologies and components that would allow Pakistan and India to "operationalize" nuclear weapons via deployment on missiles.

- India and Pakistan should define what they mean by a "credible minimum deterrent," and the United States should encourage them to define it at the lowest possible level.

- Promote cooperation on the global problem of proliferation. Expansion of high-tech commercial trade could be an incentive for such cooperation.



Europe

Security in a Europe "Whole and Free": Staying the Course
Chair's Report by Christopher J. Makins, The Atlantic Council of the United States

Strategies for European Security
Klaus Becher, International Institute for Strategic Studies

Building a Euro-Atlantic Community: Europe and the States in 2010
Simon Serfaty, Center for Strategic & International Studies

Participant List for Europe Working Group Discussions

Security in a Europe "Whole and Free": Staying the Course

Chair's Report From the Europe Working Group

By Christopher J. Makins
President, The Atlantic Council of the United States

Chair's Findings and Policy Recommendations

- **The Euro-Atlantic Partnership**—The European Union (EU) and Europe remain central to US interests, and the transatlantic relationship remains central to European security.

- **A Transatlantic Community**—The community of values that was protected by the North American Treaty Organization (NATO) in the Cold War and the community of interests built within the EU after World War II should be transformed into a Euro-Atlantic community of action in the face of the new threat of dehumanizing brutality presented by international terrorism linked to the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

- **International Terrorism**—The terrorist attacks of September 11 have created additional space within which a more coherent European defense capability could greatly benefit US interests, while diminishing European concerns that US preoccupations outside Europe would work against the interests of European security. Furthermore, international terrorism has provided a golden opportunity and a clear incentive to construct a stronger and more united transatlantic relationship, in particular on European security issues.

- **Russia**—NATO and the EU should seek to exploit the opportunity offered by President Putin's recent policies to make progress toward their goal of integrating Russia into the Euro-Atlantic system. But in doing so they should not allow short-term convenience to compromise their mid- or longer-term interests.

- **NATO and EU Enlargement**—NATO must not allow its further enlargement to be stalled or overwhelmed by new candidacies. The enlargement processes of NATO and the EU should move generally in step so that as they approach their ends, most EU members are NATO members and vice versa.

- **NATO, EU, and European Security**—Neither the EU nor NATO is a full-service institution. Rather they have complementary capabilities that should be useful in dealing with the challenges of the post-September 11 period. The EU is well equipped to respond to the demands for "soft security" instruments along the European periphery; the United States, alone or through NATO, is uniquely equipped to deal with "hard security" challenges. Habits of military cooperation acquired through NATO remain critical and, from a political standpoint, operating through NATO could give important legitimacy to future US and allied military actions.

- **The Balkans**—The United States and its European allies have little choice but to carry on with their present policies. Continued involvement by both the United States and the EU is critical to future progress and stability in the region.

- **Turkey**—Turkey remains simultaneously one of the principal bulwarks and one of the major preoccupations of European security. The problems of Turkey's concerns about NATO-EU arrangements for the EU Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) and Cyprus's membership of the EU need to be resolved, although neither will prove easy of resolution.

- **The Caucasus and Central Asia**—The Caucasus will be increasingly important for European security. European countries should pay greater attention to the region, including problems such as those faced by the government of Georgia in Abkhasia. Central Asia, despite its current prominence, will for some time be beyond the perimeter of European regional security concerns, though linked to Europe by shared economic and security challenges.

- **The Mediterranean and Near East**—Economic and demographic pressures in many of these countries may increasingly combine to present European countries with security challenges at their borders and internally. Responsibility for action to avert dangers to Europe's security from this quarter lies primarily with the EU. Transatlantic understanding about the Arab-Israel dispute remains fragile.

Where Is "Europe"?

Any vision of European regional security must be determined by a definition of the extent of Europe. It is not, however, easy to get agreement on such a definition. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, the fashion is toward a relatively inclusive view. Few would exclude Russia and Turkey from their definition of Europe, although many more would hesitate to include them, at least in the foreseeable future, in the EU or, in the case of Russia, in the North Atlantic Alliance. By extension, Belarus and Ukraine in the east and all the states and peoples of the Balkans would generally be accepted as part of Europe, notwithstanding that many of them are also unlikely to be incorporated into the principal European economic and security institutions any time soon.

Opinions vary considerably more, however, as the field of view moves toward the Caucasus or beyond. Armenia and Georgia are seen by many as inherently European countries, Azerbaijan less so, and the Central Asian countries would be placed beyond the limits of Europe in the view of most, despite their membership of NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP). Israel, despite being a member of the Western European and Others Group in international institutions and its close historical and other ties to European countries, would be included in a definition of Europe for the purposes of thinking about security by relatively few.

Any attempt to systematize the definition of Europe runs quickly into difficulties. Several criteria can be proposed—ethnic, religious, geographical, among others—but none is likely to satisfy all comers. At best, these discriminants are indicative rather than determinative. Then there is the question of who the arbiter should be. Some propose that "Europeanness" is a matter of

self-perception and that a people or country, which defines itself as European, should at some level be accepted as such. Yet this approach hardly seems satisfactory, since many Europeans (or indeed others) would not accept that Israel or, further afield, New Zealand or even Argentina would become European even if they should define themselves as such, which would not be wholly implausible for any of them according to some criteria. Yet others would see the EU or the Council of Europe as the ultimate source of the definition of "Europeanness." But such arbiters are too political or self-referential to be wholly satisfactory.

In short, there is no simple and generally acceptable approach to the definition of Europe. This indeterminate conclusion is borne out by adopting a more historical perspective in which the definition of the extent of Europe can be seen to have been in constant flux, expanding and contracting from one historical period to another. The question therefore is what is the most broadly acceptable and useful basis for a contemporary discussion of regional security in Europe? For the present purpose, an inclusive definition is the best—one which takes the current political ambition of achieving a "Europe whole and free" as the guiding light of policy and looks to repair the divisions and tensions created by long decades of European civil war that culminated in the Cold War and its sudden termination in the last years of the twentieth century. The discussion that follows will therefore leave considerable ambiguity as to the eventual boundaries of "Europe," while ranging quite widely in the issues that will be included within the scope of European regional security.

Unfinished Business and New Challenges for the European Union

In their discussion papers on regional security strategies for Europe, Klaus Becher of the International Institute for Strategic Studies and Simon Serfaty of the Center for Strategic & International Studies both adopted a broad geographic and strategic view of the relevant scope of a discussion of European regional security. For Serfaty, the question should be seen in the context of the end game of the construction of the EU in the next decade or so. By 2010 the EU members will be completing a new "territorial revolution," with the rise of member states as evolving political units whose sovereignty is limited by the discipline of the institutions to which they belong or hope to join. The geographical extent of that revolution will be limited, for many reasons, but precisely because of those limits the EU will have to deal with the countries on the margins if it is to escape a "new anarchy" imported from its regional suburbs.

For Becher, the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, brought to an end a period during which inertia and complacency had increasingly seemed to replace, for Europeans, the strategic vision of a "Europe whole and free" that characterized the period immediately after the end of the Cold War. Most Europeans failed to appreciate fully the fundamental shift in the nature of security challenges since the end of the 1970s; and to the degree they grasped it, they had a very regional outlook toward it. The terrorist attacks awoke Europeans to the global dimensions of instability and uncertainty, not just as a cause for humanitarian compassion but also as a source of risks and threats to themselves.

Nevertheless, the most direct impact of the September 11 events was to heighten European appreciation of their domestic vulnerability to international developments. The direct economic

impact of the terrorist attacks was all too obvious. The desire to preserve internal security and stability in states with open borders by preventing a spillover of instability from crisis areas within Europe and at its periphery would remain at the top of the security agenda. This would lead to several requirements:

- Preventing or minimizing the disruptive effects of large-scale migration.

- Dealing with international crime (and the related problem of drug trafficking) both at home and abroad.

- Improving international cooperation in law enforcement and intelligence.

- Countering a possible rise of racist and xenophobic attitudes in the public.

- Fostering economic development and democratic stability across Europe and its periphery.

- Enforcing peace and reestablishing public order in war-torn and failed states.

With these priorities derived from domestic security needs, European countries would address the challenges they faced—both new ones like terrorism with global reach and the old agenda of unfinished business left over from the Cold War and the immediate post-Cold War period. In the category of unfinished business, Becher identified five sets of issues:

- Russia, and the related questions of Belarus and Ukraine.
- The Balkans.
- Turkey.
- The Caucasus and Central Asia.
- The Mediterranean and the Near East.

While many of these issues need to be seen in a new light after September 11, they nonetheless remain at the center of European regional security concerns.

Russia. The point of departure for any discussion of Russia's position in European regional security at present must be the initiative of President Putin to place Russia unconditionally on the US side in the war on terrorism. This initiative, apparently taken against the much more cautious advice of most of Putin's advisers, combined with the improvement in Russia's economic performance and the steady development of legal and other institutions critical to real economic and political reform, seems to have created an opportunity for a new and more cooperative relationship between Russia and the West. In such a relationship, issues that have hitherto seemed to be obstacles or problems, such as the expansion of NATO to include the Baltic States and the development of missile defense of the US homeland, could be treated as secondary to the overriding goal of integrating Russia into the Euro-Atlantic institutions for the long term. Areas of disagreement could then be resolved in that context.

There remain skeptics as to the implications of Putin's initiative, as to whether it represents a strategic move as opposed to a tactical maneuver to stall or thwart Western actions that Russia dislikes, and as to his ability to deliver overexpected domestic military and conservative opposition. On both the domestic and international fronts, some see less change in Russia's situation than the optimists suggest, with only patchy economic improvement and a consistently prickly international disposition on the part of the Russian leadership. Such skeptics, and others, argue that it would be unwise for NATO to put at risk its hard-won unity and defense cooperation by any significant opening to Russia, which in any case could not hope to qualify for membership for many years and was unlikely to agree to being treated like, or to stand in line behind, other candidates. There might be more possibility for the intensification of the Russia-EU relationship in several important areas—including border controls, environmental protection, and energy—although few believed that Russia could ever qualify for membership in the EU either.

Skepticism about Russia's intentions was, however, surprisingly muted in the Europe working group. And even if there is a substantial tactical element in the Russian move, the case for the West to wring from it every advantage possible was argued to be strong. To this end, NATO, the EU, and their respective member states should give serious consideration to ways in which they could inflect or adjust their policies toward Russia.

How far should this inflection go in terms of new arrangements for the NATO-Russia and EU-Russia relationships? Should NATO go so far as to make clear to the Russians that it would be willing to entertain the idea of Russian membership should it decide to seek that at some time in the future, when it was within striking distance of meeting the criteria that had been applied to previous enlargements? How far could and should the EU move toward offering Russia closer economic and other cooperation short of full membership? Were there new approaches along the lines of the European economic area that would prove appealing to Russia? How important was the question of Russia's debt to the West, and what could or should be done about it in the context of other policy changes?

There was no clear consensus on these questions. But the general sense was that the present moment is an open one at which imagination and flexibility of approach could be amply rewarded.

NATO members seem to have taken the same view in proposing new arrangements for cooperation with Russia that would transcend, without offering much more in substance, what was envisaged in the NATO-Russia Founding Act and permitted through the Permanent Joint Council. At the time of writing, the odds are that this negotiation will result in an agreement on a new set of NATO-Russia institutional arrangements that will enable NATO to offer membership to the Baltic States at the 2002 Prague summit with minimal Russian objections and open the way to a prospect of a more consensual NATO–Russia relationship on certain issues such as counterterrorism policy and peacekeeping operations.

As to the EU, the outlook is less clear, although the time scale is somewhat longer. The challenge will be whether the EU, with all the other issues on its agenda, can come up with a new policy toward Russia that will offer adequate assurance of a new relationship to compensate for what Russia will doubtless see as the disadvantages to itself of EU enlargement that includes

the Baltic States, and on a more distant horizon perhaps Ukraine, and that brings the Schengen[1] border up to the threshold of Russia itself.

In short, Serfaty's conclusion has much merit. Russia is a regional stakeholder that is too near to ignore, too big to integrate, too unstable to rattle, too sensitive to offend, and too nuclear to oppose. But in seeking to exploit the opportunities offered by Putin's recent policies, the United States and its allies should not allow short-term conveniences to compromise mid- or long-term interests. In particular, NATO enlargement should not be stalled or overwhelmed by new candidacies, including that of Russia.

The Balkans. If the events of September 11 have transformed the outlook for relations with Russia, the same cannot be said for the Balkans. The difficulties with the underlying approach of both the Dayton agreements and the current arrangements in Kosovo, both of which foresee multiethnic societies, which show only the faintest signs of emerging from the ruins of war, are unchanged. There remains an absence of silver bullets, or even of precision munitions, with which to attack the lingering problems of the region.

This being so, there seems little choice but for the United States and its European allies to carry on with their present policies, while looking for ways in which greater regional cooperation can be promoted. While there is broad agreement that the continued involvement of the United States is critical to progress, most people see the role of the EU as being the critical factor. The lure of EU membership remains the most potent external incentive for the transformation of behavior in the post-Yugoslav states and entities. Yet it is hard to imagine most of them, notably Bosnia-Herzegovina or Kosovo, becoming serious candidates for membership unless a new intensity and scale of intra-Balkans economic cooperation has developed. In this prospect, perhaps, lies the best (perhaps the only) hope of creating a situation in which issues of borders and current intercommunal resentments and hatreds can be subordinated to a broader shared objective. To this end, the EU needs to be careful about the consequences of bilateral agreements with individual Balkan entities. While some offer the idea of a new Balkans conference or the amendment of the Dayton agreements or the abandonment of the studied vagueness of the current status of Kosovo, these approaches do not attract the majority of governments or outside observers.

In short, the best hope seems to lie in relying on time as the healer of Balkan problems. With some reason, many fear that this approach will in the end make the West the prisoner of time as a congealer of regional enmities and lead only to a more unmanageable and costly situation down the road. But there is no generally acceptable alternative.

Turkey. Turkey remains simultaneously one of the principal bulwarks and one of the major preoccupations of European security. Turkey has a history of steadfast support of NATO and Western interests that could become more important in the war on terrorism and the possibility of future hostilities with Iraq. Furthermore, Turkey will be important in the fight against

[1] Signed in 1985 and implemented in 1990, the Schengen Agreement created measures among most EU countries to abolish common borders and establish a common area of security and justice.

terrorism because of its exposed geographical position, its continuing impasse with Greece over Cyprus—which threatens to become a major concern in the context of EU enlargement—and its current position on the proposed EU RRF and its access to NATO assets.

Overshadowing any discussion of more immediate issues involving Turkey is the longer-term question of Turkey's candidacy for membership in the EU. EU members, with good reason, say that this cannot be a matter of current consideration because Turkey does not meet the political criteria for membership. But many doubt whether the EU's ambivalence on the question of Turkey's relationship with the EU will be resolved within the foreseeable future, not least because it raises deep questions about the cultural self-definition of the Union. As Serfaty argues, if Turkey were to be given a role in Europe commensurate with its size and potential, the EU would become a power in the Middle East, and if Europe opened its doors fully to Muslim immigrants, the EU could emerge as a Middle Eastern power. However that may be, the consequent uncertainty on the part of the Turks as to whether they will ever meet the tests imposed by the EU clouds the discussion of issues such as the RRF and Cyprus.

The question of overcoming current Turkish reservations about the arrangements proposed by the EU for Turkey's relationship to the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), and thus unblocking the path to the establishment of definitive EU-NATO arrangements for the RRF's access to NATO assets, is under intensive discussion by governments. There is no magic formula that can be proposed from outside to resolve this issue. At the time of writing it appears as though the issue may have been resolved to mutual satisfaction before the EU, against the better judgment of the British and others, took irrevocable decisions that would make for less than optimal EU-NATO links and understandings about the command and control and planning and operation of the RRF.

The next challenge will be the forthcoming EU decision about Cyprus's membership. Here, too, there are current signs of progress in the intercommunal process in the island. Encouraging this effort should be a US and European priority since, as the war on terrorism moves into the post-Afghanistan phase, the need for Turkish cooperation with the United States and other countries will very likely grow.

The Caucasus and Central Asia. Discussion of the problems of the Caucasus and Central Asia within the context of regional security arrangements in Europe seems to many, even in the community of experts, to be "a bridge too far." While future perceptions of the reach of European security concerns may eventually extend to these regions, there is little interest at present in treating problems there as operational concerns for the European security institutions, except perhaps, at the margin, for the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the PfP. But to assign these issues to those largely powerless—and in the case of the OSCE, little respected—contexts is tantamount to paying them little heed.

There is, nevertheless, a case for the European countries to engage with the Caucasus, at least, and to pay greater attention to problems such as that currently faced by the government of Georgia in Abkhasia. Hitherto, Russia has been a large part of the troubles in Georgia and, as a

result, any international intervention seems out of the question. Now that Russia appears to be willing to pull back from active involvement there, an opportunity may exist for outside intervention. Russia would probably prefer that any discussions along these lines be in the United Nations, but an intervention to assist the stability of independent Georgia could perhaps be made under the aegis of the OSCE. There is, however, little political stomach for considering such action either in the United States or in Europe. Rather, the prevailing approach seems to be to tell President Shevardnadze that the Georgian government needs to set its domestic house in order before the West could even consider coming to its assistance with any kind of mediation effort.

As attention turns further east to Central Asia, the lack of interest in direct involvement on behalf of European security becomes greater. Uzbekistan and Tajikistan are playing central roles in supporting the war on terrorism in Afghanistan and promise to become even more important once that war is over. Likewise, Islamist extremism and the international drug trade are factors that focus increasing attention on the corrupt and authoritarian regimes in Central Asia. While the perpetuation of these regimes ill serves the interests of European countries and the United States, there is little current disposition to treat the problems they present as being within the sphere of a regional security policy in and for Europe. For the time being, European countries seem quite willing to leave the resolution of problems in Central Asia to the United States (especially in Uzbekistan) or Russia (notably in Tajikistan). Nor is there much attention within NATO to the future security role of the countries of the Caucasus and Central Asia, which will be almost the sole surviving members of the PfP after the NATO summit in Prague in November 2002.

These issues will almost certainly require greater attention in the coming years, and the Caucasus, at least, will most likely come to be seen as a critical region on the border of Europe to the security of which European countries will have to pay heed. The consideration of oil and oil pipeline politics alone would seem bound to dictate this. Not the least plausible use of the RRF would be to facilitate the emergence of more stable security arrangements in this region at a time when the United States may still be heavily committed elsewhere. But for the time being, given the other preoccupations of European diplomacy, such discussions appear premature.

The Mediterranean and the Near East. The EU has made plain for many years the importance it attaches to relations to the eastern and southern littoral states of the Mediterranean. NATO also developed its Mediterranean dialogue, testifying to the fact that there is a security as well as a historical and economic dimension to Europe's relations with its southern and eastern neighbors. But that dialogue has been on a back burner recently as a result of NATO's preoccupation with enlargement in Europe. Much of this interest derives from the perception that economic and demographic pressures in many of these countries may increasingly combine to present European countries with challenges, at their borders and internally, that they would prefer to avoid. While NATO may have a small role in helping the littoral countries deal with some of their internal problems, the general consensus seems to be that the principal responsibility for action to avert dangers to Europe's security from this quarter lies with the EU. While the EU's policies in this regard may still be insufficient, they do at least reflect a clear-minded assessment of the problem.

The Arab-Israel dispute remains a particular, and particularly delicate, aspect of this broader set of challenges. This is a subject on which almost all European countries have had differences with the United States since the creation of the state of Israel. In the last few years, US-European cooperation in addressing the problem has become considerably better, with an understanding that the United States would make an intensive effort to achieve a resolution of the major political issues between Israel and its neighbors and that the EU would provide supporting assistance both diplomatically and economically (in the form of financial help to the Palestinian Authority). However, the Bush administration's initial hands-off policy in the Near East, along with the aftermath of the September 11 attacks on the United States—which for many Europeans were the result in part of the Western, and especially US, failure to bring the issue to a settlement—have threatened to reopen this transatlantic difference. But the reality of the inability of the European countries to do much to achieve a settlement has not changed. And the consequences of the continuation of the Arab-Israel dispute for European security remain as much as ever in the hands of the parties themselves and of the United States, which has most recently taken new steps toward reengagement with efforts to promote a settlement.

Although objectively the Mediterranean littoral and the Middle East as a whole remain of great importance to security in Europe, there is little that European countries can currently do to manage their interests there. Some "soft security" approaches may be relevant, but for the most part Europeans have little choice but to seek to influence the countries themselves and the United States to deal with the problems of the region. It follows that those problems may put transatlantic relations under considerable stress in future years if the region does not progress toward peace and stability.

The New European Security Agenda

The challenges presented by international terrorism, crime, and drug trafficking call for, by and large. two types of response—both of which lie outside the scope of a discussion of the international aspects of European security policy. The first and most important response is that of internal security, law enforcement, and justice; the second is that of policies that apply well beyond the borders of Europe itself. On the first, the reaction of the EU member countries to the terrorist attacks of September 11 has been to accelerate efforts to strengthen cooperation under the Third Pillar of the EU by creating new common policies on extradition and related matters, questions that had been languishing for years. While there is still much work to do to turn the general principles and intentions that have been agreed upon into concrete policies, the new threat of international terrorism, and the increasingly clear and strong tracks it has made through Europe, has had a real impact on perceptions of the priorities for establishing greater security in Europe. And the swift decisions by the EU have been positively received in the United States, notably in Congress.

One question that these developments have raised is whether the process of EU enlargement will be slowed or otherwise affected by the new security threats. The point is argued in both ways, but the majority view appears to be that they will not slow the process. On the whole, the desirability of bringing the candidate countries within the Schengen system and enabling the EU to hold them to their responsibilities seems preferable to their remaining outside the system

and facing the existing EU members with the task of managing their current borders. That consideration is unlikely, however, to weigh heavily against the other factors that could still delay decisions on enlargement.

What the new emphasis on internal security could do, however, is put further strain on budgets both in the member states and in the EU, which, in the absence of the economic growth rates of the 1990s and given the current recession, could have two possible results. First, it could make less money available to pay for enlargement, thus making decisions on some critical issues harder. Second, it could make it more difficult for governments to find the funds to give meaningful additional capabilities to the RRF.

US Policy on Security in Europe and the Changing Security Role of the EU

The role of US policy toward European regional security and how that policy relates to the changing security policies of the EU are important subjects for the future. Inevitably, it seems, all discussions of these subjects begin with the questions of whether Europe remains as central to US security interests as it was during the Cold War and whether the center of gravity of US interests has shifted toward the Gulf and Asia. Some US participants in the Europe working group urged that the time has come to retire these questions once and for all. The EU and Europe, they believe, remain central to US interests and the transatlantic relationship remains central to European security.

From the point of view of security in Europe, the critical question is who will provide the different tools to deal with the challenges of the future. In Becher's view, European leaders continue to struggle with the problem of equipping the appropriate European security toolbox. They recognize that no single European country is able to maintain and use all the necessary tools. Nor can the EU at its present stage of development apply the full spectrum of power in a coherent and sustained fashion. The United States and other countries remain important partners. For Serfaty, neither the EU nor NATO is a full-service institution. Rather they have complementary capabilities that should all be useful in dealing with the challenges of the post-September 11 period. The EU is well equipped to respond to the demands for "soft security" instruments along the European periphery; the United States, alone or through NATO, is uniquely equipped to deal with "hard security" challenges. This is not, in Serfaty's view, a recipe for an artificial division of labor, but rather a recognition of complementarity. A neglect of "soft security" issues will exacerbate issues of "hard security," while a neglect of hard security issues will stall reconstruction and reconciliation in war-torn countries.

As to NATO, the discussion of its future will continue for some time. Some see enlargement as likely to diminish the core military competence and decision-making ability of the Alliance. Already at 19, the process of decision making is less easy than before. The lesson of the Kosovo campaign for some in the US military was that they never wanted to have to use NATO to fight another war. But it was natural for generals to prefer to go it alone, and that is not the end of the story. First, the habits of military cooperation acquired through NATO remained critical. Second, from a political standpoint, operating through NATO could give important legitimacy to US and allied actions. And in the longer term, as EU and NATO enlargement

proceeded and as the EU took on a greater role in defense, it might act in a more united fashion within the Alliance, thus diminishing the damaging consequences of bringing in additional decision makers. In fact, in the view of many observers, the two enlargement processes must move in step to some degree, so that as they approach their end most EU members are NATO members and vice versa. By the end of the decade, it might be desirable to start holding joint EU-NATO summits to address the common agendas of the two organizations.

US ambivalence about the EU's defense capabilities will, however, no doubt persist for some time. In Serfaty's terms, some Americans will continue to worry that the ESDP will be developed as a competitive "counterweight" to the United States, and quite possibly a "counterfeit" one, since the capabilities of the RRF could well prove inadequate to the demands of a situation in which it was deployed autonomously. Yet others will continue to insist, as the British have consistently urged, that the RRF and the ESDP be seen as a cooperative "counterpart" to the US capability to project power internationally. The terrorist attacks of September would seem to have created additional space within which a more coherent European defense capability could greatly benefit US interests, while diminishing European concerns that US preoccupations outside Europe would work against the interests of European security. Thus, for all the official US statements about shifting priorities to Asia and skepticism about Europeans' seriousness about protecting their own security (not least their reluctance to increase defense spending), Europeans were urged to "just do it," in Serfaty's words. But that must include a real augmentation of Europe's defense capabilities and will require higher outlays for defense.

While the events of the post-September 11 period, as well as the enthusiasm of the European members of NATO for the invocation of Article 5 of the treaty, seemed to justify this conclusion, some concerns about the future remain. There is a sense that the relationship across the Atlantic is still delicately poised. The ugly manifestation of the reach of international terrorism has certainly provided a golden opportunity and a clear incentive to construct a stronger and more united transatlantic relationship, including on European security issues. For the moment, the old agenda of irritants in the trade and other areas has been pushed to one side. Governments could seize the moment by transcending it and setting these issues into a new and more constructive perspective that would permit their resolution with a display of flexibility and accommodation on both sides. But will they be able to do this?

Opinions are predictably divided on this question. Some are confident that the old irritants will reappear sooner or later in essentially their old form and that the reasons for which they had previously been intractable, notably of domestic politics, would continue to make them so. Already, some of the much-discussed "societal" differences, for example on the death penalty, have reared their heads in connection with the war on terrorism. Other observers are more hopeful that the new sense of common threat and changed priorities would erode the opposition to resolving issues that, while important, are hardly on the same level as the need to achieve security against the new threats. The agreement on the new trade round reached at the Doha meeting was an indication of a determination to pull together in the new international context. Yet others apprehended a much darker picture in which the September 11 attacks would be compounded by new conflicts—involving policy toward Iraq, the Near East, and possibly the Gulf—on which the NATO allies would find themselves unable to muster a concerted or adequate response.

At the end of the day, few alternatives other than staying the current course exist. Indeed, all governments should be urged toward the importance of seeking broader and more solid political consensus for their actions, which nearly all agreed would be necessary to confront the dangers that loomed. In a longer historical perspective, the Western goal of seeking to create a "Europe whole and free" had served the allies well and they had made remarkable strides toward achieving it. The need, in Serfaty's expression, is for the community of values that was protected by NATO in the Cold War and the community of interests built within the EU after World War II to be transformed into a Euro-Atlantic community of action in the face of the new threat of dehumanizing brutality presented by international terrorism linked to the spread of weapons of mass destruction, just as a community of action had formed to meet the dehumanizing brutality of fascism and communism in earlier years. Such a community of action could probably not take its final shape by 2010. But large additional strides toward it could certainly be taken in the intervening years, and it is incumbent on all the Euro-Atlantic governments to keep their eyes on this prize.

Strategies for European Security

Thought-Piece for the Europe Working Group

By Klaus Becher
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After the end of the East-West confrontation, it was widely believed that European countries—in spite of the wars in the Balkans—no longer faced serious regional or global threats and those remaining risks were of an easily manageable proportion. Europeans, therefore, were unprepared for the cruel wake-up call of September 11, and have since begun a reassessment of their security policies that is likely to be thorough and fundamental in approach but not necessarily conclusive in action. The awareness of the high degree of shared vulnerability and shared values of prosperous societies was raised. The transatlantic orientation of European security policies was reconsolidated, best symbolized in the unprecedented invocation of Article 5 of the Washington Treaty and the declaration that the terrorist attack on the United States constituted a military attack against all members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and would be supported by any assistance that the United States would consider helpful. The attack of September 11, thus, has awoken Europe to the danger of global threats, emphasized the need for Europe to acquire and coordinate the means necessary to address these threats, and renewed the importance of the Euro-Atlantic partnership.

Challenges to European Security

Europe is more a political than geographic term. The East-West division of Europe during the Cold War had created temporary identities in both camps that are now forged into a new, wider European identity. For many countries, being considered "European" is a prize to be won. The question of which side of the fence countries will end up, and on which terms, has for some time been the most important driving force behind most international events in and around Europe. The promise "Europe" holds, of course, is being part of the zone of peace, stability, prosperity, and democratic rule that was established after World War II, centered on the European Union (EU) and backed by NATO.

While the Southern, Central European, Nordic, and also Baltic countries have all managed to rejoin the family (although steps for their practical integration remain to be implemented), the fate of others is still unknown: Southeastern Europe (clearly part of Europe, but kept at arm's length like poor relatives), Russia and other former Soviet states (still seen as too vast and different by many Europeans to be truly part of Europe), Turkey (object of caution more for its calamitous political and economic state than for its Islamic culture), and the remaining Mediterranean littoral countries (currently not at all on the radar screen for integration).

The atavism practiced and triggered by Miločević's Yugoslavia only served to reinforce the notion that Europe derives its identity from leaving its bloody, nationalist history behind in a

process of peaceful multinational integration that turns the heterogeneity and mutual dependence into an asset through open borders, pooling of resources, and peer control. This European unity of identity is real, and it transcends the EU's current external borders, though always mixed with a healthy dose of cynicism about the advantage of those at the center over those at the periphery. John Mearsheimer's fears that an undivided Europe would make nations go to war again and Samuel Huntington's assumption that a chasm would divide orthodox Christianity from the West have both been proven misleading.

There is a fundamental architectural dilemma: Politically, economically, and militarily, Europe is built on institutions whose membership must be defined and whose functioning must be assured. Not all countries that want to be European will be admitted to the core institutions, notably the EU, the European Monetary Union, and the Schengen group.[2] On the other hand, there is enormous merit in not, or at least not yet, erecting new walls and drawing impermeable new dividing lines on the outer perimeter of what is currently considered the Europe to be. The social and political dynamism released in aspirant countries by the perspective, with a sustainable modicum of credibility, of potentially joining Europe has been amazing. It would be foolish to forego such a positive force for change in states on the periphery of Europe troubled by internal weakness and the heritage of bad governance, and threatened by further destabilization. This leaves Europe's (and NATO's) borders intentionally undefined for the time being.

In practical terms, this strategic situation poses the three-dimensional task of, at the same time, deepening institutional integration, widening membership, and alleviating the divisions vis-à-vis nonmembers in order not to undermine their reform and stabilization efforts. In the early 1990s there was an acute sense that this was indeed a security challenge in view of the vacuum left behind by the retreat and dissolution of Soviet power. NATO's outreach and new strategic concept, the EU's commitment to enlargement, and the engagement for stability in Southeastern Europe all flowed from this perceived security imperative. In the meantime, inertia and complacency seemed increasingly to replace the strategic vision of a "Europe whole and free."

September 11, if anything, should now have reinforced the awareness that EU and NATO countries put their own national security at risk if they fail to prevent states in Europe and its periphery to slide into misery and anarchy. Also, the raised profile of the two historical flank powers, Russia and Turkey, as key allies in the new international war against terrorism creates incentives for thinking again about ways to anchor them better in Europe politically and economically.

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), while of limited operational use, has repeatedly served as the venue for formulating the shared security concerns of its wide Euro-Atlantic membership from Vancouver to Vladivostok. Amplifying language from the G-7/G-8 process, its Istanbul Charter for European Security of November 1999 stated, for example:

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[2] Signed in 1985 and implemented in 1990, the Schengen Agreement created measures among most EU countries to abolish common borders and establish a common area of security and justice.

> International terrorism, violent extremism, organised crime and drug trafficking represent growing challenges to security. Whatever its motives, terrorism in all its forms and manifestations is unacceptable. We will enhance our efforts to prevent the preparation and financing of any act of terrorism on our territories and deny terrorists safe havens.

Still, most Europeans were too deeply caught up in the aseptic geometry of power of the Cold War years to fully appreciate the fundamental shift in the nature of security challenges since the 1970s, marked by weapons of mass destruction proliferation, terrorism, illicit trade, demographic and environmental aggravation, and large-scale migration. The fallout from the nuclear disaster at Chernobyl brought home the insight that political barriers couldn't provide protection against transnational risks within Europe. However, the outlook remained a regional one. It is only now that Europeans have awoken to the global dimensions of instability and uncertainty, not just anymore as a cause for humanitarian compassion but also as a source of risks and threats to themselves.

Europe and Global Security

In the context of September 11, the priority list of the major EU countries' security concerns will be revisited and most likely will win additional political weight, but is unlikely to change fundamentally. The "jobs, jobs, jobs" school of international security has for the first time received a hearing in continental Europe. The attack on New York sent markets tumbling for some weeks more than they had before, cost not only many billions of dollars from insurance pools but also several thousand jobs in the aerospace and travel industry as well. It also illustrated to everyone just how vulnerable international trade and global financial markets are, and how much they are in need of a reliable international security framework. Such a framework should be jointly underwritten and, if necessary, defended by all major powers—including the Europeans, who together with North America account for almost two-thirds of the world economy.

However, what is likely to remain on top of the list of security priorities for Europeans is much closer to home. It is the desire to preserve internal security and stability in European states with open borders and a high degree of individual liberty by preventing a transnational spillover of factors of instability from crisis areas within Europe and at its periphery. This means a number of things; e.g.: (1) preventing or minimizing the disruptive effects of large-scale migration, as during the Bosnian war when Germany alone absorbed approximately 350,000 refugees; (2) limiting maneuvering room for organized international crime both at home and abroad; (3) improving international cooperation in law enforcement and intelligence; (4) fighting a possible spread of racist and xenophobic attitudes among European populations that could escalate into violent confrontation at home; (5) fostering economic development and democratic stability across Europe and its periphery; (6) and enforcing peace and reestablishing public order in war-torn countries and failed states.

It is significant that the first EU-only military operation (though nominally under national Italian command) was Operation Alba in 1997 to rescue Albania from the state of anarchy it had fallen into after the collapse of the government and all state institutions. The commitment to stay on the ground in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Kosovo as long as needed—and the active

involvement in ending the armed insurrection and facilitating the further constitutional process in Macedonia—point in the same direction. European nations are engaged in the Balkans not primarily for humanitarian reasons but for the long-term protection of their own security interests against the dangers of nearby instability.

Given the nature of this main security challenge, the notion of security had already for some time assumed a wide definition in Europe—although in some ways not yet wide enough; e.g., with reference to catastrophic terrorism or the threat of other nonconventional attacks against critical infrastructure. What European leaders have been struggling with is to have the appropriate toolbox for addressing the challenges at hand. This includes having the necessary tools ranging from institutional and diplomatic fora, economic and financial measures, political and media leadership, transnational networking and civil society, legal and police instruments, to international crisis prevention and military force.

It is obvious that no single European country is remotely in a position to maintain such a toolbox and apply the tools on its own, and that even all EU countries together—in spite of the fact that their economic weight equals that of the United States—are not anyway near the ability to apply the full spectrum of elements of power in a coherent and sustained fashion. Just as much as European strategy depends on a multilateral approach within Europe, it rests on working with an array of partners locally and globally. The North American NATO allies, the United States and Canada, have always been sought first as partners. In the Balkans, it has also become a good habit to include Russia as an active partner and facilitator, as in the various successful contact groups in the region and in the Kosovo Stabilization Force (KFOR). The EU-led Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, run as a network of disparate networks, exemplifies both the weaknesses and strengths of an approach geared toward multinationality, technicality, and "process."

Among Europeans, there is a deliberate effort to jointly exploit a certain degree of role distribution that in part reflects different geographic and historical backgrounds, and different voter mentalities that reward some types of initiative but not others. For example, Great Britain is particularly visible as provider of quick-shot reaction and military leadership, both perceived by others as valuable contributions in the name of the EU as a whole. The underlying intensity of constant consultation and information-sharing within the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)—as well as in the more integrated elements of EU external relations such as trade policy—is easily underestimated by outside observers.

It is probably fair to say that the effectiveness of the EU's attempts at conducting international security policy has so far been hampered by demand-side confusion about the style and presentation of the EU's "toolbox" approach. More than once, the United States and NATO had to first provide a clear strategic focus to a given situation before the EU's efforts could show their impact. This is bound to be less so as skills improve and perceptions get tuned. Nevertheless, ambitions within the EU to compete against US leadership are wisely being kept to a minimum.

As far as military power is concerned, EU countries neither have the political will nor the capabilities to consider the projection of power as a tool of policy in itself. The role of armed forces is merely to lend specific support to government policies in crisis situations. This can involve

power projection beyond Europe (although only Great Britain and France are in a position to consider limited combat operations outside Europe). More often, however, it will involve long-term commitments to provide a safe environment on the ground.

The Euro-Atlantic Partnership

Here is clearly a need for transatlantic dialogue: As US forces are likely to accelerate their transformation under the "Revolution in Military Affairs" paradigm, and are also likely to further reduce their peacetime presence in Europe, a number of issues will need to be sorted out to prevent irritation, preserve essential institutions, and optimize the chances for working together successfully in military operations.

European defense spending is set to rise marginally, but even then will not provide much room for rapid innovation and decisive new capabilities. EU military forces have been pooled for a long time in NATO; France's isolation from integrated defense structures has become practically irrelevant since the Gulf War and the Balkans operations. Nonaligned EU member countries and those European non-EU members that are not yet in NATO have all been involved through the Partnership for Peace program and other cooperative measures. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), launched in 1999, builds on the existing level of military integration. Europeans would have to reinvent NATO's structures for their own purposes if they didn't exist.

The United States continues to be a constituent part of European security. The diplomatic struggles of the post-war years to establish the rule that the United States and Canada must be part of any European framework, such as the OSCE, seems like remote history today. This architecture, with the complicated web of treaties and arrangements that surrounded Germany's unification in 1990, is still the one that underlies the current peaceful order in Europe. The EU's valuable role in international security still derives a good part of its credibility and effectiveness from its link to the United States through NATO. As US global priorities are shifting to other issues and areas, there is much to be gained from not forgetting the continuing regional and global importance of the transatlantic alliance.

Euro-Atlantic Security in 2010

Europe's double effort to build an expanded zone of stability and prosperity in its region and at the same time grow into a much more active worldwide role as one of the main actors in the international system will require more time. In particular, much unfinished business remains in the process of widening membership and participation in European institutions. It is likely that ten years from now this process, centered on the EU, will also have begun to include the "peripheral" powers of Russia and Turkey in tangible ways. While this trend will allow the EU to support its international role with additional resources and capabilities, it will clearly also challenge its existing internal mechanisms. At one point, the current intergovernmental paradigm of integration will meet its limitations. There is, however, no sufficient ground, spanning the different traditions and languages, for establishing one united European democracy. Cautious continuity of the familiar European integration process is thus likely to remain the key strategy for peace in this region.

Building a Euro-Atlantic Community: Europe and the States in 2010

Thought-Piece for the Europe Working Group

By Simon Serfaty
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Trends and Conclusions

1. The European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) are the two supporting beams of the European security architecture for the twenty-first century. By any standard, neither qualifies as a sovereign state. Yet for some of the things that matter most, each matters more than its most important European members.

2. What the EU will be like by the year 2010 can be foretold generally: it will be larger, stronger, and more united (but not supranational). By that time, the nation-states of Europe will be completing a new territorial revolution with the rise of member states as evolving political units whose sovereignty is limited by the discipline of the institutions to which they belong or hope to join.

3. How far that "revolution" will extend is finite. EU (and NATO) enlargement responds to geographic, historic, politico-economic, and even cultural factors—as well as strategic and organizational concerns. Because of these limits, Europe will have to accommodate its institutional orphans if it is to escape a new anarchy imported from its regional suburbs.

4. Much of Europe's institutional agenda is sensitive to five variables: robust economic growth, centrist political stability, cohesion of the larger EU members, contained regional disorders, and overall US support. The "War of 911" will modify each of these factors. In some case, these modifications may delay the agenda, but not to the point of denying or derailing it.

5. Internal cohesion especially affects relations among France, Great Britain, and Germany as a *pas de trois* that no single state can dance alone or choreograph without the other members' indispensable *corps de ballet.* While Franco-German bilateral relations appear to be fragile, Great Britain's relations with the EU and its members, including France, have markedly improved.

6. Over the next few years, a united and stronger Europe could emerge as a counterweight or a counterpart of American power—lest it prove to be, especially in the area of strength, a counterfeit. The United States should shed its lingering ambivalence about Europe's finalité. A power in Europe, though not a European power, the United States is a nonmember member state of the EU, and defining this status is part of Europe's agenda for 2010.

7. Europe's reaction to the events of September 11, and the reality of NATO as the hard core of the grand coalition developed to wage the War of 911, was compelling. A community of values was transformed into a community of action when these values were deemed to be at risk. Sustaining such cohesion will not be as spontaneous and easy, but how well it is done will impact significantly the future of NATO and, within NATO, US-EU relations.

8. For the cohesion of the alliance to be sustained, to the benefit of both NATO and the EU, US leadership should not expect 100 percent followership for the duration of the campaign. This is a coalition of coalitions—multispeed and *à géométries* variables. Like-minded members of the coalition that are capable but might not be willing will not stand in the way, but those that are both capable and willing should not be left on the sidelines either.

9. Limits of followership are drawn most visibly at the periphery of Europe, notwithstanding the common goals shared by NATO allies and EU partners. The greater Middle East especially is too reckless (terrorism), important (energy supplies), dangerous (four major wars), unstable *(fin de régimes),* expensive (for peacekeeping), and intrusive (with more than 15 million EU Muslims) to be left to others. *Laissez les faire* is not an option, and consultation is always a prerequisite for unity of action even when common interests are not shared evenly.

10. Neither NATO nor the EU is a full-service institution. "Soft security" issues that impact stability are best handled by the EU and its members, with assists from the United States and even, occasionally, NATO. Conversely, "hard security" issues are, and will remain, best managed by the United States and even NATO, with an occasional assist by the EU and its members. This is not a recipe for an artificial division of labor; both sets of issues are separable but they cannot be separated and, accordingly, neither are the policies that address them. A neglect of soft security issues will exacerbate issues of hard security, while the neglect of hard security issues will stall issues of reconstruction and reconciliation.

11. Finally, there is Russia—a regional "stakeholder" that is too near to ignore, too big to integrate, too unstable to rattle, too sensitive to offend, and too nuclear to oppose. The War of 911 presents the United States and the states of Europe, as well as the EU and NATO, with an unexpected opportunity to recast Euro-Atlantic relations with Moscow. Short-term conveniences, however, should not compromise mid- to long-term interests. NATO enlargement especially should not be stalled or overwhelmed by new candidacies, including that of Russia.

12. The future of Europe and its relations with the United States must be assessed retroactively—in 2001 relative to 20, 50, 80, or 100 years ago. So considered, it is cause for satisfaction. Standing ahead is not a new vision, but the completion of a vision that was started after the dehumanizing European wars of the twentieth century. Historians will be in awe of what was achieved, not only because of what was done to win these wars but also because of what was accomplished to defeat war itself.

The End Game

By any standard, the EU does not qualify as a sovereign state, either as a matter of fact (in its territory, population, government, and army) or as a state of mind (in its loyalty, values, identity, and history). Yet, not only does the EU matter but it also, for some of the things that seem to matter most, matters more than its most important members. Moving in an increasingly integrated space—peaceful, affluent, democratic, and de-ideologized—the states of Europe are playing out an ambitious end game: widen in order to deepen, deepen in order to widen, and widen in order to reform. This means that:

- By 2010 the EU will expand to many more members—all four states in Central Europe, all three Baltic states, a couple of states from Southeastern Europe (including Slovenia), Malta, and possibly Cyprus (with Norway and Switzerland still hesitant at the gate).

- By that time there will also be a functioning euro zone with all 15 current EU members (including Great Britain) plus a few, but not many, of the new members. Within that euro zone, the single currency will have acquired a global dimension, meaning that it will be emerging as a plausible reserve currency (though not on par with the dollar).

- For much of the decade, economic growth will make the EU wealthier, but enlargement to mainly poor countries will also make it internally more unequal, within the EU and within many of its members.

- With demographic trends that all but guarantee negative population growth and aging, EU-2010 will also be more foreign as each EU country is forced to replenish a dwindling labor force with large numbers of immigrants from outside Europe.

- Finally, reforms developed at one or two intergovernmental conferences (IGC), in addition to IGC 2004, are likely to enhance cooperation between the larger member states as a core within a union still operating at different but progressively converging speeds.

Europe-2010 will also be stronger militarily. By 2010 "Headline Goals" met earlier will begin to produce a robust European Security Policy shaped by post-2003 steps of defense convergence among EU countries. In Europe, interventions that do not involve the United States in some fashion will remain the exception. Outside Europe, autonomous military actions will be prudent, *à l'Américaine*, with exit strategies designed to limit casualties and escape escalating conflicts. A Common Foreign Policy, but not a European Defense Policy, will also be emerging, with better policy and institutional coordination.

This institutional end game, should it be completed, will mark Europe's third territorial revolution in half a millennium. It will mean that the nation-states that replaced the city-states will be giving way to member states—a new territorial unit whose individual "I" will still be merging with the collective "We" of the institutions to which they belong.

Bigger Is Safer

Entering a new century, the expansion of Europe's space *communautaire* is a vital dimension of its future. Without a doubt, this is the most effective way to extend the democratic stability of Western Europe to the rest of the continent. What else? The transformation of continental Europe's hard core—France, Germany, Italy, and Spain—is a case in point: it is within a uniting Europe that France ended its wars of the republics, Italy began to complete its unification, Germany exhausted its appetite for living space, and Spain buried its civil war. Examples of domestic upheavals within the European community have been few and have become fewer. At the margins of Europe, other latecomers—Ireland, Portugal, and Greece—also gained democratic stability and "euroic" affluence thanks, in part at least, to the advantages of EU membership: economic gains, political centrism, and Western legitimacy. The same is expected by and for the dozen applicants that expect enlargement to begin by the time of the next IGC in 2004.

Together with NATO, EU enlargement is also an important dimension of a Western strategy for Europe's unfinished security business. Although bids for NATO membership do not help bids for EU membership, or vice versa, achieving either helps the other. During the Cold War, five of the six countries that became European Community (EC) members between 1958 and 1986 joined NATO as well. By that time, only 3 of the 14 NATO European countries were not EC members as well (including Norway, which had declined membership). Full convergence of European membership in both institutions will not be possible for many years to come, if ever, but pursuing it to the extent possible will enable the EU and NATO to work together more effectively. European NATO states that are not EU members should not be left out, or stand in the way, of EU initiatives, while non-NATO EU states should be associated with NATO initiatives.

Enlargement is not an open-ended process, however, and one of the most daunting questions it raises has to do with its complex mixture of geographic and historical, cultural and political, or strategic and institutional limits. The geographic "E" of Europe is more decisive than the historic "U" of the union or even the organizational "O" of NATO. Most convincingly, countries that are not part of the European geographic mass will not enter the EU (or NATO). Exceptions, beginning with Great Britain or the insular dependencies of continental members like France and Italy—and including Malta and possibly Cyprus—are few. But who could tell the history of Europe without these islands?

South of the Mediterranean, the dividing line is not only geographic or historical but also cultural. Europe and Islam still define themselves in opposition to each other, rather than in association with each another. Each perceives its identity in terms of what the other is not and cannot become. This is a perverted Cartesian logic—I am, therefore you are not. Each affirms its specificity in order to escape the other's: "foreign and different, if not barbarian, fundamentalist, or fanatic," are words that define both Europe's worst vision of Islam and Islam's worst vision of the West. In sum, there is much debate over where enlargement begins in Europe proper, but there is little debate over where it ends. As to NATO, enlargement outside Europe would serve neither the organization nor its new members.

Finally, the EU's end game offers a vital transatlantic dimension. Entering the twenty-first century, America may not be, and may not wish to become, a European power. But it is, and is bound to

remain, a power in Europe. Such a conclusion is not an invitation to debate America's membership in the EU, but it is a plea to debate the consequences of America's status as a nonmember member state within the EU. In short, a vital but carefully hidden dimension of EU enlargement has to do with the structure of US-EU relations, as well as with the nature of EU-NATO relations. NATO does not command the wide array of diplomatic and commercial tools available to the EU to influence the decisions that might lead to unwanted actions. The EU does not command a decisive type of military capabilities available to NATO to shape events after unwanted decisions have been made. But convergence of these two institutions, eased by overlapping European membership, will help develop and enforce complementary strategies in the East, with a Euro-Atlantic Ostpolitik, and in the South.

The events of September 11, 2001, and the resulting War of 911 outline a final test for intra-European and transatlantic relations. Europe's end game, including its enlargement, was known to be costly and even painful lest it could rely on robust economic growth and reliable political stability. The former, already in question during much of 2001 when growth estimates were periodically revised downward, is even more significant on the eve of the decisive launch of a single currency. The latter, already tested by bottom-up anti-EU rebellions in 2000 and 2001 (referenda in Denmark and Ireland, respectively) may be at the mercy of unpredictable acts of war and terror over which no country, in or out of a US-led grand coalition, would control. Under such circumstances, EU enlargement could be delayed, even if sheer bureaucratic momentum keeps the current bilateral negotiations moving during the first half of 2002. That, however, would not be enough to derail the process. It would be a rain delay for the end game, rather than postponement or cancellation.

Similarly, the next round of NATO enlargement, in Prague in November 2002, could be stalled, derailed, or hijacked depending on the evolution of the war. A stall would reflect the shift of congressional and executive or even diplomatic priorities in the United States, whose leadership shapes the focus and pace of new NATO decisions on membership. A derailment would parallel a split among the allies over strategy, reviving a US debate over the relevance of alliances and even producing tensions within Europe (especially between Great Britain and it Franco-German partners) that would threaten the totality of the EU agenda. Last, the hijack could occur if the war were to impose Russia as America's new favorite ally (with Great Britain) in the context of a war that would suit especially well the Russian historic traditions and security needs.

Going East

Even before Russian President Vladimir Putin's election, apparent neglect and even harassment by the United States reinforced Moscow's interest in a European Union that, shortly after his election, Putin identified as Russia's second highest priority—after the Commonwealth of Independent States, but before the United States and China. This new vision of Europe, confirmed in Putin's State of Russia message in April 2001, responded to the EU's earlier "Common Strategy on Russia"—the first of its kind on both accounts, form "common strategy" and substance (Russia). With Russia's primary interest thus seeming to move toward the EU, privileged ties with individual European states—especially France and Germany—acquired a double significance: on their own merits but also in terms of their role in and influence over the EU.

The consequences of Russia's belated discovery of the EU should not be exaggerated, however. Over time, Russia's identity in Europe has defied the realities of geography, withstood the trials of history, adjusted to repeated waves of authoritarian governance, and never integrated the convictions that some rulers occasionally sought to import from other European countries. The problem with the idea that Russia has of itself—*grande Russie* and *Russie éternelle*, ever bigger and always unique—is that the Russian state can no longer support it, the Russian people can no longer endure it, Europe can no longer afford it, and America can no longer tolerate it.

Yet, while tensions between the petty realities of what Russia is and the grand illusions that shape its self-image remain, they have become less urgent because Russia can no longer have the same universal ambitions that characterized Russian policies before and during their most recent Soviet phase. Even Moscow's regional aspirations are illusive. The 300 million Muslims antagonized by Russia since the Cold War, the 1.3 billion Chinese whom Russia has offended since World War II, and the hundreds of millions of neighbors that Russians have harassed throughout history are poised for geopolitical revenge. Even before September 11, isolation was not an option, and the best of all available choices is a closer relationship with its former adversaries in the West.

Europe's territorial intimacy with Russia is reinforced as new members move the EU and NATO closer to, and even into, Russian territory—as in Kaliningrad. Admittedly, Russia was from the start an explicit feature of NATO enlargement, if only because of an implicit will to accommodate its objections. But even as NATO expands further, Russia is also emerging as a hidden dimension of EU enlargement. In coming years, therefore, it will be the EU leaders' turn to show sensitivity about the impact of their decisions on Moscow, if only because there is no ambiguity over EU membership for Russia for the foreseeable future. Yet somehow it is Russia that must learn to cooperate with both institutions. A Janus-like face that smiles at one and frowns at the other will not work because a frowning Russia, wherever it looks, will scare even the side to which it is smiling. Russia is too near to ignore, but it is also too big to integrate, too unstable to rattle, too sensitive to offend, and too nuclear to oppose. This is not just a matter of neighborhood, and neither the states of Europe nor the United States could afford to neglect for long the risks of disintegration within Russia and its related spillovers elsewhere.

The events of September 11 and their aftermath will directly affect conditions between the United States and Russia and, by implication, US-European and EU-Russia relations. Earlier in 2001, the new Bush administration's agenda clashed with Moscow's real or declaratory goals: missile defense (the sooner, the better), offensive strategic weapons (the deeper the cuts, the safer), and NATO enlargement (the bigger, the easier). Throughout, including two meetings in Europe, the will to consult did not seem to go further than a will to inform. Now, however, Russian capabilities, experience, and temperament make Moscow an invaluable ally. For the first time since 1941, both countries explore the boundaries of a community of interest born out of an unexpected need for common action. A new grand bargain with the fallen superpower in search of a mission and an institutional home would revive the grand alliance aimed at a new adversary whose roots go deeper into history than America can remember. Should short-term convenience take precedence over, and ultimately become, a mid- to long-term interest, the totality of the transatlantic agenda will be seriously affected.

Going South

As EU boundaries move toward Malta and Cyprus, an evermore populous Middle East will remain a dagger pointed to the soul of an older and depopulated Europe. A cultural self-definition of the EU and its members conditions the debate surrounding Turkey's prospects as a union member. If Turkey were given a role in Europe commensurate with its size, power, and potential, the EU would be transformed into a power in the Middle East—and if Europe opened its doors fully to Muslim immigrants, the EU could emerge as a Middle Eastern power. But neither of these futures is likely, by or beyond 2010. While millions of immigrants are stopped by the higher legal and physical ramparts raised on their way, Turkey's bid for membership is likely to be lost in the maze of institutional reforms and the multitude of applicants from other parts of the continent.

The tensions faced to build a multicultural community within the EU and its members, where over 15 million Muslims live, serve as reminders of the obstacles facing a cross-boundary community between the EU and non-EU states south of the Mediterranean. Occasional proposals for a community between the EU and the MED12 countries are self-defeating myths that unnecessarily worsen Europe's concerns about its southern neighbors and arouse misleading expectations among the latter. Strictly speaking, the idea of a community demands a will to share resources, surrender of force as a solvent of differences within the community, and a common identity. None of these features now exist, and none was about to emerge even before the fall of 2001, and there is little chance of any of this emerging in the near future.

A Mediterranean region that remains politically invisible can only afford a security architecture with Europe (and with the United States) that also remains invisible. Special partnerships and privileged associations are possible and even preferable to institutional membership even if the context of the War of 911 gives NATO a global dimension. More realistic than a broad Mediterranean community is the more limited free trade area envisioned by the EU in Barcelona as the centerpiece of a Euro-Med architecture that relies on performance-linked financial support and even new institutional linkages for dialogue, security, and otherwise.

For the War of 911 to be won, and for some semblance of reconciliation and security restored afterward, more will be required than the overwhelming application of military force. Reconciliation will demand reconstruction, and reconstruction will be especially needed if the war spreads further to a distraught and hopeless populace in the Middle East and other Muslim countries. There, as in the Balkans and other troubled regions, soft security issues that impact stability are best handled by the EU and its members, with assists from the United States and even, occasionally, NATO. Conversely, hard security issues are, and will remain, best managed by the United States and even NATO, with an occasional assist by the EU and its members. This is not a recipe for an artificial division of labor: both sets of issues are separable but they cannot be separated and, accordingly, nor are the policies that address them. A neglect of soft security issues will exacerbate issues of hard security, while the neglect of hard security issues will stall issues of development and reconstruction.

In short, the greater Middle East is too important (energy supplies), reckless (terrorism), dangerous (four major wars), unstable *(fin de régimes),* expensive (for peacekeeping), and intrusive (with

more than 15 million EU Muslims) to be left entirely to the good will and capabilities of others. For the EU and its members, that applies to the United States or any other great power, in or out of the region, as well as to any broad instability, whether locally built or imported. *Laissez les faire* is not an option. The complementarity and compatibility of policies adopted within this community of action will be tested in coming years—and failure to meet this test will have significant ramifications for both sides of the Atlantic and for the region too.

In this context, violent acts of terror aimed at any one European country are likely to strengthen Europe's unity and will. However divided the countries of Europe may still be on security issues, they do take their history, their identity, and their cities seriously. The collective defense commitment made through the 1948 Brussels Pact is more strict than NATO's Article 5, and a terrorist attack against any European city, à la New York, would be met with harsh and vengeful reprisals based on firm expectations of European unity and transatlantic solidarity.

Going West

America's adoption of the idea of Europe was never unconditional. Unstated criteria of legitimacy were criteria of political, economic, and societal convergence that would lead "them" to act more like us, even if they could not quite "be" us. In addition, there were also criteria of transatlantic convergence that would enable Europe to join the United States in a community of action where the values and the interests shared across the Atlantic would be translated into common policies. In other words, an evermore united and stronger Europe would become inseparable from the United States, even as it remained separate from America.

Entering the conclusive phase of the European construction, US concerns are different. Centrist republics can hardly raise apprehensions comparable to those raised by political changes during the Cold War. The "foreign national parties" of yesteryear have become "European national parties" herded into coalitions that move from center left to center right. Conditions of EU membership are conditions imported from the United States after 1945, including democratic structures, market economy, and the ability to compete. In short, for 50 years, the United States remodeled the countries of Western Europe to its image, and over the next several years it will be their turn to assume responsibility for refashioning other parts of Europe to that new image.

American ambivalence remains, however. A more united and increasingly stronger Europe can be viewed either as a counterweight or as a counterpart of American leadership and power. The distinction is real. The image of a counterweight is adversarial, as the "weight" to "counter" would be primarily, if not exclusively, that of the United States. Fears of such a counter have to do with the assumption that Europe's followership must be absolute lest America's leadership be weakened. As the image gains focus, the euro also emerges as a challenger, even a threat, to the dollar—a global currency whose economic clout would make it an effective *force de frappe* aimed at deflating or reversing US influence everywhere. A common security, foreign, and (ultimately) defense policy would provide this counterweight with military capabilities. The additional risk raised by such emerging capabilities would not be that they might be used in spite of (let alone against) the United States and NATO. The risk would be that the "authorized" use of an "autonomous" force would prove so ineffective (or premature) as to compel a European

involvement, or an American disengagement, that the United States might not have considered otherwise. In this case, far from being a counterweight, Europe would have proven to be a counterfeit.

Standing in exaggerated opposition to the counterweight view of Europe's future is the perception of a more united, larger, and stronger Europe acting as a counterpart to the United States. The driving assumption behind this view is that what has been happening in Europe over the past 50 years has been generally good for America and that more integration should be just as good (and certainly better than any alternative). Admittedly, a strong euro could be a liability for a dollar that has provided well for Europe's (and America's) affluence, and an autonomous Europe could be an obstacle to the exercise of a US leadership that has well-served Europe's (and America's) security. While differences between the two sides of the Atlantic remain—geopolitical, economic, and cultural—these have been narrowing significantly as America continues to become more European, and Europe more American. In sum, more integration in Europe need not mean less America in an integrated Europe.

The strategic and even cultural indivisibility of the Euro-Atlantic space will be tested in the early 2000s. Predictably, an America targeted by "evildoers" intent on turning the clock of their history, as well as that of other nations, back a thousand years may not be satisfied with halfhearted support. The killing—more than in Pearl Harbor—has made the peaceful resolution of this "act of war" neither possible nor desirable. *"Ich bin ein New Yorker"*—in September 2001, this was Europe's turn to respond to war against the United States with acts of solidarity on America's behalf. The unprecedented decision to view the attack against New York and Washington as an action covered by Article 5 of the 1949 Washington Treaty was barely more predictable than the action that precipitated that decision. In so doing, the 18 NATO countries provided the United States with a powerful reminder that even a nation without peers cannot be for long a nation without allies. To paraphrase John F. Kennedy again, entering the new century, it is Europe's turn to ask not what America can do for the Old World but what the Old World must do for America.

That, in the end, is the best to expect for Europe and its post-Cold War architecture. The community of values protected by NATO during the Cold War, and the community of interests built within the EU after World War II, are now called upon to merge into a Euro-Atlantic community of action. This is not a new vision, but the completion of the vision that was started more than 50 years ago in the aftermath of the dehumanizing brutality of the previous 50 decades. As another wave of dehumanizing brutality emerges, this time inspired outside Europe, it can only be hoped that policymakers on both sides of the Atlantic will show the same will and confidence as their predecessors. Appeasement, à la Munich, is not an option, even if faced with the risks of an escalation à la Sarajevo.

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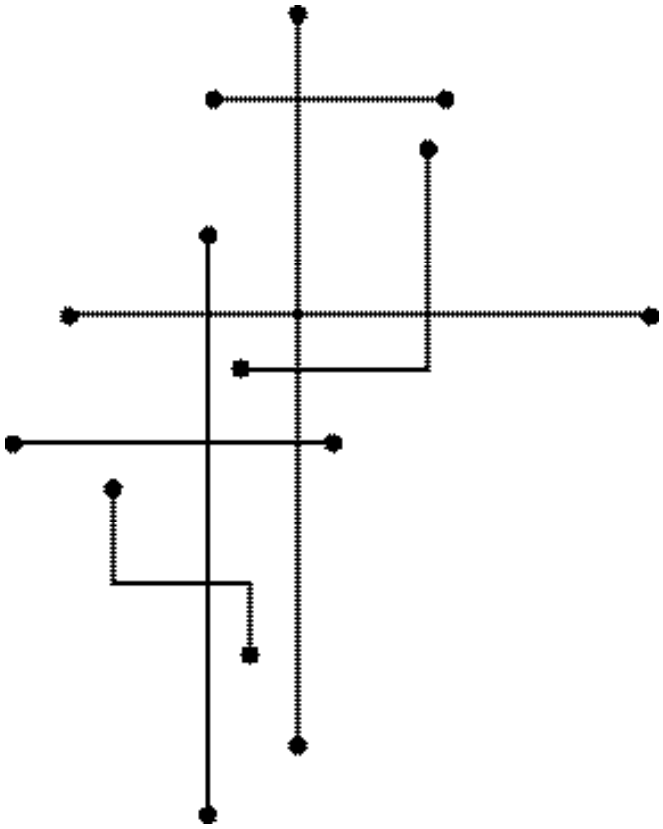

Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia

Making Headway on the Korean Peninsula

Chair's Report From the Korean Peninsula Working Group

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*The views expressed here are solely those of the author and do not represent the positions of policies of the US Government, Department of Defense, or US Army.

Chair's Findings and Policy Recommendations

Engage the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK)

- The United States should become more fully engaged in a dialogue with North Korea. This recommendation is not based solely on the need to reduce tensions but also on the need to reduce the massive uncertainty that still exists in interactions with Pyongyang. The greatest overarching obstacle to better bilateral relations is the lack of knowledge about North Korean interests and intentions—i.e., the true range of North Korea's ambitions, its strategic goals, and its plan for achieving those goals. Are its aims benevolent or malevolent? Beyond the survival of the Communist regime, how does the DPRK define its long-term interests? Engagement is essential to probing North Korea and reducing uncertainty in US relations with the peninsula, thereby leading to a more clear, consistent, and viable US foreign policy and defense strategy in the long term.

- As part of an engagement strategy, expand upon current broad statements and initiatives by adding more concrete detail, so that the DPRK knows exactly what actions it must take to achieve better economic, military, and diplomatic relations with the United States. For example, North Korea is clearly interested in being taken off the list of states that sponsor terrorism. The United States could identify the series of steps that North Korea could follow to achieve this.

Reassure and Coordinate With Seoul

- Washington should make a concerted effort to reassure Seoul that the alliance is rock solid. The appointment of veteran diplomat Thomas Hubbard as US Ambassador to the Republic of Korea (ROK) is a very good step in this direction.

- As part of an expanded effort to reassure Seoul and coordinate policies, there should be an explicit agreement confirming the division of labor, with South Korea taking the lead on political issues and conventional arms control while the United States takes the lead on weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and missile issues. Washington should anticipate Seoul voicing objections to US missile defense efforts and consider ways to work out any differences.

Coordinate With Tokyo

- The United States should maintain its ongoing dialogue on Korean security with Japan. The United States should encourage Japan to clearly articulate to North Korea what must be done to improve Pyongyang-Tokyo ties. The Trilateral Coordination and Oversight Group should continue to serve as a valuable means to ensure that Washington, Seoul, and Tokyo are reading from the same sheet of music as they deal with Pyongyang.

Coordination With Concerned Friends and Regional Powers

- The United States must consult with our friends who have abiding interests in the region and encourage them in their interactions with Pyongyang to continually make the case for more opening and dialogue. In addition, the United States should acknowledge the positive role that China and Russia, as interested regional powers, could play in reducing tension and divisions on the Korean peninsula.

- Utilize the leverage that China can exert over decision making in Pyongyang. Despite the up-again, down-again nature of bilateral US-China relations, the United States should not shy away from cooperating and coordinating its diplomacy with China in cases where both powers share interests on the Korean peninsula. Beijing is in the best position to convince North Korea that it should open and expand ties with Washington, Seoul, and Tokyo. China, itself only a gradual convert to the benefits of multilateralism, can articulate to North Korea the utility of cooperating to build a regional security architecture for Northeast Asia.

Introduction

Since September 11, 2001, the attention of the United States and the world has focused largely on Central and South Asia. The US-led coalition conducting the war on terrorism in Afghanistan has highlighted the serious regional security challenges posed by the India-Pakistan conflict and the unresolved tensions in the Middle East. Despite the immediacy and likely protracted nature of the aforementioned conflicts, however, the United States remains deeply involved in Northeast Asia. According to Samuel Kim, Northeast Asia remains “one of the most dangerous places in the post-Cold War world.” Four of the world’s largest and most heavily armed militaries continue to face off here: two across the Taiwan Strait and two others along the demilitarized zone (DMZ) on the Korean peninsula. The United States has an abiding interest in deterring conflict and maintaining peace and prosperity in the region. If war broke out at either flashpoint, the United States would be swiftly involved.

Korea: The Strategic Pivot of Northeast Asia

It is Korea that poses the greatest and most complex challenge to the balance of power in Northeast Asia. Hostilities between North and South Korea would immediately put the United States at war by virtue of the approximately 37,000 military personnel stationed in the ROK and a 1954 mutual defense treaty with the ROK. Any military action on the Korean peninsula could begin with little warning since North Korean forces and long-range artillery are forward deployed near the DMZ, well within striking distance of the densely populated South Korean capital of Seoul.

By contrast, US involvement would not be immediate in the event of hostilities between China and Taiwan. While the United States would likely become involved in any Taiwan Strait conflict, the 90-mile-wide Taiwan Strait offers a significant geographic barrier for the island and more warning time of an attack. In contrast, any conflict on the Korean peninsula threatens to impact the major powers in the region very quickly. Moreover, significant change on the peninsula would hold major and direct ramifications for Japan, China, and Russia in addition to the United States. Therefore, the Korean peninsula certainly merits Samuel Kim's moniker of Northeast Asia's "strategic pivot."

More than a dozen analysts and scholars (hereafter, *participants*) convened under the auspices of the Stanley Foundation's 42nd annual Strategy for Peace Conference to assess the security situation on the Korean peninsula and to discuss ways to make headway. This report summarizes the substance of the discussions, incorporates the analysis of the accompanying policy briefs written by Samuel Kim of Columbia University and Chung-in Moon of Yonsei University, and adds some personal observations by the chair.

First, the current situation on the Korean peninsula is examined, and the goals and dispositions of the central players (the ROK, the DPRK, and the United States) are considered. Next, specific functional areas with particular attention to conventional arms control are discussed, and the roles of other regional players (Japan, China, the Russian Federation, and the European Union [EU]) are examined. Finally, policy recommendations are offered.[3]

Plus Ça Change, Plus C'est La Même Chose?

Some participants remarked that over the course of the past decade Korea has appeared to be on the brink of momentous change on several occasions, only to end in disappointment. Despite the remarkable events of 2000, "the prospects for peace on the Korean peninsula," in the words of Chung-in Moon, "do not seem to be bright." The nuclear crisis of the early 1990s, the North Korean famine of the mid-1990s, the inter-Korean summit of mid-2000, and the flurry of diplomacy by Pyongyang in recent years, each—if only for tantalizingly brief periods—appeared to herald an historic breakthrough. While each event held the potential of fundamentally improving the security situation on the peninsula, each in turn has failed to live up to expectations.

Why these opportunities did not deliver on the promise of progress remains in dispute. Some participants believed each was sabotaged by Pyongyang's bad faith, others cast blame on Washington, while still others attributed failure to the excessive caution or inertia born of each side's deeply rooted mistrust of the other.

Will the war on terrorism turn out to be another opportunity unrealized? Participants were divided as to whether September 11 had significantly altered the situation on the Korean peninsula: some said yes, while others said no. The intractable differences in Korea are deeply rooted in the division of the peninsula itself and not related to the Middle East tensions or the Islamic

[3] For a recent and comprehensive review of Korean security that is generally consistent with the findings of this report, see "Testing North Korea: The Next Stage in U.S. and ROK Policy," Report of an Independent Task Force (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2001).

extremists who perpetrated the terrorist attacks on the United States. However, if Pyongyang were sincere in improving relations with the United States, the war on terrorism provides a key opportunity to demonstrate good faith to Washington. North Korea might provide some useful intelligence. On the other hand, it is unlikely in the view of some that North Korea would be forthcoming with any useful intelligence. Even if it did provide help, Washington would likely view this with great skepticism because of Pyongyang's own track record of terrorist acts and anti-US hostility.

Significant in recent years is the clear desire by the ROK and United States to improve relations with the DPRK. Of particular note are Seoul's astonishing efforts, spearheaded by President Kim Dae-jung, to seek a qualitative improvement with North Korea in recent years culminating in the historic June 2000 summit in Pyongyang. Also noteworthy were the vigorous efforts by the second Clinton administration to seek a rapprochement, most notably the visit by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to North Korea in October 2000. Moreover, since mid-2001 the Bush administration has expressed a willingness to engage Pyongyang in an open-ended dialogue. However, North Korea, either through its own inability or unwillingness to build on the goodwill and progress made in dialogues with South Korea and the United States, has stalled the process of rapprochement. In short, the significant momentum of mid-2000 seems by late 2001 to have been squandered.

A prerequisite for any progress on the peninsula is a better understanding of the policy preferences of the United States, the ROK, and the DPRK.

What Are Washington's Desired Outcomes in Korea?

The most important question is what the United States desires to achieve on the peninsula. Many participants contended that in fact Washington does not know what it wants. At the very least there seemed to be near unanimous agreement that the Bush administration has yet to clearly articulate a vision for a desirable end state on the Korean peninsula. Some suggested that the United States is far more comfortable with the status quo—a divided but seemingly stable Korea—than it is with the prospect of dramatic change on the peninsula. A unified Korea threatens to alter substantially the geostrategic landscape of Northeast Asia, not to mention raise uncomfortable questions about the disposition of a unified Korea toward the United States.

Some participants believed it was important to clarify the exact nature of the threat from North Korea. Is it primarily WMD, ballistic missiles, conventional forces and weaponry, or the "collapse card"? From the perspective of the United States, the former two items are of the greatest areas of concern whereas from the ROK perspective, the latter two constitute the greatest threats.

A logical US stance is perhaps one that approaches the consistent US position on the Taiwan Strait issue: "a peaceful resolution by Koreans themselves." If this is indeed the desired policy, then the United States should not, on the one hand, insist on taking the lead in any political talks but, on the other hand, appear to be a barrier to improved relations between the Koreas. In the view of the chair, the desired outcome in Korea for the United States should be at a minimum:

• No direct threats to the United States or our allies.
• Continued unfettered US economic and political access and influence.
• No domination by an unfriendly power over Korea and Northeast Asia.

What Are Seoul's Desired Outcomes?

After emerging from a prolonged period of military rule, the ROK by the late 1990s had become a burgeoning democracy. A significant step was the victory of opposition candidate Kim Dae-jung in the December 1997 presidential election. His smooth transition to office in early 1998 heralded the first peaceful handover of political power in Korea of the twentieth century. Since President Kim is constitutionally prohibited from seeking a second term, a new head of state will be elected in December 2002 and assume office in February 2003. This election very likely will mark another change of ruling party. If this happens, South Korea will have passed the "two-turnover" threshold that many scholars consider a significant event that indicates a country has become a "consolidated democracy."

What are Seoul's goals and intentions toward Pyongyang? Under President Kim, South Korea has vigorously pursued a policy of engagement with North Korea. The goals seem to be a political rapprochement with Pyongyang to stimulate peaceful, gradual change by North Korea. By nurturing economic reform and opening to the world, Seoul hopes to alleviate the economic crisis and avert a political collapse in North Korea that would be a major shock to South Korea's economy.

However, by autumn 2001, as Samuel Kim notes, many in South Korea had become disillusioned with President Kim's "sunshine" policy. Engagement seemed to involve very little reciprocation by North Korea to South Korea's extensive and bold initiatives. The highpoint of the sunshine policy was the June 2000 summit in Pyongyang between President Kim and North Korean leader Chairman Kim Jong Il that was supposed to herald, in the words of Chung-in Moon, "revolutionary changes." Although President Kim won the Nobel Peace Prize later that year, the euphoric days in the immediate aftermath of the summit have given way to the dismal days of late 2001 when all the momentum of a year earlier appears to have been lost. Not only do inter-Korean relations appear to be stalled, but domestic support in South Korea for the sunshine policy also seems to have evaporated. The result as of December 2001, as Samuel Kim and Chung-in Moon both observe, is that President Kim is fast becoming a lame-duck incumbent as the presidential campaign for 2002 is already underway.

The consensus of the participants was that President Kim deserves considerable credit for making engagement with North Korea a politically acceptable policy option in South Korea. Indeed, some kind of engagement by the next occupant of the Blue House seems virtually assured, although it is unlikely to be as charitable as its predecessor. In any case, as Samuel Kim notes, for Seoul the ROK's alliance with the United States is the "bedrock of [its] security." While anti-Americanism is ingrained in some sectors of South Korea, overall there seems to be strong support for the alliance. Indeed, according to Chung-in Moon, in some circles there is a fear of strategic abandonment by the United States, perhaps leading to improved South Korean missile and nuclear capabilities.

What Are Pyongyang's Desired Outcomes?

Central to addressing the security concerns on the peninsula is the disposition of North Korea. Understanding Pyongyang's intentions and the nature of the regime are not particularly easy tasks. The participants agreed that North Korea's leaders are not irrational. Within the context of their own psychological boundaries, they are quite rational. However, participants disagreed over whether North Korea is a pluralist system with different and competing factions (what might be called "fragmented authoritarianism") or a regime tightly controlled by a single absolute dictator ("totalitarianism"). Nevertheless, there was general agreement that the regime will be around for a while, and all indications are that Kim Jong Il will remain in charge.

Participants differed as to Pyongyang's intentions. While there was consensus that North Korea's fundamental goal is regime survival, participants hotly disputed its desired foreign policy goals and preferred international strategy. Are Pyongyang's intentions toward its neighbors and the United States malevolent or benevolent? Are its goals modest or ambitious?

Few would contend that Pyongyang is guilty of excessive modesty in its aims. It is possible that the regime merely desires to maintain essentially the status quo with qualitative improvement in its economic situation. More likely, however, the regime still harbors ambitious goals to seek political union or (con)federation with Seoul. The critical question is whether the strategy to achieve this is peaceful or violent. Since outsiders cannot see with any high degree of reliability the specific goals and grand strategy being pursued by North Korea, the group concluded we can only extrapolate from the visible manifestations. That is, Pyongyang's strategy can only be determined by what is observable: the tactics and deployment of forces at the operational level.

A glance at the conventional forces of the Korean People's Army (KPA) on the ground reveals no evidence of a change of strategy. Moreover, Pyongyang's purported desire for peaceful coexistence and eventual unification has yet to translate into any reduction in the size of the KPA or any pullback of the considerable forces arrayed just north of the DMZ. There has been, as Samuel Kim observes, no change in Pyongyang's "military-first" policy. Still, the propaganda broadcasts at the DMZ have ceased, and North Korea has offered some conciliatory and sympathetic statements to the United States in the aftermath of September 11, 2001.

While Pyongyang has put forward proposals to limit its missile program, it has sought to exact material gains for doing so (what some label "extortion"). This is certainly true in the case of North Korea's nuclear program. Pyongyang signed off on the Agreed Framework when promised two new nuclear reactors and annual shipments of oil until the first reactor is completed.

Pyongyang's recent flurry of diplomatic activity is more difficult to decipher. What is one to make of North Korea's clear desire to establish diplomatic relations with the United States and the remarkable initiative whereby Pyongyang had established ties with some two dozen countries and the EU and joined the Association of Southeast Asian Nations Regional Forum (ARF)? This could be either an effort to undermine international support for Seoul or a means to acquire a higher international profile and attract more aid and trade. What can we deduce from the June 2000 inter-Korea summit? Does Kim Jong Il sincerely desire rapprochement with

the ROK or was this simply a public relations stunt? What can we conclude from Chairman Kim's two trips to China (in May 2000 and January 2001) and his extended trip via train to Russia in mid-2001? The former could be part of an effort to push forward with economic reforms or merely an attempt to extract more assistance from China. The latter could be to avoid relying exclusively on Beijing or it might be to shore up security ties with Moscow and/or window-shop for Russian weapons. And what can one infer from the fact that President Kim's 2000 visit to Pyongyang remains unreciprocated? Some participants speculated that the North Korean leader might actually fear for his personal safety or he may simply have misgivings about the kind of reception he might receive in Seoul. Many believed that Kim Jong Il simply concluded he had nothing to gain from such a visit.

According to Chung-in Moon, North Korea has exhibited "emerging signs of genuine change." However, there has been very little evidence of actual reform and opening of its economy. To date, opening has consisted of little beyond allowing humanitarian assistance in and collecting cash rents from South Korean tourists who visit scenic Mt. Kumgang. Still, North Korea does seem to desire foreign investment and trade, although it comes up woefully short in making the country an attractive and hospitable venue for foreign businesses. The unanswered question is whether this reflects a deep reluctance to commit to meaningful reform or a lack of appreciation for what is needed.

The Policy Challenge

The challenge then is for the United States and South Korea to develop a coordinated approach that is finely tuned and sufficiently flexible to deal with any possible North Korean strategy. Moreover, the US-ROK joint strategy should be calibrated to draw Pyongyang out enough so that one is better able to determine what strategy North Korea is pursuing and what end state it is seeking. To this end it is in the US interest to do as much as possible to encourage the development of market forces in North Korea, including facilitating Pyongyang's entry into international economic organizations, as Chung-in Moon and Samuel Kim recommend. Of course, it is possible that North Korea might actually fluctuate between strategies, depending on changing conditions. It is even possible that Pyongyang itself is not sure what it wants, let alone how to go about achieving it!

Where to Focus?

A basic quandary when trying to make real progress on Korean peninsula security is where to focus. Does one concentrate on WMD, missiles, or conventional arms? Certainly one way to determine this is to identify precisely what the main threat is from North Korea. As noted above, over the past decade the United States has identified the prime threats as WMD and ballistic missiles. More recently, the administration of George W. Bush indicated an interest in addressing the conventional threat by expressing a desire to include this topic on the agenda in talks with North Korea. Most recently, in late 2001, concern about Pyongyang's biological weapons program was raised in Washington.

Some participants contended that a major cause for concern lies in the possibility of a North Korean collapse. Should this occur, the question of securing WMD and missile facilities would

be paramount. The challenges in dealing with a North Korean collapse are considerable, but it would at least hold the promise of solving the North Korean threat once and for all. Nevertheless, the consensus of the participants was that the working assumption, consistent with the Perry Report of 1999, must be that the Pyongyang regime is stable and capable of remaining in power for the foreseeable future. Thus the focus should be on how to lessen tensions and reduce threats by engaging the current regime.

There was no consensus on which functional area deserved the greatest attention. In the chair's view, all of the areas are important, and they should all be pursued. Perhaps the question should not be "where to start?" but rather "where have we yet to begin?" The biggest challenges seem to lie in getting an issue on the agenda and then starting a meaningful dialogue. Negotiations on Pyongyang's nuclear program are the furthest along, and indeed these produced the most significant agreement to date: the 1994 Agreed Framework. The subject of ballistic missiles has been put on the agenda, although substantive negotiations have essentially only just begun. However, the topics of chemical and biological weapons have yet to be raised, and the topic of conventional forces was only just raised by the United States. But none of these topics has been discussed in bilateral meetings.

Conventional Arms Control

Conventional arms control is an appealing place to make headway, but it is likely to be fraught with difficulties. Some participants argued that Pyongyang has expressed no interest at all in pursuing this. Indeed, it has raised strenuous objections to the introduction of what it calls "new demands" and has called this an obstacle to future dialogue. Some participants felt it was the toughest nut to crack and, for now, best left alone, while others believed it held the promise of great rewards despite inherent difficulties.

The chair contends it is very important to begin a dialogue on conventional arms for at least four reasons. First, there has been no decline at all in the threat posed on the ground to the ROK. The primary threat that North Korea poses to South Korea is a conventional one. It is long-range artillery rather than ballistic missiles that poses the greatest existential threat to Seoul. And North Korea's million-man-plus army, one of the five largest militaries in the world, is also forward deployed near the DMZ and poised to strike southward.

Second, progress on conventional weapons would be the clearest signal North Korea can give of a change of intent. If there is no willingness by Pyongyang to make progress, then this gives a very clear signal that North Korea's intentions continue to be malevolent. If Pyongyang were to draw down or pull back these forces, it would be a significant gesture of goodwill and a tangible threat reduction measure.

Third, real progress on conventional forces reductions will, in the chair's view, inevitably set into motion significant structural changes in North Korea, and the KPA will be required to make major adjustments. Certainly, if the conventional reductions are implemented too quickly, there is the danger that the pace of change will trigger instability in the North. This is unlikely, however, because the process is almost certain to be gradual. The KPA will need to find work for demobilized soldiers. A logical option is employment in the factories of foreign investors or in

the vast network of factories and other enterprises owned and operated by the military (run by the DPRK's "Second Economic Commission") producing civilian goods, preferably for export. Such an initiative would hopefully stimulate a process of defense conversion. Indeed, as I argue elsewhere, for real economic reform to happen in the DPRK, it has to begin with the KPA.[4]

Fourth, reductions in conventional forces, if approached deftly, are likely to be agreeable to Pyongyang for several reasons. First of all, North Korea is not as psychologically attached to these forces as it is to WMD. As Joseph S. Bermudez and others have pointed out, the regime's identity and paranoid sense of national security is intimately tied to WMD.[5] Indeed, Samuel Kim calls it Pyongyang's "trump card" and opines these assets will not be negotiated away "easily or cheaply." North Korea's leaders appear to believe that possession of nuclear, chemical, and biological capabilities is vital to national survival. This is the result of real or imagined experience with such weaponry. Thousands of ethnic Koreans were killed and many more maimed by the atomic blasts at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Moreover, Pyongyang took very seriously threats by Washington to use nuclear weapons to end the Korean War. In addition, North Korea remembers that the Japanese experimented with chemical and biological agents on Koreans as well as on Chinese and other prisoners of war. Many North Koreans also appear convinced that the United States used biological weapons in the Korean War, although recent research within the United States suggests this never happened.[6] As a result, Pyongyang might be far more receptive to making significant cuts in conventional forces than it would be in WMD arsenals.[7]

Second, reductions in conventional forces should be appealing to Pyongyang because, if successful, they would lead eventually to the possibility of a full withdrawal of US Forces Korea (USFK). Indeed, it is highly unlikely that North Korea would unilaterally institute conventional arms reductions. Any consideration of the downsizing of units south of the DMZ will raise the question of whether USFK would be involved. Kim Jong Il reportedly told President Kim at their 2000 summit in Pyongyang that he did not oppose the continued presence of US troops after unification. This was never reiterated publicly by the North Korean leader. Moreover, his statements since June 2000 have seemed to contradict his earlier statement. Chung-in Moon suggests that this apparent change in position is a result of the Bush administration indicating that it was also interested in discussing the matter of conventional forces. But some participants remained skeptical that Kim Jong Il ever made any such commitment. Here the problem seems to be that Kim Jong Il is the master of ambiguity and obfuscation.

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[4] Andrew Scobell, "North Korea on the Brink," *The Rise of China in Asia: The Security Implications*, ed. Carolyn Pumphrey (Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College, forthcoming, 2002).

[5] See, for example, Joseph S. Bermudez, Jr., "The Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Unconventional Weapons," *Planning the Unthinkable: How New Powers Will Use Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Weapons*, ed. Peter R. Lavoy, Scott D. Sagan, and James J. Wirtz (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 182-201; Scobell, "North Korea on the Brink."

[6] See Conrad C. Crane, "Chemical and Biological Warfare During the Korean War: Rhetoric and Reality," *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 25, No. 3, 2001, pp. 61-84.

[7] For a contrary view, see Testing North Korea, p. 40.

His offer on ending Pyongyang's missile program reported by President Vladimir Putin in July 2000 was never clarified and may have been made in jest! In any event, as Chung-in Moon observes, the question of the continued presence of the United States on the peninsula remains an "unresolved issue."

Ironically, the greatest challenges to conventional arms control may not lie in Pyongyang but rather in Seoul and Washington. South Korea may be wary of such a process because, if successful, it will likely result in a gradual decline in the US military presence on the peninsula and raise the specter of a complete American withdrawal. Such an effort might be construed, Chung-in Moon observes, "as the erosion of the American security commitment." However, giving Seoul the lead in the negotiations may alleviate South Korean fears.

Likewise, having the issues of conventional arms control and the US military presence in Korea on the agenda may have implications for the complex web of command relationships, defense, and deterrence on the peninsula. The senior US military officer assigned in Korea also serves as the commander in chief of the United Nations Command, the commander in chief of the ROK/US Combined Forces Command, and the commander of USFK. These entities are bound together in a complex web that, while important to ensuring deterrence of aggression and the defense of the ROK, are also extremely difficult to disentangle. Any effort at conventional force reductions must address this knotty issue. The US Army might also raise concerns that any draw down of US ground forces in Korea will increase the likelihood of these forces being demobilized. In any event there will be no swift unilateral withdrawal of US forces unless Seoul demands it or Washington directs it (both of which seem highly unlikely). It can only be accomplished gradually as part of a reciprocal and verifiable process to ensure continued stability on the Korean peninsula.[8]

Weapons of Mass Destruction

Nuclear. In the early 1990s tensions heightened on the Korean peninsula to the point that war seemed a distinct possibility. The issue was Pyongyang's nuclear program. The crisis was defused by the 1994 Agreed Framework, which established the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO). This organization was charged with overseeing the construction of two light water reactors (LWRs) to replace the graphite reactors being built. This was done with the logic that LWRs were far more difficult than the graphite reactors to produce weapons-grade plutonium. This rationale has been challenged, and indeed the whole Agreed Framework has been attacked by critics as an extremely expensive boondoggle—which even if it had been free of delays and cost overruns, would not resolve the problem.

There has been some talk in the United States of scrapping the project. The primary contentious issue is on what the focus should be—either renegotiating the agreement or ensuring that North Korea abides by its existing commitments. Given that the accord already exists and

[8] For some recent thoughtful studies on approaches to conventional arms control on the peninsula, see Yong-Sup Han, Paul K. Davis, and Richard E. Darilek, "Time for Conventional Arms Control of the Korean Peninsula," *Arms Control Today*, December 2000; Bruce William Bennett, "Conventional Arms Control in Korea: A Lever for Peace?" *Planning for a Peaceful Korea*, ed. Henry D. Sokolski (Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College, February 2001), pp. 291-327.

the project is well underway, it is important to stay the course. Moreover, it provides an excellent benchmark to gauge North Korean behavior.[9]

Biological and Chemical Weapons. The most recent concern has been over Pyongyang's arsenal of biological weapons. Concerns over the anthrax threat on the Korean peninsula in the late 1990s have been heightened in the wake of anthrax attacks in the eastern United States in the aftermath of September 11 terrorist attacks. And of equal, if not greater, concern is North Korea's supply of chemical weapons.[10]

Ballistic Missiles

Missiles, some participants felt, would be the least difficult area in which to make progress. This is because in 1999 North Korea agreed to a moratorium on testing in exchange for the lifting of economic sanctions. In a May 2001 meeting with a high-level EU delegation, Kim Jong Il made a unilateral commitment to put a moratorium on the testing of North Korean missiles until 2003. And, as noted earlier, in July 2000 Kim Jong Il reportedly told President Putin that Pyongyang would end its rocket program if permitted to use the satellite launching capabilities of other states.

North Korea has been identified as a proliferator of ballistic missiles for several decades. Starting in the late 1990s, the DPRK was identified as one of a handful of "rogue states" possessing ballistic missiles that posed a significant threat to the United States, justifying the deployment of national missile defense. This concern was underscored when Pyongyang test-fired a multistage Taepo Dong missile into the Pacific Ocean east of the Japanese island of Honshu in August 1998.

However, North Korea will almost certainly insist that South Korea's own active missile program be included on the agenda. The testing of a ballistic missile by Seoul in late November 2001 is the latest testament to the existence of a thriving ROK program. Moreover, US missile defense initiatives could easily become a contentious issue not just between Washington and Pyongyang but also between Washington and Seoul. The Bush administration's intent to withdraw from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty may complicate US efforts to reach a missile agreement with North Korea, according to Samuel Kim. And according to Chung-in Moon, US theater missile defense (TMD) plans could not only "undermine" efforts by Washington to reach an agreement with Pyongyang but also foment "discord" between Washington and Seoul.

Role of the Major Regional Actors

Major regional actors are other powers that are either geographically located in Northeast Asia and/or have been actively involved in Korean peninsula issues. All are states that have a direct interest in resolving the tensions on the peninsula.

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[9] For more detailed discussion on the nuclear issue and the Air Force, see *Testing North Korea.*

[10] For more analysis of Pyongyang's biological and chemical arsenals, see Bermudez, "The Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Unconventional Weapons."

China. China is perhaps most important as a stabilizing force for North Korea. As a communist country with a long history of cordial ties with the DPRK, Beijing is the capital that Pyongyang leans on the hardest and interacts with the most. China has sought to encourage North Korea to embark on economic reforms. Beijing provides food aid, a window on the world, and a safety valve in the form of a refuge for tens of thousands of North Koreans fleeing famine and poverty in their own country. China's preference is that there be no collapse, but no unification. China would like to see North Korea undertake successful economic reform and continue to be ruled by a communist dictatorship. Beijing desires a continued Leninist buffer without the burden of subsidizing a Pyongyang hovering on the brink of economic collapse.

European Union. Although clearly not an Asia-Pacific entity, the EU has been involved in the Korean peninsula for some time. EU is an investor in KEDO and very concerned with proliferation. The depth of this interest was highlighted by a high-level EU delegation visiting Pyongyang in May 2001. Perhaps the most active EU member state is Sweden, which has had a diplomatic mission in Pyongyang for many years. It is not merely coincidental that Sweden occupied the EU's rotating presidency during the recent mission to North Korea. Moreover, Kim Jong Il appears to have an interest in the Scandinavian economic paradigm.

Japan. As close neighbor of the Korean peninsula and home to the largest community of pro-DPRK ethnic Koreans outside of the peninsula, Japan has a substantial interest in the future of Korea. Tokyo's key issues are the handover of the Japanese Red Army terrorists being sheltered by Pyongyang and an accounting of the individuals who disappeared under mysterious circumstances from Japan in recent years. Japan also feels extremely vulnerable to North Korean missiles after the August 1998 Taepo Dong rocket mentioned above.

Russian Federation. Russia has long had an interest in Korea. During the Cold War, Moscow was a primary supporter of Pyongyang providing considerable economic and military aid, but this changed dramatically over the past decade. Moscow has adopted a "two Koreas" policy since establishing full diplomatic relations with Seoul in 1990. President Putin has sought to become a player on the peninsula, but with limited success. Kim Jong Il's extended visit to Russia in the summer of 2001 certainly bolstered this claim but Russia, along with the EU, is perhaps more peripheral than the other players discussed. This is because the Russian Federation tends to be largely preoccupied with European and Central Asian issues. However, there are recent signs of increased Moscow-Pyongyang dialogue and indications of a possible arms deal.

Policy Recommendations

Engage North Korea

There was general consensus that the United States ought to be engaged in a dialogue with North Korea. In the view of many participants, engagement is essential to probing North Korea's intentions. While no one questioned the sincerity and intentions of Secretary of State Colin Powell's offer in July 2001 to meet North Korean officials "anytime and anywhere without preconditions," some participants expressed the belief that, by itself, this was not conducive

to making headway. Rather than expressing a general willingness to engage in dialogue, it would be more fruitful in their view to present Pyongyang privately with a detailed roadmap of how to achieve certain desired goals.

For example, North Korea is clearly interested in being taken off the list of states that sponsor terrorism. The United States should identify the series of steps that North Korea could follow to achieve this. Similarly, Washington should indicate how Pyongyang can establish diplomatic relations with Washington. While the opening of embassies in each other's capitals is probably unrealistic in the immediate term, the establishment of liaison offices in response to certain steps taken by North Korea is much more feasible, with the eventual exchanging of ambassadors if sufficient progress on the roadmap is made.

Perhaps one step that the United States could take that entails no cost and requires no commitment of resources is to restate the language of the text of the October 2000 joint communiqué: the United States has no "hostile intent" toward North Korea. Hopefully the United States can assure Pyongyang that Washington is not poised to attack North Korea. At the very least, such a statement would reinforce the defensive disposition of the United States in the eyes of the people of South Korea and the world.

Reassure and Coordinate With Seoul

Washington should make a concerted effort to reassure Seoul that the alliance is rock solid. The appointment of veteran diplomat Thomas Hubbard as US ambassador to the ROK is a very good step in this direction. This should assuage the concerns about abandonment within some circles in South Korea, noted by Chung-in Moon. Moreover, there should be an explicit agreement confirming the division of labor noted by Chung-in Moon in his piece, with South Korea taking the lead on political issues and conventional arms control while the United States takes the lead on WMD and missile issues. Washington should anticipate Seoul voicing objections to US missile defense efforts and consider ways to work out any differences. There should be close cooperation and coordination between the two allies across the board.

Coordinate With Tokyo

The United States should maintain its ongoing dialogue on Korean security with Japan. The United States should encourage Japan to clearly articulate to North Korea what must be done to improve Pyongyang-Tokyo ties. The Trilateral Coordination and Oversight Group should continue to serve as a valuable means to ensure that Washington, Seoul, and Tokyo are reading from the same sheet of music as they deal with Pyongyang. This should not be difficult. Every indication is that the US-Japan alliance is on firm ground. These signs include the appointment of distinguished elder statesman Howard Baker as ambassador to Tokyo and Japan's noteworthy military contribution to the war on terrorism.

Coordination With Concerned Friends

The United States must consult with our friends who have abiding interests in the region and encourage them in their interactions with Pyongyang to continually make the case for more opening and dialogue with Seoul, Washington, and Tokyo. Beijing is certainly in the best

position to make this case. China can reassure Pyongyang and stress the value of expanded participation in multilateral fora: specifically the reactivation of the Four-Party Talks and being an active member of the Asean Regional Forum. China, itself only a gradual convert to the benefits of multilateralism, can articulate to North Korea the utility of cooperating to build a regional security architecture for Northeast Asia. Moscow and Brussels can also be helpful in underscoring to Pyongyang the tangible benefits of greater engagement and opening to the wider world.

The Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia Security: US Policy Options

Thought-Piece for the Korean Peninsula Working Group

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Introduction

This analysis is predicated on three fundamental questions posed by the Stanley Foundation for the Korean Peninsula Security Working Group as part of the October 2001 event *US Strategies for Regional Security.*

- How does the present pattern of inter-Korean relations impede movement toward a more normal post-Cold War regional security architecture in Northeast Asia?

- What elements of the Korean Security equation must be addressed and resolved within the next five to ten years if a more comprehensive and stable regional security order is to emerge?

- What can the United States do now to foster movement toward a mid- to long-term solution for the Korean peninsula?

Before proceeding with answers to these questions, it is useful to consider the definition of the term *security*. For this analysis, *security* is taken to mean the "minimization of violence" in both a direct/physical sense and indirect/structural sense. In the structural sense, violence (or the threat of violence) is always present in any system that is predicated on sovereign actors with diverse and conflicting interests, as is the case in Northeast Asia. Therefore, security should not be viewed as a state's end goal, but rather as an ongoing process of minimizing obstacles and threats to the protection and promotion of human life and potential. It is better conceived as a relative, not an absolute, concept.

This definition directly affects the author's conception of regional and Korean peninsula security. The aims of initiating and sustaining effective international efforts toward a comprehensive security architecture in Northeast Asia require nothing less than the integrated, synergistic engagement of all social actors and institutions, from local communities to global intergovernmental institutions. The move toward greater regional security must therefore be seen as an ongoing process rather than a simple policy strategy that brings about a specific end state.

An Overview of Economic, Social, and Political Divisions in Northeast Asia

A glance at the map and its geopolitical implications suggests why Northeast Asia is among the most important, yet dangerous, places in the post-Cold War world. The world's heaviest concentration of military and economic capabilities is in this region. The world's three largest

nuclear weapon states, three threshold nuclear weapon states (North Korea, South Korea, and Japan), and the world's three largest economies (on a purchasing power parity basis) constitute Northeast Asia. With every country in the region (except Mongolia) both a consumer and a producer of missiles, the dangerous and unsettling reality is missile proliferation.

Following the reunification of both Vietnam and Germany, Northeast Asia now has the world's largest concentration of divided polities—divided China and divided Korea, the two most prominent potential flashpoints. Unlike post-World War II Europe, history has always cast a long shadow on Northeast Asian international relations, often serving as a major source of fodder for national-identity animus. The region also duplicates the global North-South divide with its bifurcation between wealthy capitalist states (Japan, the United States, and South Korea) and poor and either socialist or developing countries in transition (North Korea, Mongolia, Russia, and China).

There is little that binds the Chinese, Japanese, and Russian states and societies together, but much that divides them. "Of China, Russia, and Japan's six images of each other," according to one major recent study, "not one could properly be called positive." A major multinational citizens' opinion survey—jointly sponsored by *Tong-a Ilbo* (Seoul) and *Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo), conducted in October and November 2000, and involving national samples of 2,000 in South Korea; 3,000 in Japan; 1,024 in the United States; and 1,000 in China—shows with disturbing clarity why Northeast Asia has little if any social and psychological foundation to forge viable multilateral cooperative security or institutions.

The Northeast Asian security equation is greatly complicated by the ineluctable fact that it is in this region that a rising China, a declining post-Soviet Russia, a rising South Korea, and a declining North Korea have brought about the greatest swings in power in the last half century. While US and Japanese shares of global GNP and industrial production from 1980 to 1997 declined only slightly, the most dramatic changes are seen in the rapid rise and decline of China's and Russia's shares of global GNP and industrial production. China's global GNP rose from 3.3 percent to 10.7 percent, and its global production rose from 3.0 percent to 15.3 percent, while Russia's global GNP fell from 7.0 percent to 1.7 percent, and its global production fell from 9.0 percent to 1.8 percent.

In short, the Northeast Asia regional security environment consists of the following unstable attributes: high absolute military capabilities; abiding animus between key actors; deep, albeit differentiated, entanglement of the Big Four in Korean affairs; the absence of strong multilateral security institutions (despite a relatively high level of intra-regional trade between actors); and North Korea's emergence in the 1990s as a regional missile power and challenger of the nuclear status quo. It is this unique, combustible cocktail of conventional and nonconventional threats and *sui generis* regional characteristics that challenge scholars and policymakers alike to divine the shape of things to come in the emerging regional order.

The Importance of Korean Peninsula Security for Northeast Asia

In the middle of this precarious region, divided Korea stands as a strategic pivot. The Korean peninsula shares land and maritime borders with China, Russia, and Japan. Each of the Big Four, including the United States as a de facto neighbor, regards the Korean peninsula as falling within its own geo-strategic ambit. Koreans, for their part, have long recognized their own security predicament, likening Korea to a "shrimp among whales." For more than a century, history and geography have made Korea the site of wider great-power rivalries and wars that have involved, to varying degrees, czarist Russia, the Soviet Union, Qing China, the Republic of China, the People's Republic of China, Japan, and the United States. Consider how the emerging Cold War turned into a hot war in Korea, with some three million human casualties on both sides. Even today, almost half a century after the Korean War "ended" with an armistice accord, the so-called demilitarized zone (DMZ) remains the most heavily fortified conflict zone in the post-Cold War world, where more than 1.8 million military personnel confront each other, armed to the teeth with the latest weapons systems.

Above all, there can be no doubt that North Korea's situation as Northeast Asia's most dangerous crisis-in-waiting intersects with the future of Sino-American relations, as well as with the future geopolitics of Northeast Asia. In the latter half of the 1990s, the volcano of potential implosion or explosion in North Korea seemed to have become more active than ever before. An unstable or collapsing North Korea with inordinate potential to destabilize Northeast Asia through its conventional and nonconventional (asymmetrical) military capabilities and threats has extraordinary refractory ramifications for transition toward a more normal security architecture in Northeast Asia. Dealing with the North Korean threat in multiple and mutating forms has become an integral part of both the Northeast Asian security problem and the Northeast Asian security solution.

The Current Korean Security Environment: Hard Realities on the Ground

The starting point for understanding the Korean conflict and its impact on Northeast Asian security is to proceed from the premises that the life cycle of divided Korea is now more than half a century old, exceeding by two decades the entire tenure of the 35-year Japanese colonial rule, and that *one nation* has been dissolved into *two states* and *two systems*, spawning two incomplete nation-states. Such incomplete nation-states are primed for zero-sum conflict and competitive national-identity mobilization in order to maximize their exclusive security and legitimacy. The fact that inter-Korean relations today are not much different from those in the Cold War era, despite the dissipation of superpower rivalry, suggests that the dynamics of conflict formation on the peninsula have been far more endogenous than exogenous. That is, the two Koreas remain trapped in a legitimacy war. After more than a half century of fratricidal politics of competitive legitimation and delegitimation, the two Koreas have essentially become two different nations, states, systems, societies, and cultures. In a post-Cold War world where interstate armed conflicts befitting the traditional definition of war have been virtually replaced by intrastate conflicts, the Korean conflict is at one and the same time intrastate and interstate.

Still, the opportunity for greater inter-Korean cooperation lies in the demise of great-power rivalry and the corresponding opening of more autonomous space. The Pyongyang summit

between the North and South on June 13-15, 2000, and the resulting Joint Declaration of June 15, 2000, was remarkable because it was initiated and executed by Koreans themselves with no external shock or great-power sponsorship. The previous inter-Korean accords had been responses to major structural changes external to the Korean peninsula. The South-North Joint Communiqué of July 4, 1972, was a product of the panicked reaction of both Koreas to the "Nixon-in-China" shock. The Basic Agreement—officially the Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, and Cooperation Exchange, which took effect on February 19, 1992—was Pyongyang's grudging response to Seoul's Nordpolitik. It followed a rapid succession of external shocks in 1990 and 1991: Moscow-Seoul normalization, German reunification, and the collapse of the Soviet Union. Even the scheduled inter-Korean summit, which had to be aborted because of the sudden death of Kim Il Sung in July 1994, was a stepchild of Jimmy Carter's personal diplomacy. In marked contrast, the notion that the Pyongyang summit had improved prospects for thawing the remains of the Cold War on the Korean peninsula seemed to have intensified the needs and efforts of the Big Four to readjust their respective Korean policies to rapidly changing realities on the ground.

However, despite all the unification song and dance that surrounded the historic inter-Korean summit and the Joint Declaration of June 2000, there remain the unbridgeable political, economic, social, and psychological chasms created by over a half century of legitimacy war. While Pyongyang paid mandatory lip service to the supreme task of building "one nation, one state with two governments and two systems" without delay under the "federation system" (formerly "confederation system"), in the wake of the summit it acknowledged "the issue of unifying the differing systems in the North and the South as one that may be *left to posterity to settle slowly in the future* [emphasis by author]."

A year later, the initial euphoria has turned into sobering realism about the many fault lines running through the emergent rapprochement process. Pyongyang controls all the levers to extract maximum aid for minimal concession. What is more revealing is that the Joint Declaration has nothing to say about military and security matters, not even in general terms about working together for tension-reduction and confidence-building measures (CBMs).

The summit has hardly made a dent in North Korea's conventional and nonconventional military capabilities. It is clear that Pyongyang wants to discuss security issues last, if at all, and then only with the United States. In contrast, the 1992 Basic Agreement stipulates that "the two sides shall endeavor together to transform the present state of armistice into a solid state of peace between the South and the North and shall abide by the present Military Armistice Agreement until such a state of peace has been realized" (Article 5). The Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, which became effective as of February 19, 1992, also stipulates in peremptory language that "the South and the North shall not test, manufacture, produce, receive, possess, store, deploy, or use nuclear weapons."

The factors that impede movement toward a more normal post-Cold War regional security architecture in Northeast Asia mostly relate to Pyongyang's security or insecurity behavior in its multiple contentious manifestations, including:

- **The Military-First Policy Orientation.** With the collapse of the socialist "Second World" and with Moscow-Seoul normalization came the notion that military power and threats are fungible strategic and economic assets for regime survival. They are touted not only as the "last trump card," displaying power in the fierce diplomatic and ideological standoff with imperialism but also as necessary conditions for building *kangsong taeguk* (literally "a strong and prosperous big state" or simply "great power"). It is with the combination of military power and the on-again, off-again threat, we are told, that Pyongyang has not only gained the upper hand over the imperialist offensives that seek to crush the DPRK but also has gained economic assistance from wealthy capitalist countries out of their abiding fear of war. Despite the "new thinking" pronouncements and omnidirectional diplomatic outreach in 2000 and 2001, the DPRK remains in its core a highly militarized fundamentalist theocracy. There is no evidence of any change in the "military-first" policy. On the contrary, the North Korean military continues to grow in both conventional and asymmetrical forces, with increasing emphasis on the latter. For Pyongyang, to abandon such military power and coercive diplomacy would be to leave it without the single most important lever in its asymmetric conflicts and negotiations with South Korea, the United States, and Japan. Instead, Pyongyang follows the third way—a maxi-mini strategy, doing the minimum necessary to get the maximum possible aid from South Korea and other countries, without reducing its military power.

- **Brinkmanship.** North Korean nuclear and missile brinkmanship illustrates with particular clarity that when the enactment of a national identity is blocked in one domain, it seeks to compensate in another. From Pyongyang's military-first perspective, developing asymmetrical capabilities such as ballistic missiles, special operations forces, and weapons of mass destruction (WMD—nuclear, chemical, and biological) serves as a strategic sine qua non in survival strategy as well as an equalizer in the legitimacy war and status competition with the South.

- **Conventional Military Capability and Forward Deployment.** The North Korean Armed Forces is the fifth largest in the world, and its ground forces—the world's third largest at one million active duty soldiers—provide the bulk of the North's offensive war-fighting capability. Further, North Korea's Special Operations Forces, consisting of over 100,000 elite personnel, are the largest in the world. Some 70 percent of North Korea's active force—700,000 troops; 8,000 artillery systems; and 2,000 tanks—are forward deployed near the demilitarized zone (DMZ). Seoul, where one-fourth of South Korea's 45 million people live and where nearly 75 percent of the country's wealth is concentrated, is only 40 kilometers (25 miles) from the DMZ and thus within easy reach of North Korean jet fighters, armored vehicles, Scud missiles, and artillery guns. Within minutes and even without nuclear weapons, Pyongyang can literally turn Seoul into "a sea of fire," as it threatened to do at the heat of the nuclear crisis in mid-1994. Allied final victory would be a Pyrrhic victory, since North Korea in a losing cause could still inflict tremendous devastation that would cripple South Korea. In the first 90 days, according to the Pentagon, a war could result in 52,000 US casualties; 490,000 South Korean casualties; and enormous North Korean casualties, at a cost of more than $61 billion, with little of this sum recoverable from allies.

- **WMD.** North Korea is assessed as self-sufficient in the production of chemical components for first-generation chemical weapons and as having a large number of chemical weapons

stockpiles, estimated at up to 5,000 metric tons of several types of chemical agents. North Korea also has the capability to develop, produce, and weaponize biological warfare agents, including bacterial spores causing anthrax and smallpox and the bacteria causing the plague and cholera. Although the US-DPRK Agreed Framework (AF) has frozen its nuclear program since 1994, we cannot be certain that North Korea had not secreted away one or two nuclear bombs, that nuclear weapons-related work is not going on somewhere, or that it would not revive its nuclear weapons program in the face of another crisis on the Korean peninsula. Acquisition of nuclear weapons by the North would serve as a sure recipe for sparking a nuclear arms race in Northeast Asia.

- **Ballistic Missile Program.** The North Korean ballistic missile inventory now includes more than 30 500-km-range Scuds of various types and 100 1,300-km-range Rodong missiles capable of hitting US bases in Japan. The North tested the 2,000-km-range Taepodong-1 missile in August 1998 and continues work on the 5,000 plus kilometer Taepodong-2 missiles. Although the launching of Taepodong-2 was suspended with the Berlin Agreement (September 1999), Pyongyang remains one of the world's largest missile exporters, selling missile parts, equipment, and technology to countries in the Middle East, South Asia, and North Africa throughout the second half of 2000. Unlike the nuclear weapons program, Pyongyang could continue its missile program without violating any international law. Pyongyang's asking price to stop missile exports is $1 billion, about ten times what it actually generates per year ($100 million).

- **Playing a Collapse Card?** Without launching an armed invasion, Pyongyang can still exercise its "negative power" to destabilize the Korean peninsula and beyond, by its on-again, off-again brinkmanship and through the threat of its collapse. Contrary to the conventional realist wisdom, the stronger state does not ipso facto exert greater control than the weaker state in asymmetrical negotiations. If a small and weak state occupies territory of strategic importance to a larger and stronger state or if the "field of play" is on the weak state's home turf, the weaker actor can display bargaining power disproportionate to its aggregate structural power. One of the underlying rationales for President Kim Dae-jung's "sunshine" policy was that North Korea's potential implosion or explosion would put at risk South Korea's recovery from the 1997 financial crisis by discouraging foreign direct investment inflows. The financial crisis served as a wake-up call about the consequences of North Korea's prospective collapse; hence the sunshine policy became the default policy of deterring or delaying North Korea's potential "hard landing" as long as possible. The threat of a North Korean collapse and the costs of regional spillover in the form of refugees or even armed conflict escalation have become the lowest common denominator of the neighboring powers, while simultaneously increasing Pyongyang's bargaining power in asymmetrical negotiations. Pyongyang, by instigating hostility or instability, could potentially entrap any or all four great powers in a spiral of conflict escalation that these governments would rather avoid.

- **The Diminishing Dividends of the Sunshine Policy.** By the first anniversary of the summit, in mid-2001, President Kim's sunshine policy was in deep domestic trouble. In the glow of the summit a year earlier, four out of five South Koreans (81.9 percent) were ready to give the benefit of the doubt to his pro-engagement sunshine policy and its offers of aid for North Korea in hopes of a genuine reciprocal process of comprehensive engagement. A year later,

after many disappointments, barely one in five supports the policy. The public opinion in democratic South Korea seems finally to have caught up with the ineluctable reality on the ground. For several reasons, President Kim's "see no evil, hear no evil" sunshine policy will not work and cannot be sustained. He is now widely perceived as an ineffective, lame-duck president. With growing economic troubles compounded by searing labor-management disputes and strikes, and with the seemingly endless corruption scandals, nothing fails like a failure in the politics of everyday life in a newly democratizing South Korea. Paradoxically, President Kim finds himself in danger of being remembered as the man who brought the two Koreas together only to be sunk by the politics of fragmentation in the South; his popularity is at an all-time high abroad, but at an all-time low at home. If Kim Jong Il continues to wiggle out of promises and then asks for more aid, endless pleading for reciprocal engagement will not be effective. Most surprisingly, the latest Korean Democracy Barometer survey of April 2001 reveals that, for the first time since the initiation of democratic rule in 1988, a plurality of South Korean citizens now rate the Kim Dae-jung government more negatively than the past military government headed by former General Chun Doo Hwan.

Opportunities for Movement Toward a Peaceful Korea

There should be no illusions or undue expectations about overcoming the many obstacles in the way of a more comprehensive and stable regional security order in the uncertain years ahead. As North Korea's conventional and nonconventional military capabilities, including WMD, serve as the only trump card in its survival strategy, the regime is unlikely to reduce or surrender these capabilities easily or cheaply. Nonetheless, as the dynamics of the Korean conflict reflect and effect enduring rivalry, albeit in currently somewhat attenuated form, we may work from a multi-causal conflict paradigm in all domains of polity: military, political, economic, social, cultural, and psychological. It follows that what is needed is a comprehensive multidimensional approach that poses difficult but essential questions about what elements of the Korean security equation need to be addressed, in what proper sequence and priority.

Absent Northeast Asian security-related institutions and mechanisms that would be adept at forestalling, preempting, weakening, or encapsulating conflicts before they turn violent, it is prudent to start with robust deterrence anchored in the US-ROK security alliance. By any reckoning, the United States remains the most influential external power in inter-Korean affairs. In the post-Cold War era, the United States has come to play the rather unusual role of "honest broker" in the resolution of the Korean conflict, without first dismantling its Cold War US-ROK alliance system or removing its approximately 37,000 troops in the South, and without first having normalized its relations with North Korea. In the eyes of both Seoul and Pyongyang, albeit for different reasons, Washington has become, by dint of what it is and what it does, part of both the Korean problem and the Korean solution.

However, a joint US-ROK deterrence strategy is necessary but increasingly insufficient for establishing a more stable regional security order. The traditional concept of security is too restrictive because it is confined to the threat, use, or control of military force at the interstate level. The appropriate measures for a more comprehensive security order can be prioritized as follows:

- **Alliance-Friendly Deterrence.** The US-ROK alliance remains the bedrock of security as it contributes in significant ways not only to the deterrence of another war on the peninsula but also to the improvement of the economy in the region. Still, more frequent and extensive negotiations are needed to resolve a host of contentious issues. Over 100 South Korean civic organizations joined together to voice their criticism of Korea-US relations as symbolized and structured by the Status of Forces Agreement and the role and behavior of US troops stationed in Korea. More extensive consultations are also needed to periodically reassess the desirability of continuing US-ROK joint military exercises—the Ulchi Focus Lens exercise and the Foal Eagle exercise. The security costs and benefits of these US-ROK combined military exercises require periodic reassessments. As a way of improving inter-Korean relations, for example, the Team Spirit exercise has been suspended since 1994 without any discernible compromise in credible deterrence.

- **Enhancing CBMs.** Enhanced CBMs could include a wide range of bilateral, trilateral, and multilateral security dialogues. One option would be the possible revival of the Four-Party Peace Talks, while new dialogues could utilize "mini-lateral" institutions already in existence. In particular, the entry of North Korea as the 23rd member of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) is a major step in enmeshing North Korea in East Asia's only multilateral security forum. The track record of ARF in meeting the crucial challenge of establishing a more comprehensive and stable security order in Northeast Asia is hardly encouraging. It is important to keep in mind, however, that the ARF has shied away from traditional realist concerns over balance of power and have moved toward enhancing CBMs, such as: (1) increasing the transparency of military issues among the member states, (2) notifying the other party of military exercises, (3) establishing hotlines, (4) redeploying troops away from the DMZ, (5) instituting a military exchange program, and (6) constructing a common security approach that goes beyond military threats to include economic underdevelopment, environmental degradation, and transnational criminal activities. So the various CBMs are all designed to address (and change) the software side of security.

- **Accelerating Arms Control (AC) Processes.** AC processes are generally aimed at strengthening global or regional stability and security by reducing the risk of war, by reducing the damage if deterrence fails and war results, and by reducing the costs of deterrence. What has impeded inter-Korean AC is not the shortage of ideas, proposals, and operational models, but a vicious circle of a legitimacy war, regional dynamics, and self-help realpolitik. Still, global AC processes have brought about several major WMD and conventional AC agreements.[11] In the Korean context, however, AC processes would have to grapple with a host of issues on bilateral as well as global basis. A Korean-specific AC process must eventually address nuclear, missile, chemical, and biological weapons and conventional forces—in that particular order—within the next five to ten years if a more comprehensive and stable regional security order is to emerge on the Korean peninsula and beyond.

[11] I.e., the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Missile Technology Control Regime, and the Biological Weapons Convention.

- **Nuclear Development.** The US-DPRK AF of 1994 provides a roadmap for North Korea's denuclearization process. Although North Korea's declared nuclear sites have been frozen, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) is still unable to verify the accuracy and completeness of the DPRK's initial report on nuclear material and is therefore unable to conclude that there has been no diversion of nuclear material in the North. The IAEA has recently declared that the DPRK remains in noncompliance with its safeguards agreement (IAEA/1347, 28 June 2001). The AF stipulates in Article IV, 3, what the DPRK must do: "When a significant portion of the LWR [light water reactor] project is completed, but before delivery of key nuclear components, the DPRK will come into full compliance with its safeguards agreement with the IAEA (INFCIRC/403), including taking all steps that may be deemed necessary by the IAEA, following consultations with the agency with regard to verifying the accuracy and completeness of the DPRK's initial report on all nuclear material in the DPRK." The problem here is that it will take the IAEA two to four years to reconstruct North Korea's nuclear history and to determine its full compliance. The DPRK's continuing noncompliance in the not-too-distant future could take us back to the dangerous nuclear standoff of June 1994.

- **Missile Program.** As noted above, North Korea has become one of the world's leading missile exporters. The resolution of North Korea's missile threat is greatly complicated by the fact that all regional actors are both consumers and producers of ballistic missiles and that major differences exist in their respective threat assessments. For Japanese security planners, for example, the intermediate-range Rodong missiles are far more threatening than the long-range Taepodong missiles. While the Taepodong missile program remains in the testing stage and is still subject to the 1999 Berlin Agreement, North Korea's 1,300-km-range Rodong missiles are capable of hitting more than half of Japan. The mere possibility that North Korea might develop the capability to load its WMD—chemical, biological, and nuclear—on its intermediate-range ballistic missiles makes the Rodong a greater threat than the Taepodong. That said, it is worth noting that Pyongyang and Washington came close to striking a major breakthrough missile deal in December 2000. The rough outlines of a prospective missile deal that were left for the incoming Bush administration should be pursued toward a successful conclusion.

- **Conventional Forces.** As evident in North Korea's negative response to the Bush administration's proposal for a comprehensive agenda for US-DPRK talks, conventional AC processes remain the most sensitive and difficult issue. At the crux of the Korean conflict is conventional military confrontation. It is high time that conventional force reduction at least be explored in the US-DPRK bilateral talks or in a trilateral setting involving the United States, North Korea, and South Korea.

Conclusion: US Policy Options

The policy recommendations on how the United States can best foster movement toward a mid- to long-term solution for the Korean peninsula follow the preceding analysis. The challenge for the United States is to seek more desirable and feasible ways of addressing North Korea's political, economic, and security concerns, while simultaneously enmeshing Pyongyang as a more committed stakeholder in the future security architecture. This engagement strategy must incorporate issues relating to both WMD and conventional armaments. It will require a comprehensive multitrack approach, including:

- **Supporting a Korea-First Approach.** The opportunity for greater inter-Korean cooperation lies in the demise of superpower rivalry and the corresponding opening of more autonomous security space for both Koreas. In the post-Cold War era, any quest for a breakthrough via great-power condominium in the resolution of the Korean conflict is misconceived and misdirected. This is not to say that there is little that the United States—and China, Russia, and Japan—could do bilaterally and multilaterally to indirectly facilitate and support inter-Korean cooperation. As a first step, the United States should accelerate normalization talks with the DPRK. Absent full normalization, as an interim measure the Bush administration should appoint a full-time person as a special coordinator for Korean affairs to continue the Perry Process—someone of stature who commands bipartisan respect and support, chosen from outside the government.

- **Exhibiting Greater Sensitivity to the Unintended Consequences of US Security Policies.** The terrorist attacks of September 11 underscore the absurdity and the many unintended consequences of building a national missile defense (NMD) that neither works nor addresses the most likely threats to the United States or the Korean peninsula. The costs of planned NMD systems are likely to be higher, and the security benefits lower, than is assumed by proponents of NMD for the establishment of a more comprehensive security architecture in Northeast Asia. The credibility of the US efforts to compel China and Russia to abide by global, regional, and bilateral AC commitments, and to negotiate with North Korea on a major missile deal, is not likely to be enhanced if the United States is perceived as taking a unilateral approach to trash or circumvent the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

- **Engaging North Korea.** Given Pyongyang's resolve, asymmetrical military capabilities, and coercive leverage strategy, the viable alternatives to engagement available to the United States in coping with the North Korean threat are severely limited. The appropriate policy choice is no longer between deterrence (containment) and no deterrence, but deterrence plus—that is, how deterrence should be combined and complemented with a comprehensive multifaceted engagement. Since unfreezing the Yongbyon nuclear facilities is North Korea's surest and quickest way back to nuclear weapons, the top priority of the comprehensive engagement is to prevent the rise of conditions under which Pyongyang may feel compelled to exit with nuclear voice. The United States should make it clear to Pyongyang that we will not make any unilateral changes to the AF and its full implementation via the Korean Energy Development Organization. At the same time, Washington should emphasize that we will not accept any undue delay in North Korea's full compliance with the safeguards provisions contained in the AF.

- **Reviving the Four-Party or Six-Party Peace Talks?** As part of the comprehensive multitrack approach, the United States should take the initiative in reviving the Four-Party Peace Talks and/or convening Six-Party Peace Talks (involving the Big Four plus the two Koreas), but without high expectations for a quick fix. Northeast Asia has spawned all kinds of strategic triangles over the years, but there has been no virtuous cooperative triangulation of Beijing, Moscow, and Tokyo on Korea-specific issues. The Northeast Asian regional powers have shown very little interest in facilitating inter-Korean AC processes. Despite the vaunted Beijing-Moscow strategic partnership, the Korea issue is notable for its lack of Sino-Russian

cooperation. Still, North Korea lies at the core of the Big Four's anxieties over the future of the Korean peninsula. The Four-Party or Six-Party Talks should not be seen as peace treaty conferences but rather as a first major multilateral CBM step in the quest for common security in the Korean peninsula and Northeast Asia.

- **Offering a Grand Bargain.** In close collaboration with the four neighboring countries (South Korea, Japan, China, and Russia), the United States should also offer a grand bargain to Pyongyang—a deal to trade comprehensive political, economic, and security benefits and assurances for threat reduction. *This grand bargain is based on the premise that the greatest threat to peace and stability on the peninsula is not North Korea's strength but its weakness and insecurity.* The Big Four, especially the United States and Japan, could help allay Pyongyang's insecurity by accelerating the normalization process, removing trade and investment barriers, and aiding and abetting the rise of epistemic communities in North Korea. Moreover, the Big Four can support North Korea's entry into the keystone international economic institutions, such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the Asian Development Bank. These international organizations can provide not only multilateral aid but also information, knowledge, and science and technology. Such a grand bargain would best enable Pyongyang to make the choices necessary for system reform and opening.

Korean Peninsula Security: A South Korean View of US Foreign Policy and Defense Strategies

Thought-Piece for the Korean Peninsula Working Group

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A New Status Quo? The Korean Summit and Its Aftermath

The June 2000 Korean summit and subsequent developments signify revolutionary changes in inter-Korean relations. Viewed from the protracted, vicious cycle of mutual distrust, negation, and military confrontation that has governed the Korean peninsula for the past 50 years, recent changes reflect a truly profound breakthrough. The summit talk was the most dramatic testimonial to the transformation of inter-Korean relations from mutual negation to mutual recognition and acceptance. In addition, it also revived the official channels of communication between the two Koreas that were broken for the past seven years. The substantial expansion of inter-Korean social, cultural, and economic exchanges—including the reunion of separated families—is another token of positive developments.

More importantly, the summit was instrumental for forging new trust between President Kim Dae-jung and Chairman Kim Jong Il through lengthy negotiations that could serve as the most critical deterrent to the outbreak of war on the Korean peninsula. On the occasion of the summit, North Korea has become much more transparent and accountable in its power structure and decision-making process by exposing members of the inner ruling circle and their behavioral patterns to outside observers. Exposure of Kim Jong Il to the outside world was particularly illuminating.

Overall, the most critical aspect is the emerging signs of genuine change in North Korea for opening and reform. Apart from the increasing frequency of diplomatic normalization with Western countries, North Korea also has shown its willingness to undergo major structural changes. Kim Jong Il's visit to Shanghai in January 2001 epitomizes the essence of changing attitudes.

Confidence-Building Measures (CBMs), Arms Control, and the Inter-Korean Peace Treaty

Despite these recent positive trends, the summit talk and the adoption of the June 15 Joint Declaration do not necessarily imply the end of the Korean question. They are merely the beginning of a long and precarious journey toward peaceful coexistence and Korean reunification. Despite remarkable progress in inter-Korean relations, an array of new and tough issues for future inter-Korean negotiations awaits. Some important agenda issues include the following: tension reduction; military confidence-building; arms control and arms reduction; replacement of the Armistice Agreement by a new inter-Korean peace treaty; weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and missile issues (including implementation of the joint declaration of

denuclearization of the Korean peninsula); prospects for Korean unification and security implications; role of the United States in Korean security; and possible American disengagement, which could bring about strategic instability in Korea and Northeast Asia.

Resolution of these agenda items is not likely to be easy or smooth, not only because of their potential backlash effects on vital interests of the North Korean regime and state but also because of inherent differences between the two Koreas in setting their relative priorities. For example, South Korea has always wanted to include tension reduction and military CBMs in the agenda of interministerial talks, but the North has avoided these issues. Although the second ministerial talk was able to produce a joint statement urging tension reduction and activation of inter-Korean military talks, the North has been rather reluctant to discuss these issues. The situation will be even more complicated if North and South Korea begin deliberating on arms control, arms limitation, and arms reduction. It is not easy to realign and reduce the combined forces of nearly 1.8 million soldiers and related weapons systems, since such moves can severely undercut institutional interests of the military in both North and South Korea.[12] Moreover, even though Kim Jong Il recognizes American forces in the South as a fait accompli, actual inter-Korean arms control negotiations are bound to affect their status.

Transforming the Armistice Agreement into an inter-Korean peace treaty system will pose more complex and daunting challenges. The armistice is an agreement among military commanders. Although some have argued that the Republic of Korea is not a de jure party to the agreement,[13] in fact, the Commander in Chief of the United Nations Command (CINCUNC) signed the Armistice Agreement on behalf of all the countries, including the Republic of Korea, which fought under the UNC banner. The Armistice Agreement relates purely to military matters concerning the cessation of hostilities and contains a recommendation for the "governments of the countries concerned" to settle political issues through negotiations. Transforming the Armistice Agreement into an inter-Korean peace system will involve difficult negotiations and depends on North Korea's willingness to conduct such negotiations, but there are no legal barriers to doing so.

As President Kim suggested in his meeting with Jiang Zemin at the United Nations in September last year, the transformation of the present situation into an inter-Korean peace treaty should be resolved in a forum other than bilateral negotiations. The Four-Party Talks could be a more desirable venue in this regard, since a future inter-Korean peace treaty arrived at via the Four-Party process could be guaranteed by China and the United States. However, such efforts could contradict North Korea's intention to sign a bilateral peace treaty directly with the United States ahead of the dismantling of the Armistice Agreement.[14] Hence, inter-Korean peace-building is a much more complicated task than commonly thought, and it

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[12] Chung-in Moon, *Arms Control on the Korean Peninsula*, (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1996), Chap. 6.

[13] Sung-ho Je, "Building a Peace Regime on the Korean Peninsula," *Kukga Jonryak* (National Strategy), Vol. 2, No. 1, 1996, pp. 77-78 (in Korean).

[14] Chung-in Moon, "The Kim Dae-jung Government and Peace-building on the Korean Peninsula," *Kukga Jonryak* (National Strategy), Vol. 5, No. 2, 1999, pp. 139-170, (in Korean).

would be difficult to envisage peace and security on the Korean peninsula without undergoing the process of tension reduction, CBMs, and arms control and reduction.

Transitional Contradictions

Despite the summit and improved inter-Korean relations, as conservative observers have criticized, both Koreas have not shown any fundamental changes in their threat perceptions, force structure, deployment patterns, and military planning since the summit. Although there are some signs of tension reduction evidenced through the ban on propaganda warfare along the demilitarized zone (DMZ), through the first inter-Korean defense ministerial talk, and through the partial removal of mines in the DMZ for the reconstruction of the Seoul-Shinuiju railway system, both Koreas still consider each other principal enemies, and strategic and tactical doctrines have not been altered. North Korea still maintains its offensive deployment along the DMZ and is known to have engaged in massive military maneuvers since the June summit, heightening security concerns of South Korea and the United States. South Korea has not undertaken any significant changes either. Defense budgets have remained mostly intact. The planned acquisition of the FX next-generation fighter plane, the SAM-X next-generation surface-to-air-missile (most likely a variant of the US Patriot missile), the airborne early warning and control system (AWACS), and Aegis destroyers are being implemented without delay.

It is ironic to observe the contradictory postures of North and South Korea in their military planning. Both emphasize and anticipate peaceful coexistence through the summit, but they are not willing to compromise their security posture, symbolizing a classical security dilemma in the transition from war to peace.

One of the most significant outcomes of the summit is North Korea's tacit recognition of American forces in the South. Departing from its rigid stance that emphasizes the unconditional withdrawal of American forces, Kim Jong Il is known to have concurred with President Kim's view of utilities of American forces in the South.

However, the advent of the Bush administration could complicate the status of American forces and US-ROK alliance ties in three important ways. First, as part of the senior Bush's East Asian Strategic Initiative formulated in 1992, the new Bush administration might consider reducing the size of its ground forces in South Korea. Improved inter-Korean relations could further facilitate it. Second, the issue of an increased defense burden sharing, which was on halt in the wake of the 1997 financial crisis, could resurface, straining Washington-Seoul relations. Finally, as Secretary of State Colin Powell recently suggested, the American request of the reduction of North Korea's conventional forces could produce unintended consequences for inter-Korean arms control as well as the status of American forces in the South by undercutting the existing division of labor between the United States and the ROK in dealing with the North.

Weapons of Mass Destruction and Missiles

Inter-Korean negotiations are not likely to adopt an agenda involving WMD and missiles. The United States will continue to remain the principal actor for dialogue and negotiation with the North over these issues, while retaining the close trilateral policy coordination with Japan and

South Korea. However, South Korea will be placed in a difficult position if the North again plays both the nuclear and missile cards in its game of brinkmanship diplomacy. In order to avoid such a contingency, South Korea is also obliged to engage in negotiations with the North over the issue of nuclear weapons and missiles. Given Kim Jong Il's responses during the summit talk, however, it might be quite difficult for the South to persuade the North to comply with both the joint declaration on denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR).

However, North Korea has shown some positive signs in resolving the missile issue. Departing from its adherence to missile sovereignty, the North has been willing to negotiate over the moratorium of development, test launching, and exports of missiles provided that the United States support North Korea's satellite launches as well as agreeing to cash compensation for the moratorium. Although the idea of cash compensation was strongly opposed, the Clinton administration showed its interest in supporting the launching of North Korea's satellites using American facilities. However, the advent of the Bush administration could impede such process. In June, the Bush administration completed its policy review of the North Korean issue and decided to resume talks with North Korea. Nevertheless, the September 11 incident has prevented the United States from taking any meaningful diplomatic moves on the North, making benign neglect its major strategy in dealing with North Korea. The shift can severely undercut the thrust of the Perry process, portending a turbulent future ahead.

Meanwhile, South Korea reached a final agreement with the United States on its independent missile program. As a result, the South is now able to develop missiles with the maximum range of 300 kilometers. Although its missile program will be fundamentally constrained by the United States and the MTCR, South Korea will now have a chance to accumulate new technology for its more independent missile program. However, the future of the ROK missile program is uncertain. If inter-Korean relations improve, it will be difficult to justify resource allocations for the missile program.

One major concern related to WMD and missiles is the Bush administration's plan to engage in theater missile defense (TMD) in East Asia. TMD is likely to destabilize the region. China and North Korea will oppose TMD because one of its principal aims is containing their power and influence in the region. The American TMD venture could undermine previous efforts to persuade the North to suspend its missile program through the Perry process. It could also cause a new policy discord between South Korea and the United States. President Kim made it very clear that South Korea would not be interested in participating in the planned TMD program for several reasons: technical uncertainty of its effectiveness, high financial burden, the China factor, and the North Korean factor. What is particularly problematic is the divergence in threat perception and expected utility of missile defense systems. Whereas South Korea is concerned primarily with threats coming from North Korea's multiple launchers and short-range missiles such as FROG-7 and SCUD-B and C that are forward deployed along the DMZ, the United States and Japan are more concerned about intermediate range (Nodong missiles) and long-range missiles (Taepodong 1 and 2). Defense planners in South Korea tend to believe that the TMD and national missile defense (NMD) proposed by the United States is less suitable for resolving South Korea's threat perception, while more suitable for coping with Japanese and

American threat perceptions. President Kim's government has also been sensitive to China's reaction to TMD simply because the TMD/NMD initiative regards China as the primary enemy. In view of China's instrumental value in restraining an unpredictable North Korea, it might be rather difficult for South Korea to join the TMD/NMD initiative. Likewise, the divergent views in the pursuit of the TMD might become another source of tension between the United States and South Korea.

Prospects for Korean Unification and Korean Security

It is too early to forecast any concrete timelines for Korean unification—not only because of its low feasibility but also because of the lack of clear consensus on the mode of unification. However, the June 2000 Korean summit has brought about a major turning point in paving the way to Korean unification. The second item of the June 15 Joint Declaration touches on a more sensitive issue; namely, modes of Korean unification. It states that "Acknowledging that there is a common element in the South's proposal for a confederation and the North's proposal for a loose form of federation as the formulae for achievement of unification, the South and the North agreed to promote reunification in that direction." This item was most hotly debated.

It is known that Kim Jong Il took the initiative on the issue of national unification. He urged President Kim to adopt the Koryo Confederal Democratic Republic as a gift to the Korean nation. As a matter of fact, North Korea has persistently adhered to the Koryo confederal model since late Kim Il Sung proposed the confederal mode of Korean unification on October 10, 1980, on the occasion of the sixth plenary session of the Korean Workers' Party.[15] Despite its title, the North Korean proposal is much closer to federation than to confederation, strictly speaking. It is predicated on the notion of "one nation, one unified state, two local governments, and two systems" where diplomatic sovereignty and rights over military command and control are assumed to belong to one central government, while other functions are delegated to the jurisdiction of two local governments. In his 1991 new year message, Kim Il Sung proposed a loose form of confederation by stating that "in order to achieve a national consensus on the Koryo Confederal Democratic Republic more easily, we are willing to discuss a loose form of confederation with the South that would temporarily bestow greater power and autonomy to local governments and gradually enhance functions of the central government over time in the future."[16] Despite this admittedly slight amendment of the original version, the North Korean government and officials have consistently insisted that the confederal model is the only route to national unification.[17]

President Kim counterargued that it is virtually impossible to make a transition from the state of national division and conflict to a completed stage of (con)federation at once. Merging diplomatic sovereignty and integrating military command and control are not easy tasks. President

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[15] Yonhap News Agency, *Bukhan 50nyon* (Seoul: Yonhap News Agency, 1995), pp. 483-487.

[16] Bukhanyonguso, *Bukhanshinnyonsa Bunsok* 1945-1995 (Seoul: Bukhanyonguso, 1996), pp. 220-228.

[17] Literal translation of *yonbang* is "federation." North Koreans have translated yonbang as "confederation," creating confusion between *yonbang* and *yonhap* (confederation or union of states). In a sense, the joint declaration clarified the conceptual confusion.

Kim cited the Yemeni example, in which hasty military integration within the framework of federation derailed the entire process of unification. According to him, the stage of federation *(yonbang)* cannot be reached without going through the stage of confederation (union of states, *yonhap*). His version of confederation is predicated on "one nation, two states, two governments, and two systems," which is similar to union of states as in the case of the European Union or the post-Soviet Commonwealth of Independent States. But there have been two types of confederation schemes available in the South. One is the union of republics *(gonghwakuk yonhap)*, which President Kim suggested as the first stage of his three stages approach to national unification, and the other is the union of North and South *(nambuk yonhap)*, which former President Roh Tae-woo proposed as the interim stage of his commonwealth model of Korean unification.[18] President Kim's union of republics presupposes reasonable political confidence-building, free market systems, and pluralist political systems as preconditions for confederation. Once confederation is established, it would become easier to reach the stage of federation and ultimately a unified state. Meanwhile, Roh's commonwealth model posits reconciliation, exchanges, and cooperation as the first stage through which the North-South union and ultimately a unified nation-state can evolve. While the President Kim model includes federation as an interim stage, the Roh model skips the stage of federation and assumes a direct transition from the interim stage of North-South union into a unified state.

Interestingly, President Kim proposed the Roh interim stage (i.e., North-South union) as an alternative to North Korea's federation scheme. The interim stage comprises four distinct elements: (1) peaceful management of national division and military conflict through tension reduction, CBMs, arms control and reduction, and an inter-Korean peace treaty; (2) promotion of exchanges and cooperation to foster national unification; (3) institutional realignments to promote inter-Korean social integration through which hostile institutions are removed, friendly institutions reinforced, and a framework for reunification is formulated; and (4) institutionalization of confederation or union of North and South Korea by formalizing summit meetings, ministerial meetings, parliamentary meetings, and ultimately an umbrella consultative body between the two. The North Korean leader was receptive of the proposal. Both leaders have indeed agreed on at least two points: (1) Korean reunification can be achieved through incremental and functionalist approaches and (2) the last stage of confederation (in the South Korean proposal)—namely formalization of the summit, ministerial, and parliamentary meetings—converges with the loose form of federation advocated in the North Korean proposal. The convergence of discourses on unification formulae can be seen as one of the most significant achievements in the summit talk.

Judged on the above discussion, de jure unification is still far away, be it confederation, federation, or a single unified state. However, peaceful coexistence and de facto unification through tension reduction; CBMs; and freer exchange of people, goods, and services appears to be near.

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[18] On Kim's proposal, see Kim Dae-jung, *Three Stages' Approach to Unification* (Seoul: The Kim Dae-jung Foundation), (in Korean). On Roh's proposal, see National Unification Board, *Theoretical Foundation and Policy Directions of the Commonwealth Model of Unification* (Seoul: National Unification Board, 1990), (in Korean).

The Future Role of the United States: Recommended Policy Strategies

A continued American security commitment is vital to peace and security on the Korean peninsula, and by extension, all of Northeast Asia. Three major roles for the United States can be envisaged in this regard: conflict suppression and management (through military deterrence), peacemaking, and peace-building.

The most critical task for the United States is the role of security guarantor on the Korean peninsula, which is predicated upon the continuation of its traditional role of preventing the outbreak of war through an effective deterrence of North Korean attacks. For this, the United States should further strengthen its alliance ties with South Korea. Given its foreign policy platform, it is believed that the Bush administration will strengthen its alliance ties with South Korea. This trend needs to be further consolidated so that North Korea would not make any political and strategic miscalculation. Debates on defense burden sharing, anti-American sentiment in the South, policy discord over TMD, and potential friction in coordinating policy on North Korea could breed new tensions, but these issues should not undermine the foundation of US-ROK alliance relationships. The bilateral alliance is the most important backbone of conflict management on the Korean peninsula.

The most pronounced token of the bilateral alliance consists in the continuing presence of American forces in South Korea. Any attempts to reduce or withdraw American forces can be seen as the erosion of the American security commitment, undercutting prospects for peace and security on the Korean peninsula. This traditional American role is made all the more important as the Korean peninsula undergoes the precarious transition from the state of war to peace. Under this circumstance, a sudden disruption in the status quo could lead to major conflict. With regard to the status of American forces in South Korea, there has been an interesting development; that is, North Korea's tacit recognition of American forces in the South as fait accompli. Departing from its traditional rigid stance emphasizing the unconditional withdrawal of American forces from the South, Kim Jong Il is known to have concurred with President Kim's views on the utility of American forces in the South. President Kim justified the continuing presence of American forces on three accounts: as a credible deterrent to war on the Korean peninsula, as a dampener of regional strategic instability through the prevention of arms races and military conflicts among major powers in the region, and ultimately a peacemaker or peace insurer even after Korean unification. Kim Jong Il recognized the instrumental values of American forces by quipping that, "American forces can prevent you from invading the North."[19]

For a while after the summit, the North did not raise the status change of American forces as the precondition for improved inter-Korean relations, facilitating American forward presence in South Korea. However, there has been a major change since the advent of the Bush administration. As the Bush administration has called for reduction of North Korea's conventional forces along the DMZ, in addition to reciprocity and verification of WMD, North Korea reciprocated by demanding the withdrawal of American forces in South Korea. Thus the status of American forces in South Korea has remained another unresolved issue.

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[19] The *Joongang Ilbo*, June 20, 2000.

The American role in peacemaking is as important as its role in conflict management through deterrence. While the present US policy is designed to prevent the outbreak of war or to maintain the status quo through conflict suppression, peacemaking involves the process of transforming the conflict situation into a more peaceful relationship. Diplomacy, mediation, negotiation, or other forms of peaceful settlement that arrange an end to a dispute or reduce the potential for escalation constitute the core elements of peacemaking.[20] The United States can continue to work on three aspects of peacemaking on the Korean peninsula.

The first priority should be the third-party facilitation of inter-Korean tension reduction, CBMs, and arms control and reduction. This issue belongs inherently to the implementation of the domain of inter-Korean negotiations, but the United States can assist both North and South Korea in reaching agreements and implementing them through various means, such as political support and the provision of technical advice involving verification.

Second, the United States can help both Koreas settle an inter-Korean peace treaty through the Four-Party Talks. Although the Four-Party Talk formula has become less effective and more time-consuming, in light of the legal and technical complexity of the Armistice Agreement, it appears to be the most acceptable and most comprehensive venue available. The United States, China, South Korea, and North Korea are clearly the most relevant "governments of the countries concerned" (to quote paragraph 62 of the Armistice Agreement) for the purpose of conducting negotiations to establish a political settlement and transform the armistice into a peace treaty system. Thus the United States can facilitate South Korea's proposal of the "two-plus-two" formula in which the inter-Korean peace treaty can be sponsored and guaranteed by the United States and China. Finally, the United States should continue to take initiatives in resolving the issues of WMD and missiles within the framework of multilateral regimes such as the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the MTCR.

Meanwhile, the peace-building process is more concerned with reaching a stable peace, which can be defined as "the absence of preparation for war or the serious expectation of war."[21] In this sense, peace-building goes beyond traditional techniques of conflict suppression (deterrence) and regulation (CBMs and arms control) that are designed to manage unstable or negative peace.

There are three distinct ways the United States can ensure the absence of preparation for war or the serious expectation of war. First, the United States should make every effort to spread free market mechanisms to North Korea. As commercial liberals argue, the deepening of a market economy and economic interdependence can reduce the likelihood of war while enhancing chances for peace.[22] The expansion of markets would create vested commercial interests across

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[20] Charles Kegley and Eugene R. Wittkopf, *World Politics* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin, 1999).

[21] Kenneth Boulding, *Stable Peace* (Austin: University of Texas, 1979), Chap.13.

[22] On this topic, see Edward Morse, *Modernization and the Transformation of International Relations* (New York: Basic Books, 1976) and Robert Keohane, "International Liberalism Reconsidered," The Economic Limits of Politics, ed. John Dunn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 165-194.

the border, and these new interests would oppose the outbreak of any war that could destroy their wealth. Thus it is important for the United States to assist North Korea in pursuing economic openness and reform more actively.

The second is to satisfy conditions suggested by republican liberals.[23] According to them, a republican (democratic) polity can prevent war because it can assure openness, transparency, and domestic checks and balances in the management of foreign and defense policy. As Bruce Russett observes through extensive empirical works, democracies do not fight each other (e.g., OECD members).[24] Thus enlarging democracy in North Korea becomes the essential precondition for stable peace on the Korean peninsula.

Of course, inducing regime change in North Korea is not easy, and might take longer than expected. However, facilitating a transition to a market economy on the one hand and offering chances of democratic learning on the other would eventually increase the prospects for democratic peace in the long run.

Finally, as an extension of capitalist and democratic peace, the formation of a community of security could be another prerequisite for building stable peace. A market economy and a democratic polity can foster the formation of a community of security through shared norms and values, common domestic institutions, and high levels of interdependence.[25] A market economy and a democratic polity are necessary, but not sufficient, conditions for the creation of a sense of community and stable peace in Korea. North Korea should be more actively brought into world society so that it can transform into a normal state. In this regard, diplomatic normalization with North Korea and North Korea's admission to such international organizations as the World Bank, the Asia Development Bank, and the International Monetary Fund should be more proactively sought. When and if North Korea becomes a normal state, its erratic behavior would disappear, and it would become a more constructive member of the international community.

Alternative Futures if America Disengages From the Peninsula

One of the most salient security discourses in South Korea now concerns the status of the American security commitment to the Korean peninsula in the mid-to-long term. As long as forward presence of American forces is secured, South Korea will be relatively free from strategic instability and insecurity. However, the issue at stake is a growing perception that the United States might disengage from South Korea, not only because of improving inter-Korean relations but also because of a trend toward new isolationism in the United States. If American disengagement comes to be realized, Korea, whether divided or unified, will face a rather tough security environment characterized by a regional power vacuum, a remilitarized Japan, a China with hegemonic ambitions, and potentially fierce intra-regional arms races. In

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[23] See Michael W. Doyle, *Ways of Peace and War* (New York: Norton, 1996), Chap. 8.

[24] Bruce Russet, G*rasping the Democratic Peace* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

[25] Karl Deutsch, *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959); Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, *Security Communities* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

this hypothetical regional security environment, coping with this brave new world would become the major task for Korea's national security management.

Several options can be deliberated in this regard. The first option for a reunited Korea would be to ally itself with the continental power, China. The second option would be to take sides with Japan, the maritime power. The third option, which is most favored by the majority of Koreans, is to transform itself into a middle power through the acquisition of a tactical nuclear capability. The fourth option would be to actively seek a cooperative, multilateral security regime or a regional collective security system. The final option would be to declare permanent neutrality.

The most ideal option must be the pursuit of a collective security system or multilateral security regimes. But the option might be less plausible not only because of the structure of military deterrence deeply embedded in the East Asian region but also because of lack of hegemonic leadership in the event of US withdrawal from the region. Other options, including the middle power path, can accompany strategic instability in the region. Thus American disengagement from the Korean peninsula could bring about a nightmarish security dilemma to Korea.

Concluding Remarks

The June 2000 Korean summit made a significant contribution to creating an internal and external milieu conducive to peace and stability on the Korean peninsula. However, beneath the new rapprochement lies a myriad of security problems. It is not easy to resolve these issues given their complex linkages with domestic and international politics. It is now time to address these issues one by one. Any inter-Korean improvements that do not settle and resolve security issues are nothing but a perilous detour. There should no longer be delay in bringing a security agenda onto the negotiation table. Along with this, leadership in both Koreas should not only avoid the politicization of inter-Korean issues for domestic political purposes but also overcome domestic division and opposition. Improved inter-Korean relations cannot be envisaged without pacifying domestic forces and forging a viable national consensus. The international community should also give its blessing and lend unprecedented support for tension reduction and peace-building on the Korean peninsula. By abandoning the psychology of balance of power determinism, the four major powers can also play a constructive role in facilitating peaceful coexistence and reunification. But it should be remembered that reunification cannot be achieved without first achieving peace. Once peace is realized, the door to reunification will be open. Keeping this in mind, both Koreas should make every effort to turn specters of war into rays of peace and to transform division into reunification with patience, prudence, and intersubjective understanding.

However, it should be noted that prospects for peace on the Korean peninsula do not seem to be bright. Recent developments involving the events of September 11 and the continuing war on terrorism are likely to undercut American attention to the North Korea issue, further delaying any meaningful dialogues between Pyongyang and Washington. In addition, premature arrival of lamed-duck syndrome of President Kim's government will also weaken

the domestic foundations for improved inter-Korean relations. In light of recent developments in the North, where polarization between technocratic soft-liners and military hard-liners has become more pronounced than ever before, prospects for inter-Korean relations are not good. Failure to reach any agreements at the sixth North-South Korea ministerial talk, which was held November 12-14 in Mt. Kumkang, is an explicit sign of stalled inter-Korean relations. What is more troublesome is the changing public mood in the South. President Kim's sunshine policy is rapidly losing its popularity, and candidates for the 2002 presidential election could capitalize on anti-sunshine policy sentiments for their political gains. If that happens, inter-Korean relations could become further stalled in the post-Kim Dae-jung era.

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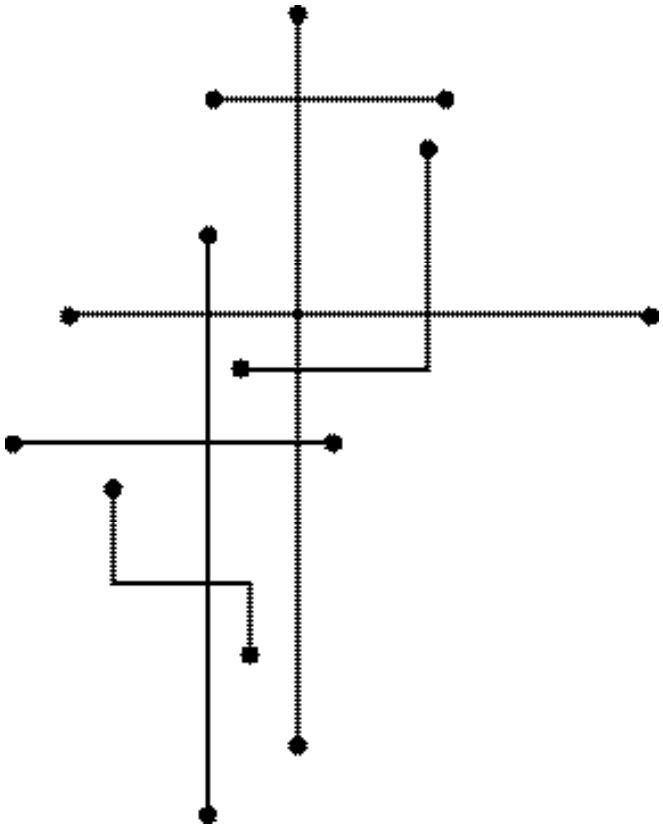

Middle East and Persian Gulf

Middle East Security in the Near and Long Term
Chair's Report by Geoffrey Kemp, The Nixon Center

The United States and De Facto Nuclear Weapon States:
A Post-September 11 Perspective
Avner Cohen, University of Maryland School of Public Affairs
Marvin M. Miller, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Nuclear Temptations: The Middle East as a Case Study
Ibrahim A. Karawan, The University of Utah

Participant List for Middle East Working Group Discussions

Middle East Security in the Near and Long Term

Chair's Report From the Middle East Working Group

By Geoffrey Kemp
Director, Regional Strategic Programs, The Nixon Center

Chair's Findings and Policy Recommendation

- The Bush administration should take advantage of its new relationship with Russia to gain approval for smart sanctions toward Iraq and use Russian leverage with Iran to prevent the further dissemination of illegal nuclear and missile materials to that country. These measures would not only benefit the United States but Israel as well.

- The administration should capitalize on new opportunities for rapprochement with Iran while continuing its criticism of Iran's potential weapons of mass destruction (WMD) program and ongoing support of Hezbollah, Hamas, and Palestinian Islamic jihad.

- If proof emerges linking Iraq to Al Qaeda, the administration has no choice but to prepare for military action against Saddam Hussein. The administration should be aware that military action absent a "smoking gun" would inevitably erode the Arab as well as the European coalition against terrorism.

- The United States must improve its public relations campaign in the Arab world and make every effort to better understand Arab culture and society.

- The United States should craft a consistent policy in the Middle East in regard to human rights and democracy. By allowing friendly Arab governments to suppress dissent, the United States has fueled the fire of Islamic radicals by not practicing what it preaches. Either the United States must stand by the democratic principles it espouses or accept the contradictory and often vacillating support of authoritarian governments with weak domestic legitimacy.

- In the near term, the United States should avoid regional arms control and disarmament initiatives meant to alter the long-running status quo of Israeli nuclear opacity. Such initiatives would introduce new uncertainties in the region and are unlikely to be acceptable to Israel while it is dealing with immediate threats from domestic terrorism in the West Bank and Gaza. Also, such initiatives might give Iran and Iraq added incentives to acquire nuclear weapons (if the Israeli policy of "ambiguity" is shelved in favor of official declarations), and a heightened focus on nonproliferation could sour relations with antiterror allies Russia and China, who are still suspected of providing some technological aid to the missile and nuclear programs of Iran and Pakistan, respectively.

- However, in the long term, the quest for regional stability will ultimately require the United States to work with Israel in changing the nuclear status quo. Not only Iran and Iraq but also

possibly Arab states such as Egypt might feel compelled to seek a nuclear capability if the only other long-term alternative is an unchallenged Israeli "bomb in the basement." In particular, a move toward greater domestic liberalization in moderate Arab states could eventually lead to popular political pressures for an Arab nuclear option.

Introduction and Overview

The tragic events of September 11, 2001, have had a profound impact on the Bush administration and its relationship with the rest of the world. Previously accused of a unilateralist approach to foreign policy, the administration has had to embrace global engagement on a new and unprecedented scale. Unresolved conflicts in the Middle East and South Asia will now assume higher priority. The United States has adopted a new mandate against global terror and, as a result, American alliances and imperatives have been reassessed, redefined, and reaffirmed.

Perhaps the most noteworthy development is the newly forged partnership with Russia—a relationship that has proven itself in the context of building the coalition to fight in Afghanistan. In parallel, the United States has assumed close ties with the strategically located Central Asian republics, a region previously considered important primarily for its natural resources. The United States has become acutely aware of the politics of Afghanistan and Pakistan and their growing links to the Middle East, including the Persian Gulf. Despite continued American economic and financial assistance, rampant anti-Americanism continues to poison American relations with moderate Arab regimes who were our allies during the 1990-91 Gulf crisis.

The focus of the Middle East working group concerned US strategies and security issues relating to Iran, Iraq, Israel, the Arab states, and energy policy.

Iran

In the aftermath of September 11, Iran was quick to condemn the terror attacks in New York and Washington. However, since then, Iran has wavered in its support of the US campaign in Afghanistan primarily because of uncertainty and concern about the ultimate objectives of US policy. Nonetheless, Iran has major stakes in the outcome of the war in Afghanistan. With the continuing influx of refugees, the attempts at curbing the drug trade and the harboring of former Afghan President Rabbani, Iran has been active in Afghanistan even before the United States redirected its attention to this part of Asia. Despite the contradictory Iranian messages vacillating between tacit support and condemnation for the war, diplomatic contacts and discussion in the Six-Plus-Two forum could provide the most direct route toward official dialogue between Washington and Tehran.

In an effort to mollify Iranian fears, the United States should read between the lines of Iranian statements, for ultimately the conclusion to be drawn from their messages is a positive one. Optimistic signs include condemnation of the attack; approval of the use of Iranian air space for certain operations in Afghanistan; a commitment to assist any wounded or missing American servicemen; a letter from Tehran's mayor to Mayor Guiliani expressing his condolences; an observed moment of silence in Tehran; a dinner held between Iranian diplomats and American congressmen; and most recently, the withdrawal of 700 Iranian military advisors from postings

in Lebanon, Sudan, Bosnia, and other regions. Iran's positive stance, its demographics, and its strategic interests in Afghanistan favor a more rational relationship with the United States. In an effort to engage Iran, the United States could facilitate improved relations through gestures of goodwill. Some actions that might be considered at the appropriate time include a repeal of the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act, the approval of oil and gas pipelines through Iran, and the withdrawal of US objections to Iran's application for WTO membership.

Notwithstanding these positive trends in Tehran's stance toward Washington, Iran's WMD program; its continued support for Hezbollah, Hamas, and Palestinian Islamic jihad; and its strident rejection of the state of Israel continue to stand in the way of rapprochement with the United States. While there is an ongoing debate about Iran's nuclear ambitions, Iran's outright support for Hezbollah and Islamic jihad continues to be the foremost roadblock to reconciliation. While Israel has gone so far as to suggest that Iran can even continue to support Hezbollah as long as it halts arms supplies, Iran has been continuing in the latter. The report that Iran has removed military advisors in Lebanon may be a first step toward compromise.

Iran is pursuing a more pragmatic foreign policy approach and will unlikely risk further international alienation by violating its adherence to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Due to the instability of the neighborhood, perhaps Iran will remain committed to the NPT while continuing to acquire nuclear materials. Using this as leverage, Iran might demonstrate its commitment to the NPT and its more moderate foreign policy stance by retaining nuclear capabilities, but not by implementing a weapons program.

The new US-Russia relationship could ultimately help the United States improve relations with Iran. In an effort to shore up Iranian support for the war on terrorism, many European diplomats have visited Tehran in the past month. However, it is Russia that could provide the most useful influence with Iran. With strong diplomatic ties between the two countries, Russia might have the weight to pressure Iran into continued compliance with its treaty obligations and change its policy toward Israel. Russia will balk at ending its nuclear power sale to Iran, but it may well be prepared to clamp down on illicit Iranian activity, including covert nuclear weapons development.

Iraq

Iraq's role in September 11 continues to raise suspicions. Yet only ambiguous evidence has emerged. The administration is therefore correct in deferring its decision on Iraq to phase two of the campaign. Some have cited the connections the first World Trade Center bomber, Ramzi Yousef, had with Iraq—and the meeting of suicide pilot Mohammad Atta with Iraqi intelligence in the Czech Republic—as proof of Iraqi complicity. Others have contested this, arguing that Saddam's intense dislike of Islamic fundamentalism would hamper any strong relations with bin Laden.

Regardless, if anthrax attacks continue to threaten the United States and links can be made to Baghdad, the United States will intensify its rhetoric and focus its attention on Iraq's stockpile of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. Whatever the outcome, Iraq's nuclear, chemical,

and biological ambitions and/or capabilities continue to pose a threat to the entire region, including Israel, Iran, and the Gulf States. Iraq's weapons agenda is one of the primary motivations for Israel and Iran to maintain and develop their own nuclear programs.

The Russian connection could also be critical in future relations with Iraq. Russian support might finally enable the approval of a modified sanctions regime, so called "smart sanctions," which up until now its representative has blocked in the UN Security Council.

With the American coalition against Afghanistan fragile, any new military operation against Iraq could have a very negative impact on the Arab-American relations. Without sufficient evidence to implicate Saddam Hussein, the United States would be unable to convince Arab governments of the wisdom of its intentions. Moreover, securing support of many European allies may prove to be difficult, leaving the Bush administration no choice but to engage alone. Confronting Iraq will not be an easy one, but must ultimately be addressed.

Israeli Security Concerns and Nuclear Nonproliferation

Since September 11, Israeli security concerns have been heightened. With the ongoing threat of the Palestinian intifada and the new American support for the creation of a Palestinian state, Israel feels somewhat marginalized. Now more than ever, Israel's nuclear program seems justified. Despite a recent debate contesting the degree of nuclear opacity Israel should maintain, the Israeli bureaucracy has supported continuing their discreet profile. Only in the event of a negative change to Iran or Iraq's nuclear policy, where perhaps either country exposes a new nuclear weapons arsenal, will Israel's nuclear policy be unveiled and even augmented. Until then, we can expect no adjustment to their current nuclear status, which is one of studied ambiguity.

Iraq continues to pose a significant threat to Israel. As there are no longer weapons inspectors in Iraq, and bearing in mind that Saddam Hussein has used chemical weapons against the Iranians and has launched missile attacks against Israel, this claim seems justified. Israel is hopeful that Russia might concede on the issue of smart sanctions and might also be convinced to prevent the dissemination of nuclear material to Iran.

Notwithstanding tensions over Israeli reoccupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, American-Israeli relations continue to be secure. Israel, however, will closely observe America's renewed relations with India and Pakistan, both of which were sanctioned after testing their nuclear weapons in 1998. In exchange for compliance with the American campaign in Afghanistan, the United States has accepted the reality of Indian and Pakistani nuclear programs and has waived sanctions against both countries. Perhaps these actions will foreshadow how the United States will address Israel's programs in the future.

One American option would be to grandfather Israel, India, and Pakistan as new members of the NPT. But unlike the Indian and Pakistani situations, the United States has never given de facto recognition of Israel's nuclear reality through public statements of its existence, sanctions against Israel's governmental and private entities involved in nuclear programs, or statements of US opposition to its operational capability in diplomatic forums or bilateral foreign policies,

including sanctions. Since Israel is not considered a nuclear threat, the United States has been more concerned about preventing other countries from achieving nuclear status. This policy will most likely continue.

Nonetheless, in the post-September 11 regional and global security environment, there is ample reason for the United States to reconsider the foreign policy status quo in regard to the Israeli nuclear program, at least in the long-term policy equation. First, as Avner Cohen and Marvin Miller have outlined in their commissioned thought-piece (see following article), the threat of nuclear terrorism is real. This includes the widely understood "radiological" or "dirty bomb" threat, which involves the strapping of conventional high explosives to a lump of radioactive material to cause widespread radiation sickness and death. However, the authors argue, the construction of an actual fission-based nuclear device by terrorist cells is also a possibility that cannot be overlooked. Citing several studies by individual US scientists and special study groups over the last three decades, the authors note that "a small group of technically trained individuals not previously engaged in designing or building nuclear weapons could construct a crude nuclear weapon—a device guaranteed to work without the need for extensive theoretical or experimental demonstration—with either highly enriched uranium or plutonium." The question is not whether a one-kiloton device could be constructed, but whether terrorist cells could acquire the highly enriched uranium or reactor-grade plutonium required for a bomb, as well as access to basic engineering and scientific expertise.

According to the authors, this "new" nuclear danger calls into question current Israeli and bilateral US-Israeli national security policies in the region. The primary focus has been on forms of "counterproliferation," such as traditional nuclear deterrence of state-based WMD threats; the construction of theater missile defenses (the Israeli Arrow System, with significant US aid); and in a worst-case scenario, "disruption" of an opponent's WMD and missile capabilities through concerted preemptive strikes with precision munitions, aided by highly accurate intelligence. The latter two pillars of Israeli policy—disruption and defense—are relatively low-cost options (both economically and politically) but do not really address the threat of terrorist cells smuggling a nuclear device into Israel. They are inherently geared toward state-led military organizations and weapons deployments in countries such as Iran, Iraq, or Syria.

The Israeli nuclear deterrent similarly fails to address transnational nuclear terrorist threats (i.e., how do you threaten massive retaliation against a small terrorist group spread across multiple countries?), but in addition to this problem carries substantial political, moral, and diplomatic costs that have undermined its utility in past conflicts. According to Cohen and Miller, "The immense destructive power of a single nuclear bomb, and the consequent lack of a credible defense against nuclear attacks, has always afforded them a special status as the ultimate deterrent. Ironically, this special moral and military status simultaneously undermines any realistic political rationales for using them against enemies during wartime.... [T]he events of September 11 have underscored both how limited these weapons are as a means of retaliation and how dangerous it would be if nuclear weapons, however crude, were acquired by terrorists."

Thought-piece author Ibrahim Karawan seconds this line of thought, arguing of the Israeli arsenal: "It's alleged 'constructive ambiguity' was not useful at all in dealing with Iraqi missile

attacks against Tel Aviv in January 1991, and it was a nonstarter regarding Israel's protracted conflict with Hezbollah in South Lebanon. Similarly, the existence of the arsenal obviously did not help Israel cope with the Palestinian intifada. It would not be an exaggeration to argue that Israel's nuclear doctrine is neither very constructive nor self-evidently ambiguous."

Instead of deterring nuclear dangers, Karawan points out, the very decades-long existence of a not-so-secret Israel arsenal could eventually lead to proliferation behavior by some of its neighbors. This is because the true threat of the Israeli arsenal is toward states and state actors, all of whom have the resources and military rationales to counter Israel with an "Arab bomb": "Among security policymakers and strategic analysts in the Arab world, the notion of a fundamentally military solution to the conflict with Israel has almost withered away.... [H]owever, at least some of these Arab states assert that they cannot afford to ignore the dangers to their national security of having Israel as the sole nuclear power in the region. They argue that what is called in the Arab press as the 'two hundred bombs in the basement' approach to Israeli security has gone beyond the very outer limits of its strategic utility."

According to Karawan, this sentiment exists not only in rarified diplomatic arenas such as the Conference for Disarmament in Geneva or NPT deliberations at the United Nations but also in Arab military institutions: "What is not widely appreciated in American debates about this issue is that it is not only the Foreign Ministry in Egypt that has very grave concerns about it; the Egyptian military establishment has similar concerns. The fact that its leaders do not aspire to, or anticipate, a military confrontation with Israel, and the fact that military leaders have a clear and solid understanding of Israel's power, should not lead to the conclusion that they are likely to accept a permanent Israeli monopoly of nuclear weapons in the region."

Therefore, the long-term strategic question for US policy, according to Karawan, is whether the Arab political and military status quo can be taken for granted, or whether internal political changes toward less authoritarian regimes could eventually lead to an anti-Israeli nuclear challenge: "[T]he issue of Israel's nuclear monopoly has become important in the domestic political discourse of countries such as Egypt and Jordan, among others. There are many discussions in the Arab world about the risks involved in maintaining the status quo. Obviously, authoritarian regimes have constrained their domestic political debate in a way that favors the status quo. However, should political liberalization take hold in Arab countries, there is a greater likelihood of rejection by wider segments of the Arab public of Israel's nuclear monopoly."

Cohen and Miller also draw attention to the potentially detrimental affects of an "opaque" nuclear arsenal on Israeli democracy: "[S]erious public debate about nuclear matters has been precluded by the policy of opacity. We understand the historical necessity of adopting this policy and even the rationale for its continuation in the short term. However, in a democracy such as Israel, fateful decisions regarding its nuclear future cannot be legitimate without public advice and consent. Thus nuclear opacity must change, and the United States, which was involved in the birth and making of this policy, needs to help in its unmaking."

Despite these long-term rationales for revisiting the US-Israeli understanding on nuclear weapons, however, the thought-piece authors and working group participants agreed that immediate realities clearly favor the status quo in both Israeli policy and US foreign and defense policies toward the region. The US reliance on a widespread coalition of radically dissimilar states to fight the anti-Taliban war in Afghanistan and neutralize terrorist cells working within state boundaries puts severe constraints on new disarmament and arms control initiatives in the Middle East and Persian Gulf. In regard to regionally based nuclear arms control options, such as a ban on the further production of fissile materials, Cohen and Miller concede that such initiatives would amount to a "public acknowledgement of Israel's nuclear status," which in turn would be "harmful to the global nonproliferation regime and to efforts to prevent nuclearization in Iraq and Iran," something the United States simply cannot afford to countenance during wartime. Cohen and Miller also note that the "de-emphasis of traditional nonproliferation concerns applies as well to nuclear and missile technology transfers from China and Russia to states such as Pakistan and Iran."

Such policy constraints are felt even more strongly in Israel. Ultimately, nuclear concerns aside, the Israelis have more pressing strategic issues to worry about. The ongoing fear of domestic terrorism by insurgent Palestinian groups and the potential collapse of the Palestinian state continue to dominate Israel's primary agenda. Until such imminent security concerns are resolved, Israel will be forced to confront these more immediate threats.

US Relations With the Arabs

With regard to Arab-American relations, the United States must recognize certain new imperatives are needed. The administration should initiate a new effort to understand Arab culture and society. The United States must comprehend the anger of the Arab street. Concurrently, the United States must engage in an improved public relations campaign if it hopes to win the hearts and minds of the Arab people. However, the Bush administration must recognize that such an effort will not be achieved without some cost to Israel.

For this reason, the Bush administration must continue to distinguish between the war in Afghanistan and the fight for Palestinian self-determination. Nonetheless, the United States needs to upgrade its commitment to the peace process. Some have suggested, however, that a more determined American involvement in the peace process might be interpreted as a victory for Osama bin Laden, who belatedly added the Palestinian struggle to his agenda.

In defining its Arab policy, the Bush administration must clearly identify its objectives and realize the compromises involved in maintaining its coalition. If Saddam is implicated either through his contribution to September 11 or through the recent anthrax scare and as a result Iraq is attacked, the United States should recognize that it would lose support from some of its Arab partners. Moreover, such an attack could further destabilize the regimes of Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia, all of whom have strong fundamentalist populations.

The need for a consistent US foreign policy should be emphasized. The United States has more often than not overlooked the undemocratic nature of Arab regimes in exchange for

their political support. The United States has been too passive on blatant human rights abuses, specifically the case of the Egyptian sociologist Sa'ad Eddin Ibrahim,[26] as well as the repression of women and political opposition. By allowing these Arab governments to suppress dissent, the United States has fueled the fire of Islamic radicals by not practicing what it preaches. Either the United States must stand by the democratic principles it espouses to or it must accept the contradictory and often vacillating Arab support.

Energy

In light of the recent attacks and American dependence on Middle Eastern oil, a review of US energy policy has also come to fore. It was concluded, however, that unless the American taxpayer is willing to pay higher gas prices, there would be no change to our immediate energy policy. Long-term efforts to attain independence with increased demands to begin drilling in the Alaskan National Wildlife Refuge are being pursued.

It was acknowledged that energy could be the nexus linking the Middle East and South Asia. Whether it takes the form of a pipeline from Iran through Pakistan to India, or if it takes other forms, energy will be the determining factor of a more concrete connection between regions.

Regional stability is critical if such development initiatives are to be pursued. Until now the major oil initiatives have run up against political deadlock. Every few years Iran has made a point of high-level public meetings with Pakistani officials, or Indian officials, or both to discuss the desirability of an oil route through Pakistan that benefits all three countries. A land route is thus far the only viable solution both financially and technologically; technical and financial difficulties present themselves with proposals for an underwater pipeline that skirts Pakistan’s boundaries along the continental shelf, while the current solution of shipping oil via freighter to India is not economically efficient. However, India has remained skeptical of Pakistani promises to ensure the sanctity of any oil flowing from Iran to India over its territory, despite Iranian efforts to squeeze ironclad written agreements from Pakistan that any disruptions in the oil supply would come out of Pakistani coffers in the form of subsidization of freighter deliveries to India.

[26] Sa'ad Eddin Ibrahim, the founder of the Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies, has been sentenced to a seven-year prison term for spreading false reports about Egypt abroad. He has been accused of tarnishing the country's image through exaggerated reports on various issues ranging from electoral fraud to tension between Muslims and Christians. Other charges against Ibrahim include accepting foreign donations without government permission, using donated money for personal gain, and bribing newscasters to report favorably on the center’s work.

The United States and De Facto Nuclear Weapon States: A Post-September 11 Perspective

Thought-Piece for the Middle East Working Group

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Introduction

The present situation with regard to nuclear proliferation in the Middle East can be summarized succinctly: Israel already has nuclear weapons, and Iran and Iraq are trying to obtain them. Meanwhile, in neighboring South Asia, Pakistan and India have acquired and tested nuclear weapons, raising concerns about growing gaps in the global nonproliferation regime and the potentially negative effects of this trend on the Middle Eastern nuclear status quo. Obviously, the terrorist attacks on September 11 will further affect the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the Middle East, both horizontal and vertical.[27] Although it is much too soon to make judgments about all the implications for proliferation of these attacks, it is already clear that the possibility of future terrorism involving WMD must be taken seriously by all states, especially Israel.

In the pursuit of both peace and arms control in the Middle East, the role of the United States will be pivotal. What has been US policy toward nuclear weapons proliferation in these regions in the past? What is its current (post-September 11) policy? And what policies might the United States consider or adopt in the future?

Historical Trade-Offs Between Nonproliferation Norms and Geopolitical Realities

Since the beginning of the nuclear age, the official policy of the US government has been to oppose the proliferation of nuclear weapons. To this end, it continues to urge all countries that are not party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), including Israel, to join the treaty as nonnuclear weapon states.

However, rhetoric aside, US nonproliferation policy has always been tailored to accommodate other foreign policy objectives and domestic considerations as these have shifted over time.

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[27] This terminology, referring to the spread of nuclear weapons to nonnuclear states and increases in the quality and/or the quantity of such weapons in nuclear states, respectively, was coined by the late Homi Bhabha, the leader of the Indian nuclear program from its inception in 1948 until his death in 1966.

(Such realpolitik is, of course, not limited to the United States.) For example, although the United States initially opposed the acquisition of nuclear weapons by Israel, it has long come to accept the reality of what the *Economist* magazine has aptly characterized as the world's worst-kept secret: a potent, if still officially unacknowledged, Israeli nuclear deterrent.[28]

The same tailored application of nonproliferation norms is also evident in the case of, for instance, Iran, India, and Pakistan. Thus, while transfers of (peaceful) nuclear technology to Iran were promoted by the US government when the Shah was in power, the US government now vigorously opposes such transfers to a state whose government is perceived to be hostile to US interests. And when the United States needed the assistance of Pakistan to support the forces in Afghanistan fighting against the Soviet Union in the 1980s, the US government paid "selective attention" to the facts regarding Pakistani attempts to acquire nuclear weapons in order not to trigger sanctions against Pakistan. More recently, longstanding US opposition to the Indian nuclear weapons program has started to ease as part of a general warming of relations between the United States and India.

The attitude of the new Bush administration toward treaties in general, and nuclear arms control in particular, was foreshadowed by the US Senate's rejection of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) in November 1999. Since taking office, the Bush team has made clear that it does not favor retention of old agreements, nor ratification of new agreements—whether bilateral, multilateral, or international. In its view, such formal agreements force constraints on the United States that are detrimental to US national interests. In the arms control arena, the list includes the CTBT, the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, and the agreement to add verification provisions to the Biological and Toxins Weapons Convention. Instead, the new administration has sought to convince other countries of the wisdom of its views and has also indicated a willingness to take unilateral action if such persuasion fails.

Before September 11, the United States was already moving toward accepting the reality of a nuclear-armed India. Supporters of this policy, inside and outside the administration, have argued that with the end of the Cold War, the longstanding friction between India and the United States over India's nuclear ambitions and the politics of nuclear arms control should not be allowed to stand in the way of greater political, military, and economic cooperation between the two countries. Thus, in the words of the new US ambassador to India, the United States will not act like a "nagging nanny" with India on nuclear issues. That is, instead of continued public advocacy of a "rollback" of India's nuclear arsenal, the United States will quietly ask India to adopt a low profile with regard to its nuclear and missile programs, including no further nuclear tests or deployment of nuclear warheads on missiles.

The US attitude toward Israeli nuclearization had already evolved in the same direction more than 30 years ago when the incoming Nixon administration came to the view that the commonality of US and Israeli interests dictated a tacit US acceptance of the facts on the ground at Dimona—as long as this reality was not officially acknowledged by Israel. Given these broad similarities and continuities in US policy responses to determined nuclear proliferators, it is important to consider

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[28] Avner Cohen, *Israel and the Bomb* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), Chap. 17.

whether a common US policy toward nuclear weapons in India and Israel is feasible and desirable, and whether Pakistan could also be accommodated in any such arrangement.

In this context, we recall the proposals made in the 1990s to ban further production of fissile materials for weapons both in the Middle East and globally. The impetus for the former was the perception that although nuclear use in the Gulf War was averted, the danger was real and the "fissban" could be an important milestone toward an eventual nuclear-free zone in the Middle East.[29] In the wake of the Gulf War, it was clear that Israel had to be a part of any effort to reduce the nuclear threat in the Middle East. In this context, advocates of a fissban argued that it offered a realistic compromise: a limited but real constraint on the Israeli nuclear program, coupled with an implicit legitimization of Israel's nuclear status.

Israel did not reject the Middle East fissban outright when it was proposed by the first Bush administration in 1991 and later by the Clinton administration in 1993.[30] However, it was concerned that the constraints imposed by the fissban, together with the associated verification modalities, would put Israel on a "slippery slope" leading to the demise of nuclear opacity and increased pressure to abandon its nuclear arsenal entirely. Israel's opposition to a fissban grew during the tenure of Prime Minister Netanyahu, who in a 1998 letter wrote President Clinton that Israel considers the fissban to be an act of "suicide."[31] By this time the United States had abandoned promotion of the Middle East fissban, but was still promoting a global treaty as a way of constraining the programs of all three de facto nuclear weapon states (NWSs) in South Asia and the Middle East. In the US calculus, a global fissban would yield nonproliferation benefits at no real cost to the United States and the other NPT weapon states, given that all the recognized nuclear powers (with the possible exception of China) already have stocks of weapons plutonium and highly enriched uranium in excess of their weapons requirements.

Despite much effort in support of negotiations at the Committee on Disarmament, the global fissban has fared no better than its Middle Eastern variant. The negotiations revealed many difficult issues, especially with regard to verification. However, the basic problem is

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[29] Avner Cohen and Marvin Miller, "Nuclear Shadows in the Middle East," *Security Studies*, No. 1 (fall 1991), pp. 54-77.

[30] In the early 1990s the Israeli government refrained from making an official and public response to the Bush and Clinton initiatives to cap the production of weapons-grade fissile material. Unofficially, Israeli officials expressed some reservations about those proposals, but were careful not to reject them outright. See Aluf Benn, "Senior Governmental Officials: Israel Could Live With Clinton's Arms Control Initiative," *Ha'aretz*, October 5, 1993.

[31] According to *Ha'aretz* diplomatic correspondent Aluf Benn, in two letters and several conversations Netanyahu told Clinton: "We will never sign the treaty, and do not delude yourselves, no pressure will help. We will not sign the treaty because we will not commit suicide." Aluf Benn, "The Struggle to Keep Nuclear Capabilities Secret," *Ha'aretz*, September 14, 1999 (Internet edition); Aluf Benn, "Israel Resists Pressure on Its Nuclear Policy," *Ha'aretz*, May 2, 2000; Aluf Benn, "Sharon Will Stick to Tradition of Nuclear Ambiguity," *Ha'aretz*, February 18, 2001. See also Ze'ev Schiff, "Saying Yes and No at the Same Time," *Ha'aretz*, August 11, 1998; Ze'ev Schiff, "Sending a Determined Nuclear Message," *Ha'aretz*, June 18, 1999; Lee Hockstader, "Israel Won't Oppose Nuclear Treaty Talks," *The Washington Post*, August 12, 1998.

that a fissban would permit the retention of fissile materials for weapons that were produced before the treaty went into force in both the NPT and the non-NPT weapon states. In this sense it would legitimate the creation of a new class of NWSs at the same time that many NPT nonnuclear weapon states have been pressing for greater progress toward global disarmament as called for by Article VI of the NPT.

Moreover, both Israel and Pakistan, who might be expected to support a legitimization of their weapons status via the fissban, have instead voiced strong objection to it—Israel because of the perceived "slippery slope" and Pakistan because it would leave India with larger stocks of "grandfathered" fissile materials. In addition, negotiation of a fissban has been generally viewed as the next step on the international arms control/nonproliferation agenda following the successful negotiation and ratification of the CTBT. With implementation of the latter in limbo, primarily because of opposition by the Bush administration, there was little chance that the fissban would be taken seriously in the near term, even before September 11.

Finally, after September 11 the need for Pakistani assistance in fighting a new enemy in Afghanistan has once again led the US government to recalibrate its policy with regard to Pakistan's nuclear program. In particular, sanctions against Pakistan (and India) imposed after their nuclear tests in 1998 have been dropped, and consideration is being given to assisting Pakistan in securing its nuclear weapons against possible attempts to divert them by Islamic forces sympathetic to Osama bin Laden. While these actions do not constitute formal legitimization of the Pakistani nuclear program, US policy is clearly shifting from the rhetoric of "rollback" to de facto recognition of the nuclear facts on the ground in both Pakistan and India, as it did many years ago with regard to Israel.[32]

Of course, this policy is very much a work in progress and may be tempered by the need for cooperation with other states, especially in the newly proclaimed war on terrorism. We also note that—the issue of the CTBT aside—there are important continuities in the nonproliferation policies of the Bush and Clinton administrations, in particular, a strong focus on preventing the acquisition of nuclear weapons by Iran and Iraq, combined with a more relaxed attitude toward nuclearization in India.

Wither the Israeli Nuclear Program?

The original rationale for the Israeli nuclear program was to "prevent another holocaust by threatening another Hiroshima."—that is, to acquire a military capability that would deter any attempt by the Arab nations to turn their rhetoric about elimination of the state of Israel into reality. Although it hasn't prevented either external attacks from neighboring states such as in the 1973 Yom Kippur War or the internal attacks of the Palestinian

[32] In this regard, we note that President General Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan in a September 19 address to the Pakistani people stated that one of his key critical concerns and priorities in the current crisis is to secure its strategic nuclear and missile assets. This underlines the importance of the United States dropping sanctions and potential assistance in upgrading the security of Pakistani nuclear weapons. For the full text see: *www.pak.gov.pk/public/president-address-19-09-01.htm*.

intifada, most Israelis are convinced that its nuclear deterrent has served this purpose and favor its maintenance. The government policy of keeping Israel's nuclear status "opaque" has also been generally supported by the Israeli public, members of the Knesset across the political spectrum, the academic and journalistic communities and, significantly, other governments such as that of the United States. Indeed, the policy of nuclear opacity was the result of understandings reached in 1969 by former President Richard Nixon and former Prime Minister Golda Meir that ended a decade of unsuccessful attempts by the United States to halt the Israeli nuclear program. Opacity was born and has been cultivated thereafter as a symbiotic US-Israeli policy.[33]

Underlying the maintenance of a nuclear deterrent under opacity was a skeptical attitude toward international arms control agreements, especially in the nuclear area. In the Israeli view, such instruments do not accord with the political realities of the Arab-Israeli conflict. As long as this conflict is not resolved, Israel must maintain the deterrent means to assure its survival. For this reason, Israel has advocated a regional approach to arms control in which limits on and eventual elimination of all WMD are linked to progress with regard to achieving recognition, legitimacy, and peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

The discovery after the Gulf War that Iraq had a massive clandestine nuclear weapons program, and the realization that it might not be possible to prevent future nuclearization in Iraq, Iran, and possibly other Islamic states, led the government of Israel to consider multilateral arms control as part of its security strategy. Accordingly, Israel joined the multilateral working group on Arms Control and Regional Security (ACRS) that was established after the Madrid Conference in 1991, and it signed the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) on January 13, 1993, the first day it was opened for signature. In addition, as previously noted, the 1991 US proposal for a Middle Eastern fissban was not rejected out of hand by the Israeli government.

However, by the mid-1990s Israel had reverted to its traditional attitude of suspicion regarding arms control. The ACRS process collapsed because of an impasse between Egypt and Israel over the nuclear issue, opposition to ratification of the CWC increased, and the attitude toward the fissban changed from ambivalence to outright opposition.

With specific reference to nuclear arms control, the Israeli nuclear establishment has opposed any constraints on the nuclear program. This blanket policy has included opposition to a regional or global fissban as well as any change in the policy of opacity. Successive Israeli governments have accepted this view, and most nuclear analysts argue that nuclear arms control in the Middle East depends on the achievement of a true peace in the region, beginning but not ending with a settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Since peace is seen as a long-term proposition at best, Israel has focused its attempt to deal with the potential threat of a nuclear-armed Iraq and/or Iran by disruption, defense, and deterrence. This involves gaining intelligence about and attempting to impede the nuclear and ballistic missile programs in these countries, developing antiballistic missile systems

[33] Avner Cohen, *Israel and the Bomb* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

such as the Arrow, and hardening its present nuclear assets as well as acquiring a second-strike nuclear capability.[34]

The fact that the United States is cooperating with Israel on disruption and defense and not opposing its efforts with respect to hardening and acquiring a second-strike capability should come as no surprise. For the foreseeable future, both countries regard their own nuclear weapons as essential for their national security, while nuclear weapons in the hands of states such as Iran and Iraq are viewed as a serious threat. However, the critical remarks made by Israeli Prime Minister Sharon several weeks ago about the impact on Israel of US attempts to forge a coalition against terrorism is a reminder that differences between the two countries can arise where fundamental national security interests are perceived to be at stake.

Such differences have arisen in the past in the nuclear arena; e.g., the early US opposition to the Israeli nuclear program and Israeli disquiet about US promotion of a fissban in the 1990s. The emergence of similar differences cannot be ruled out in the future. In particular, Israel faces a relatively higher level of threat to its existence than the United States. While both the United States and Israel might be future targets for attacks using nuclear or biological weapons, the potential consequences of such attacks, especially in the case of nuclear weapons, could be much more serious for the survival of Israel. Thus Israel might be less reluctant to threaten nuclear retaliation against potential state sponsors of attacks (such as Iraq) and to follow through on such threats if deterrence fails.[35] Obviously, a decision to retaliate with nuclear weapons would not be taken lightly, and both Israel and the United States can be expected to cooperate closely to reduce the risk that their leaders will be confronted by such fateful choices.

The Limitations of Nuclear Deterrence Before and After September 11

At a seminar several years ago at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology on the threat of bioterrorism, the speaker, former CIA Director John Deutch, was asked for his opinion of what the response would be to a biological weapon attack on a city in the United States that resulted in significant loss of life. His answer, "massive and irrational," is reminiscent of the barely veiled warnings of possible nuclear retaliation voiced by senior Israeli officials before the Gulf War to deter the potential use of chemical or biological weapons (CBW) by Iraq against Israel once hostilities began.[36]

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[34] For a general overview of current Israeli strategic thinking, see Eliot A. Cohen, Michael J. Eisenstadt, and Andrew J. Bacevich, "Knives, Tanks and Missiles: Israel's Security Revolution" (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1998). See also Amnon Barzilai, "The Vision of Aerial Launching," *Ha'aretz*, April 12, 2001; Ze'ev Schiff, "Navy Rethinks Its Strategy," *Ha'aretz*, May 31, 2000; Ze'ev Schiff, "No Change in Nuclear Policy," *Ha'aretz*, September 11, 1998.

[35] Note that, unlike the United States, Israel also retains the option of retaliation via CBW. See also Scott D. Sagan, "The Commitment Trap: Why the United States Should Not Use Nuclear Threats to Deter Biological and Chemical Weapon Attacks," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (spring 2000).

[36] Prime Minister Shamir warned prior to the war that Israeli retaliation to unprovoked Iraqi aggression would be *"ayom ve'Nora"*—awesome and dreadful. See Cohen-Miller, "Nuclear Shadows; Christopher Walker, in his "Israel Will Hit Back if Attacked," *Times of London*, October 11, 2001, states: "Although it has never been confirmed publicly, senior Western intelligence sources say that Israel made clear to Iraq through a third party at the time of the Gulf War that any biological or chemical attack on Israel would result in a tactical nuclear response." See also Yehezkel Dror, *Crazy States: A Counterconventional Strategic Problem* (1980).

These warnings reflected a serious concern that Iraq would call Israel's bluff by launching a limited chemical weapon (CW) attack on Israel to demonstrate either the emptiness of the Israeli nuclear retaliatory threat or to provoke such a response, leading to international condemnation of Israel. The latter could be seen in Iraq as its best chance to break up the US-led war coalition, end the war, and present Israel—not Iraq—as the real nuclear threat to the region.[37] Although it is highly unlikely that a CW or even a biological weapon attack would pose an existential threat to Israel, there would still be strong public pressure on its leaders for a decisive response. Thus Israeli leaders never took either a nuclear response or the possibility of a "tit-for-tat" retaliation with CW "off the table."[38] In the end, Iraq didn't use CBW against either Israel or the allied coalition. Whether this was due to the perceived threat of nuclear retaliation by Israel or the United States has been much debated, as has the wisdom of a nuclear response if deterrence had failed.

One focus of the debate on the latter issue is whether a morally justifiable response to CBW attacks—one within the bounds of the just war tradition that only targets the perpetrators and their possible capabilities for future attacks—is credible, either by conventional or nuclear means. The common scenario involves Saddam Hussein or the equivalent and his key aides orchestrating the attack from a deep underground bunker in a populated area. Proponents of a nuclear response argue that small penetrating nuclear weapons, so-called "mini-nukes," can destroy such bunkers with little collateral damage while conventional precision-guided munitions cannot.

However, a nuclear weapon small enough to destroy a deep underground bunker without significant collateral damage would also need to be precisely targeted, which means that we would need the kind of superior intelligence that realistically cannot be expected during a crisis.[39] Thus the only credible deterrent to WMD attacks might be retaliation on a massive scale; e.g., the destruction of Baghdad, a morally repugnant act. The immense destructive power of a single nuclear bomb, and the consequent lack of a credible defense against nuclear attacks, has always afforded them a special status as the ultimate deterrent. Ironically, this special moral and military status simultaneously undermines any realistic political rationales for using them against enemies during wartime.

Thus, although it has become widely appreciated that most if not all uses of nuclear weapons would be "overkill" in both the literal and the figurative senses, the majority of the NWSs, including the United States and Israel, have refused to adopt a policy of no-first-use of nuclear

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[37] For references to the possibility that Saddam might also order CBW attacks against Israel and/or the allied coalition as an act of revenge if it was clear that the coalition meant to destroy his regime, see Avigdor Haselkorn, *The Continuing Storm* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

[38] Concerned about the possibility of nuclear escalation, Israel's Minister of Science Yuval Ne'eman openly suggested in July 1990 that if Iraq used chemical weapons against Israel, Israel should retaliate "with the same merchandise." Hence, Israel would not be compelled to cross the nuclear threshold in response to an Iraqi chemical attack. Ne'eman made his proposal public, but it was not endorsed officially. "Israeli Sees Chemical Option Against Iraq," *The New York Times*, July 28, 1990.

[39] Robert W. Nelson, "Low-Yield Earth Penetrating Nuclear Weapons," F.A.S. *Public Interest Report*, January/February 2001, pp. 1-5; Geoffry Forden, "Earth Penetrating Mini-Nukes: Limitations and Implications," MIT Security Studies Program, October 2001.

weapons.[40] At the same time, the events of September 11 have underscored both how limited these weapons are as a means of retaliation and how dangerous it would be if nuclear weapons, however crude, were acquired by terrorists.

Even when there is a "return address" of sorts associated with a terrorist attack; e.g., bin Laden and his Al Queda organization, the threat of nuclear retaliation will have no deterrent value unless a state sponsor can be identified. Moreover, the uncertain military benefits of nuclear retaliation against states must be weighed against the geopolitical costs of breaking the taboo against nuclear use that has existed since Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Realizing this, political leaders have generally been cautious with regard to making explicit threats to use nuclear weapons.

The Potential for Nuclear Terrorism

The above analysis begs the question of how likely a nuclear terrorist threat may be. The attacks of September 11 demonstrated that large numbers of people can be killed by "low-tech" means. However, as horrifying as the destruction of the World Trade Center towers was, even a crude nuclear weapon would cause much greater physical damage and loss of life (see Appendix, page 98). This raises the issue of whether a subnational group that would use nuclear weapons against noncombatants also has the technical capability to do so, either by using intact weapons acquired from NWSs (Russia, Pakistan?) or by making them from nuclear materials acquired from nuclear power and research facilities that exist in many states.

In this regard, the rudiments of a crude one-kiloton, gun-type fission weapon have been sketched by the well-known former nuclear weapons designer Theodore Taylor in a conversation that was reported in John McPhee's book, *The Curve of Binding Energy*, published in 1973.[41] Furthermore, according to Luis Alvarez, a physicist who made important contributions to the development of the plutonium implosion bomb at Los Alamos during World War II: "With modern weapons-grade uranium, the background neutron rate is so low that terrorists, if they had such material, would have a good chance of setting off a high-yield explosion simply by dropping one half of the material onto the other half. Most people seem unaware that if separated U-235 is at hand, it's a trivial job to set off a nuclear explosion...."[42]

Later in the Cold War, this question was carefully examined by a group of US weapons experts in the mid-1980s.[43] They point out that the technical abilities required of the group depend on the quantity and quality of the nuclear materials that the group has acquired. For example, it

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[40] Scott D. Sagan, "The Commitment Trap: Why the United States Should Not Use Nuclear Threats to Deter Biological and Chemical Weapon Attacks," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (spring 2000).

[41] John McPhee, *The Curve of Binding Energy: A Journey Into the Awesome and Alarming World of Theodore B. Taylor* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973), pp. 189-194. Taylor also discusses the damage that such a weapon would cause if detonated at the site of the World Trade Center that was under construction at the time of his conversations with McPhee. See, in particular, pp. 220-226.

[42] See Luis W. Alvarez, *Alvarez: Adventures of a Physicist* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), p. 125.

[43] J. Carson Mark, et al., "Can Terrorists Build Nuclear Weapons?" *Nuclear Terrorism*, ed. Paul Leventhal and Yonah Alexander (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1987), pp. 55-65.

would be much easier to make a crude "gun-type" weapon starting with a large quantity, say 50 kilograms (kg), of weapons-grade uranium in metallic form than to make an "implosion" weapon starting with a fresh mixed oxide fuel assembly containing about 25 kg of "reactor-grade" plutonium in the form of plutonium oxide.

Their general conclusion is that a small group of technically trained individuals not previously engaged in designing or building nuclear weapons could construct a crude nuclear weapon—a device guaranteed to work without the need for extensive theoretical or experimental demonstration—with either highly enriched uranium or plutonium. A uranium bomb could be either of the gun or implosion type. A plutonium bomb could only be based on implosion, but it could utilize reactor-grade as well as weapons-grade plutonium. The task of bomb building would be greatly facilitated if weapons-related expertise were available to the group.

These facts put a premium on increasing safeguards and security on weapons-usable nuclear materials as well as intact nuclear weapons worldwide and minimizing the risk of the leakage of nuclear weapons-related expertise. However, leaks of materials and expertise cannot be ruled out, and states such as the United States and Israel can be expected to devote considerable additional resources to countering the risk of nuclear terrorism.

US Foreign Policy Recommendations for the Near and Long Term

The United States is now preoccupied with the terrorist threat, including the possible use of radiological or nuclear weapons by terrorists to cause mass physical destruction and loss of life. In the near term, the new focus on fighting terrorism dictates an acceptance by the United States of the de facto nuclear weapons status of India and Pakistan and continued tacit support for the Israeli policy of nuclear opacity. This de-emphasis of traditional nonproliferation concerns applies as well to nuclear and missile technology transfers from China and Russia to states such as Pakistan and Iran.

The new focus will be on upgrading safeguards and security at nuclear reactors in all states, particularly the United States, as well as at facilities where nuclear weapons or weapons-usable materials are kept, particularly in Pakistan and Russia.[44] Also, consonant with its tacit understandings with Israel on nuclear matters, the United States will urge India and Pakistan to restrain future nuclear (and missile) testing, weaponization, and technology transfer. It is also likely to offer Pakistan some limited assistance on upgrading weapons security.

That said, it is unlikely that the United States will do anything to formally legitimate the nuclear programs in these states; e.g., by promoting a fissban or public acknowledgment of Israel's nuclear status. In the present circumstances, such legitimization would be harmful to the global nonproliferation regime and to efforts to prevent nuclearization in Iraq and Iran. Given the present circumstances, we believe this is a sound policy.

However, in the long term, there will be considerable difficulties in preventing the malevolent use of stolen irradiated nuclear fuel, nuclear weapons, or weapons-usable materials that

[44] See George Bunn and Fritz Steinhauler, *Arms Control Today*, October 2001, pp. 8-12.

currently exist in large quantities worldwide. The problems posed by the existence of such stockpiles can be expected to give added impetus to the movements for abolition of nuclear weapons and nuclear power. The events of September 11 have also underscored the fact that nuclear weapons have little use in deterring attacks by subnational groups using either WMD or conventional means.

Thus the political and strategic necessities of the moment should not be viewed as constituting a viable long-term US strategy for dealing with the de facto NWSs (Israel, India, Pakistan), the threat of new nuclear proliferants (Iran, Iraq), or a potential transnational nuclear threat mounted by Al Queda. The present US-Israeli cooperation on disruption, defense, and deterrence of an Iraqi or Iranian nuclear threat will not suffice in the long term—in part because a new transnational nuclear capability might eventually emerge, a threat that would be impossible to stop through missile defense or counterthreats of retaliatory strikes.

Therefore, diplomacy and economic assistance focused on solving the bitter conflicts in the Middle East, South Asia, and other regions must be the long-term strategic focus of US policy. This includes the promotion of democracy and civil societies (especially in Islamic states) and reduction of poverty worldwide. This will require a global effort, but leadership from the United States is essential. Hopefully, in the long-term policy equation, progress toward peace in the Middle East and South Asia will make possible the negotiation of new international and regional agreements to reduce the risks of WMD.

In Israel, serious public debate about nuclear matters has been precluded by the policy of opacity. We understand the historical necessity of adopting this policy and even the rationale for its continuation in the short term. However, in a democracy such as Israel, fateful decisions regarding its nuclear future cannot be legitimate without public advice and consent. Thus nuclear opacity must change, and the United States, which was involved in the birth and making of this policy, needs to help in its unmaking.

Appendix: Nuclear Terrorism

A Terrorist Bomb

We briefly consider the damage that might be caused by the detonation of a low-technology nuclear weapon in an urban area, specifically at the site of the World Trade Center in New York. By "low technology" we mean a "gun-type" device similar in design to the weapon that was dropped on Hiroshima in August 1945. The main difference is that our hypothetical weapon contains less fissile material, on the order of 30-40 kg of weapons-grade uranium compared with the 50 kg of weapons-grade uranium equivalent in the Hiroshima bomb. As a result the "efficiency" of our design—i.e., the fraction of the uranium that fissions and the resultant energy released—is smaller by about a factor of 10: about one kiloton of high explosive equivalent compared to the 12.5-kiloton yield of the Hiroshima bomb.

We note that the rudiments of a crude one-kiloton gun-type fission weapon have been sketched by the well-known former nuclear weapons designer, Theodore Taylor, in a conversation with John McPhee that is reported in McPhee's book, *The Curve of Binding Energy*, published in 1973.[45] A terrorist group might also be capable of building an implosion-type nuclear weapon of the type that was dropped on Nagasaki. Such a bomb could use either enriched uranium or plutonium. The efficiencies of an implosion bomb are much greater than that of a gun-type weapon, so that smaller amounts of enriched uranium or plutonium would be needed to get comparable yields. However, implementing an implosion design, especially with plutonium, is more complex and would therefore require a higher level of technical expertise.[46]

Damage

The energy per unit weight released by a nuclear fission bomb is about a million times greater than that released by the detonation of chemical high explosives such as TNT. Thus while it is possible to cause damage comparable to that of a nuclear weapon by the use of high explosives; i.e., the devastation of Dresden and Tokyo during World War II was comparable to that of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the latter requires a massed raid involving hundreds of heavy bombers while the latter was accomplished with a single bomb. While both chemical and nuclear explosions generate a high-pressure blast wave, the much higher temperatures reached in a nuclear explosion (millions vs. thousands of degrees) causes a significant fraction of the energy released in the latter (typically ~1/3) to be emitted in the form of a flash of light and heat, generally

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[45] John McPhee, *The Curve of Binding Energy: A Journey Into the Awesome and Alarming World of Theordore B. Taylor* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973), pp. 189-194. Taylor also discusses the damage that such a weapon would cause if detonated at the site of the World Trade Center that was under construction at the time of his conversations with McPhee. See, in particular, pp. 220-226.

[46] According to Luis Alvarez, a physicist who made important contributions to the development of the plutonium implosion bomb at Los Alamos during World War II: "With modern weapons-grade uranium, the background neutron rate is so low that terrorists, if they had such material, would have a good chance of setting off a high-yield explosion simply by dropping one half of the material onto the other half. Most people seem unaware that if separated U-235 is at hand, it's a trivial job to set off a nuclear explosion, whereas if only plutonium is available, making it explode is the most difficult technical job I know." See Luis W. Alvarez, *Alvarez: Adventures of a Physicist* (Basic Books, New York, 1987), p. 125.

referred to as “thermal radiation.” This is capable of causing skin burns and starting fires at considerable distances.

In addition, a nuclear weapon is unique in that a small fraction of the energy is released as nuclear radiation, some of it promptly (< 1 second) and the remainder over an extended period of time (days to years depending primarily on how close the detonation is to the earth’s surface). The former, consisting of neutrons and gamma rays, can penetrate the body from the outside and cause severe radiation sickness and death, particularly close to the point of detonation. The latter consists of secondary or residual radiation from the decay of the radioactive fission products that are thrown up into the air by the force of the blast, and are called radioactive “fallout” when they return to earth. Since the fission products can be carried over considerable distances by the prevailing winds, the associated radiation can also cause radiation sickness and death over a much wider area than the prompt radiation. While this residual radiation decays over time, it can still render large areas uninhabitable for considerable periods.

The standard reference on the effects of nuclear weapons is the book compiled and edited by Glasstone and Dolan.[47] The basic physical phenomena for a fission weapon detonated on the ground or in the air can be summarized as follows. During the explosion process energetic neutrons and gamma rays, as well as extremely hot gaseous weapons residues, are generated. Within less than 10-6 (.000001) seconds after the end of the explosion process, the weapons residues radiate large amounts of energy that are absorbed within a few feet of the surrounding atmosphere. This leads to the formation of an extremely hot and luminous spherical mass of air and weapons residues known as the “fireball.” As the fireball expands and cools, its energy is transformed into a burst of thermal radiation traveling at the speed of light and a high-pressure blast of air that moves outward at speeds comparable to the speed of sound, about 1,000 feet per second.

The absolute and relative damage due to these phenomena—the fireball, thermal and nuclear radiation, and the blast wave—that interact strongly with the surrounding environment on a timescale of seconds or less depends on the yield of the weapon, the height at which it is detonated, and the nature of the environment; e.g., the population density, the type of buildings, and the weather. Most of the data on damage to urban areas, especially with regard to loss of life, comes from Hiroshima and Nagasaki where the weapons were exploded at a height of about 1,500 feet with yields of 12.5 and 20 kilotons, respectively. After about 0.1 second, the radius of the fireball in these detonations had increased to about 500 feet and its surface temperature had dropped to 7,000°C (for comparison, the temperature at the surface of the sun is 5,500°C). The temperature then decreased steadily but was still about 3,000°C one second after the explosion when the fireball radius had leveled off at about 700 feet.

These high temperatures would have caused all solid materials within a radius of several hundred feet of the detonation to be vaporized. However, since these weapons were detonated at higher altitudes, this direct impact of the fireball was not important at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. However, the air blast and the nuclear and thermal radiation were all significant sources of

[47] Samuel Glasstone and Philip J. Dolan, *The Effects of Nuclear Weapons*, 3rd ed. (Washington, DC: US Government Printing, 1977).

damage. Specifically, it has been estimated that some 50 percent of the deaths were due to burns caused by the absorption of thermal radiation both on the skin of exposed individuals and by flammable materials—and also by numerous fires started as a result of the collapse of buildings due to the blast wave, by such things as electrical short circuits, overturned stoves, and broken gas lines. The latter phenomenon indicates that there are potentially significant synergisms between the damage mechanisms. Other important examples are the combined impact of nuclear radiation with either thermal radiation or injuries due to the indirect effects of blast; e.g., people being blown out of buildings or into obstructions, causing broken bones and internal injuries.

About 85 percent of the population within 0.6 mile—3,000 feet from ground zero in both Hiroshima and Nagasaki—were killed and another 10 percent were injured. In this area, the blast energy, thermal exposure, and prompt nuclear radiation were each sufficient to cause serious injury or death. The death rate was greatest among individuals who were in the open during the time of the explosions; this indicates that shielding of some type can be an important factor in survival. For example, within a range of 0.6 mile from ground zero over 50 percent of individuals in Japanese-type wood-frame and plaster homes probably died of nuclear radiations effects, but such deaths were rare among persons who lived in concrete buildings with the same range.

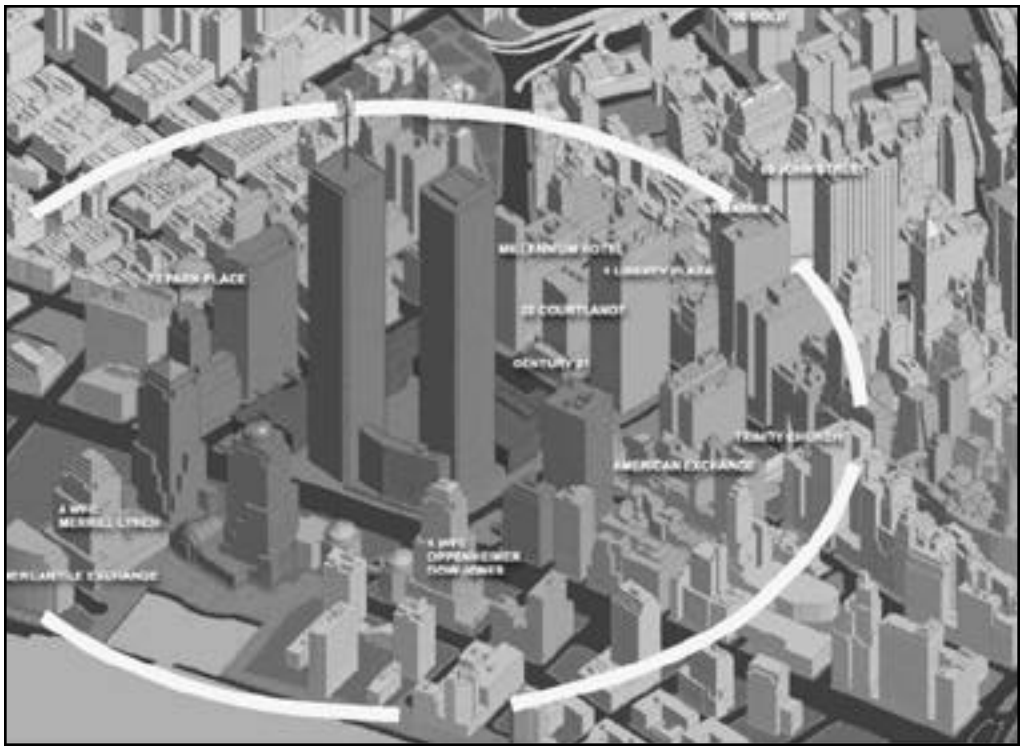
The damage due to the hypothetical one-kiloton terrorist weapon on the ground at the site of the World Trade Center before last September 11 would differ in several respects from the situation in Nagasaki and Hiroshima. Due to the smaller yield, the distances from ground zero where there would be high loss of life due to blast, thermal exposure, and nuclear radiation would all be smaller. And because blast energy from an air detonation is less effective in causing damage than a ground detonation, the severe blast damage distance would be smaller still—approximately 1,000 feet from ground zero.[48] The distances over which there would be severe thermal and prompt nuclear radiation impacts—i.e., third degree burns and a radiation dose sufficient to kill 50 percent of exposed individuals—would be greater, about 2,500 feet from ground zero.

However, concrete buildings at these distances might remain relatively intact, both because of the lower overpressures at this distance, ~ 3 psi, and also because they might be in the “shadow” of buildings closer to ground zero. People in such shadowed buildings would then be shielded to some extent from both the thermal and nuclear radiation. Taking these uncertainties into account, we arrive at a conservative estimate of essentially complete death and destruction within a distance of 1,000 feet from ground zero, assumed to be within approximately 100 feet of the towers themselves. Under these circumstances, the towers would be toppled due to the combined impact of the fireball and the blast. (See Figure 1.)

Another important difference between the hypothesized one-kiloton ground detonation and detonations in the atmosphere high enough so that the fireball does not touch the ground, as in

[48] This distance corresponds to a peak “overpressure,” i.e., a pressure in excess of normal atmospheric pressure, on the ground of 10 pounds per square inch (psi). See Glasstone and Dolan, op. cit., fig. 3.73b, p. 113. While an overpressure of 10 psi will not destroy the concrete-and-steel skeleton of a high-rise building, it will probably sweep everything in between the concrete floors out into the streets: walls, furniture, and inhabitants. Closer to ground zero, where the overpressures are higher, the damage would be greater. For example, at an overpressure of about 100 psi—corresponding to a distance of about 330 feet from ground zero—the steel structures themselves would collapse.

Area of Complete Destruction From a One-Kiloton Nuclear Explosion



Courtesy of Theodore Postol, MIT

Figure 1. Manhattan, New York, United States

Hiroshima and Nagasaki, is the much greater local radioactive fallout in the former case. In the latter situation, no appreciable quantities of surface materials are taken up into the fireball. The radioactive weapons residues then condense into very small particles that are carried to high altitudes and fall to the ground extremely slowly under the influence of gravity. The deposition takes place over such long periods of time that the particles will have become widely distributed and their concentration thereby reduced. At the same time, radioactivity will have decreased as a result of natural decay. Consequently, in the absence of precipitation, the deposition of fallout locally within a short time after the detonation; e.g., days, will not be significant for airbursts.

The situation is very different for detonations close to or at the ground. Such explosions will excavate a crater—about 120 feet in diameter and 30 feet deep for a one-kiloton explosion at ground level—and most of the entrained dirt and other debris will be vaporized and carried aloft by the ascending fireball. As the fireball cools, some of the vaporized dirt and debris condenses back to solid form and starts dropping back to earth as small particles of dust to which many of the radioactive weapons residues become attached. The larger of these contaminated particles reach the ground within days, and constitute the early local fallout.

While the total amount of radioactivity is fixed by the weapons yield, the geographical pattern of the fallout and the resultant amount of radiation absorbed by a person (the “dose”) depends on the prevailing winds from the surface to all levels in the radioactive cloud. However, it is

customary to replace the complex wind pattern with a single “effective” wind speed and a wind direction that does not change with altitude. The resultant idealized radioactive fallout and dose contours have the characteristic cigar shape shown in Figure 2. Here we have superimposed contours of accumulated radiation dose corresponding to the detonation of a one-kiloton bomb on the ground at the World Trade Center on a map of Manhattan and the surrounding areas within four hours following the detonation. The effective wind speed was taken as 15 miles per hour (mph) in the northeast direction.[49]

In general, at any given distance from a surface detonation, some time will elapse between the detonation and the arrival of the fallout. This time depends on the distance from ground zero and the effective wind speed; e.g., for a wind speed of 15 mph, the fallout would take about 20 minutes to reach a point five miles downwind. When the fallout first arrives, the dose rate is small, but it increases as more and more fallout descends. After the fallout at a particular distance is complete, the radioactive decay of the fission products will cause the dose rate to decrease. However, the accumulated dose will increase continuously after the fallout arrives, at first rapidly and then more slowly.

Area of Near Certain Death or Severe Injury Due to Early Fallout From a One-Kiloton Nuclear Explosion

Courtesy of Theodore Postol, MIT

Figure 2. Manhattan, New York, United States

[49] For assistance in preparing both Figures 1 and 2, Marvin Miller thanks his colleague Ted Postol.

The accumulated doses given in Figure 2 are those due to gamma radiation absorbed by the body from ground contamination. They are given in units of rads = rems.[50] As to the significance of these doses, humans are constantly exposed to low levels of radiation from both internal and external sources. For example, over a lifetime the typical American receives a dose on the order of 10 rem from natural background radiation and medical exposures. While the impact of such low doses on human health is difficult to discern, such is the not the case with doses of hundreds of rem accumulated over a short period of time; e.g., less than one day. For example, at doses of about 200 rem, most individuals will suffer from severe radiation sickness, and a few will die. At about 500 rem, 50 percent of the exposed population will die; at doses over 1,000 rem, practically everyone will die. As in the case of the prompt gamma radiation, doses due to fallout will be reduced due to the attenuation of the radiation as it passes through the walls of buildings and other structures; e.g., subways, between the fallout particles on the ground, on roofs, etc. Because of this, the number of people who would be killed by fallout is difficult to predict. However, the large area of potentially lethal contamination illustrated in Figure 2 underlines the importance of prompt evacuation of the area, or sheltering if this is not possible.

[50] The absorbed dose is conventionally measured in units of rems, where 1 rem = (the relative effectiveness of different types of radiation in causing biological damage, or the RBE) X 1 rad. Since the RBE for gamma radiation = 1, rads and rems are equivalent in this situation, and we use rems in the remainder of the discussion.

Nuclear Temptations:
The Middle East as a Case Study

Thought-Piece for the Middle East Working Group

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Introduction

In light of the realities of the post-September 11 world, it would be safe to argue that curbing nuclear proliferation at the present juncture, while still desirable for the American foreign policy makers, may not be among their most pressing operational and political objectives. Certainly, what seem to be the imperatives of America's war against international terrorism have assumed primacy over the main requirements of the nonproliferation regime. In fact, the necessity of constructing an effective regional coalition against terrorist groups in Afghanistan—and perhaps beyond Afghanistan—required the United States to get much closer to the two most recent sources of overt nuclear proliferation, Pakistan and India. Moreover, the United States has decided to lift the economic sanctions imposed against them in the aftermath of their open defiance of the core norms of the nonproliferation regime that were advocated so vehemently by the United States both during and after the Cold War. While some outspoken political figures in the United States have expressed reservation and even indignation over such alteration of US posture with regard to this important matter, few seem to think it can be easily reversed without high political cost.

One has to assume that the US failure to prevent such defiance to start with, and the subsequent serious failure to maintain a credible and effective punitive action in its aftermath, has not been lost on policymakers in Middle Eastern countries. The Middle East region is, by any standard, one of the most likely to witness strategic convulsions that could enhance existing sources of instability, with resulting serious repercussions on the vital interests of the United States. While a strategic regional stalemate is not a novel phenomenon on the Middle Eastern level, the dramatic and uncontested weakening of the earlier hopes and expectations of an Arab-Israeli peace process—and more importantly the Palestinian-Israeli peace process—has produced a climate in which further escalation of tensions, political violence, and more attempts at the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction can be expected to materialize. Given this escalation of tensions on the Arab-Israeli level as well as in the Gulf, and the continued Israeli nuclear monopoly,[51] regional attempts at proliferation of weapons of mass destruction have become much more likely than under the rosy scenarios during the early 1990s, which saw euphoria about a looming "new Middle East peace" after one "historic handshake" in front of the White House. The negative downturn in strategic conditions include a rise in what has been called already "nuclear

[51] Among the best studies on that topic, see Avner Cohen, *Israel and the Bom*b (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998). See also Anthony Cordesman, *The Military Balance in the Middle East: Weapons of Mass Destruction* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1999).

temptations," but instead of the temptation to necessarily use nuclear weapons if one state has them, it may be the temptation to acquire crude nuclear weapons among those states that do not have them.[52]

Learning the Lessons of Nuclear Temptation

With regard to the nuclear issue, much has been written and said lately about "learning" from the successes and failures of other states on the level of policy objectives and policy instruments and the definition of situations and the consequences of action under changing conditions. Learning can pertain both to strategic objectives as well as to the means necessary to pursue them. Such endeavors to learn do not always lead to identifying the right lessons or to applying them correctly to different situations, as well as avoiding the repetition of the failures that happened in the past.[53] Nonetheless, discussions about the importance of "learning" persist. The question of "strategic learning" certainly applies to the Arab Middle East. However, we are not always talking about learning within the boundaries of the Middle East, since the nuclear proliferation experiences examined to identify appropriate lessons may include cases from beyond that specific region.

As to be expected, the overt nuclear proliferation in South Asia in May 1998 has attracted considerable attention. Arab policymakers and Arab analysts discussed the significance of that development. Some asserted that Pakistan's nuclear tests brought joy to the "Islamic street" and concluded that Pakistan's tests should be viewed as an occasion to rejoice because a fellow Muslim country had become a member of a most prestigious club. According to this argument, this prestigious club is open to a select few states who acquire nuclear weapons and possess the means of delivering such weapons to their targets. By establishing a system marked primarily by a balance of nuclear terror, they become able to deter their enemies and manage at the same time to attain international status and regional prestige.[54]

For others, Pakistan provided the "power of the example, the power of defiance." Pakistan, which defied the threat of American sanctions and was a latecomer to the nuclear research domain relative to India, was viewed as a model that the Arabs should follow if they were really interested in bringing their prolonged *tawazun al-da'f* or "balance of weakness" vis-à-vis Israel to an end. It is a model, they argued, that illustrates the crucial role played by political resolve and the allocation of all necessary resources to achieve an objective in the core national interest. Moreover, the failure of the international community, and particularly the United States, to prevent Pakistan from going overtly nuclear can encourage some other regional powers, such as Iran, to conclude that the overall costs of defying the nonprolifera-

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[52] Theodore Draper, "Nuclear Temptations: Doctrinal Issues in the Strategic Debate," *The Nuclear Reader*, ed. Charles Kegley and Eugene Wittkopf (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), p. 25.

[53] See Jack Levy, "Learning and Foreign Policy: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield," *International Organization*, Vol. 48, No. 2, spring 1994, pp. 279-312.

[54] Abdullah al-Shayji, "Tawazun al-Ru'b" [Balance of Terror], *al-Watan*, May 30, 1998. See also the analysis by Fawziya Abu Khalid in *al-Hayat*, July 1, 1998, p. 17.

tion regime are acceptable and affordable. According to this perspective, nuclear proliferation is a game of dominoes, and nuclear events in South Asia may possibly move to the Arab Middle East.[55]

Not every Arab official has perceived the situation in this fashion. Objections to this perspective have come from the defense minister of Bahrain, who stressed that Islam and Islamic organizations are not factors that could influence how Pakistan's nuclear capability might be used. Rather, the national interest of Pakistan—as interpreted and decided upon by the Pakistani leaders themselves (particularly in deterring threats by India)—would be the decisive factor in that regard. Arab and Islamic glorification of the Pakistani nuclear bomb as an "Islamic bomb" does not help Arabs and Muslims as much as it may help Israel, who can use such positions in lobbying American and Western audiences to warn against the nuclear dimensions of a "green threat," namely a threat posed by an Islamic power.[56]

The proposition that a nuclear capability in the hands of any Arab state translates necessarily into a significant power for all Arab states, or that a Pakistani nuclear bomb becomes an "Islamic bomb," is not generally accepted among policymakers. On the contrary, many argued that nuclear weapons, if they are to be built around the region, are going to have a national rather than transnational signature.

Some Arab analysts saw nuclear proliferation in South Asia as a likely source of strategic instability that could cause more states in the region to become nuclear powers. Under these conditions, Iran could be expected to follow suit and develop its own nuclear capability. Israel, which has a significant nuclear arsenal, may take its nuclear weapons arsenal out of the proverbial basement, namely by adopting an overt nuclear strategy with the objective of intimidating the Arab states and imposing its preferred negotiating terms regarding the Arab-Israeli settlement. Thus, according to this line of argument, the main strategic boundaries of the Gulf region were expanded in light of the Asian nuclear tests in 1998.[57]

Accordingly, the temptation on the part of some regional powers in the Middle East to acquire nuclear capability, even if merely a crude one, is already with us. What will determine the outcome of their efforts is not whether the intention to acquire such capability exists, and it may not even be the cost of gaining such capability that determines the spread of nuclear weapons. Rather, it is

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[55] See "India, Pakistan, and Nuclear Explosions," *al-Safir*, June 27, 1998; *al-Ittihad*, July 19, 1998. More interesting is the comment by the Iranian daily newspaper, *Kar-va-Kargar*, which argued that "As one of the pioneering Islamic states, Iran's need for an 'Islamic bomb' is quite clear…. [It is] vital necessity…particularly because of the Zionists regime's proven hostility towards Iran." That newspaper added that "Considering the nuclear capability of India, Pakistan, Khazkhistan, and the Zionist regime, Iran's geopolitical situation merits a revision in this regard." Reuters, June 8, 1998.

[56] Ibrahim A. Karawan, "The Case for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in the Middle East," *Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones*, ed. Ramesh Thakur (London: Macmillan Press, 1998), pp. 184-193.

[57] For similar arguments, see an article by Jamil Mattar, a prominent Egyptian writer and a former diplomat who is quite familiar with the political and strategic realities in South Asia and the Middle East, "The Bomb Has Brought India Back to the Map of the Gulf," *al-Hayat*, May 24, 1998, p. 22. See also by Fawzi Saloukh, "On India, Pakistan, and the Nuclear Explosions," *al-Safir*, May 23, 1998, p. 22.

primarily the ability to develop a nuclear capability on the technological level without being blocked by hostile powers and to get away with that development on the broad strategic level without being subjected to strong international pressures as a result of regional or global opposition. If this analysis is generally accurate, American policymakers need clearly to reflect on its regional significance and how to deal with its wider strategic implications.

Reactions to Israeli Nuclear Monopoly

Among security policymakers and strategic analysts in the Arab world, the notion of a fundamentally military solution to the conflict with Israel has almost withered away. For obvious reasons, the military institutions in what used to be called the "confrontation states" are among the most convinced in the Arab world of the prudence and necessity of avoiding any military confrontation with Israel. In that regard, they have been joined by the economic elites and the ruling elites as well. From time to time those elites and others speak the language of pan-Arabism for the purposes of legitimization, but this is what I have called "low-cost Arabism." State and regime interests still matter a great deal for those in positions of power in Arab capitals.

Despite the increasing trend of Arab caution in dealing with Israel, however, at least some of these Arab states assert that they cannot afford to ignore the dangers to their national security of having Israel as the sole nuclear power in the region. They argue that what is called in the Arab press as the "two hundred bombs in the basement" approach to Israeli security has gone beyond the very outer limits of its strategic utility. It's alleged "constructive ambiguity" was not useful at all in dealing with Iraqi missile attacks against Tel Aviv in January 1991, and it was a nonstarter regarding Israel's protracted conflict with Hezbollah in South Lebanon. Similarly, the existence of the arsenal obviously did not help Israel cope with the Palestinian intifada. It would not be an exaggeration to argue that Israel's nuclear doctrine is neither very constructive nor self-evidently ambiguous.

The Israeli position is straightforward, at least rhetorically: all countries in the region, including Saudi Arabia and the Islamic Republic of Iran, must conclude contractual peace treaties with Israel and establish normal relations with her for at least two years as a major precondition for any consideration of altering Israel's policy on the nuclear issue. This policy stance is widely viewed as a pretext for maintaining near-eternal nuclear monopoly. Even those highly respected Egyptian analysts, such as Abdel Moneim Said and Saad Eddin Ibrahim, who accepted peace with Israel have wondered if this line is an impossible political condition.

One of the most elaborate Arab critiques of the Israeli doctrine came from Egypt, particularly the Egyptian Foreign Ministry. It has been based on the principle of nondiscrimination, which requires the establishment of uniform standards of state behavior and verification requirements. This principle is antithetical to the notions of "exceptionalism" that Israel has utilized to defend its nuclear policy choices.[58] In the Egyptian view, there should not be two sets of standards for

[58] For some of the most developed Egyptian perspectives in that regard, see Mahmoud Karam, *A Nuclear-Weapons-Free Zone in the Middle East* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988); Mohamed Shaker, *Prospects for Establishing a Zone Free of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Middle East* (Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, October 1994); and Ambassador Nabil Fahmy, "Prospects for Arms Control and Proliferation in the Middle East," *Nonproliferation Review* (spring 2001).

what is regionally permissible and what is internationally permissible, or one standard for liberal democracies and another for illiberal democracies and a third for nondemocracies. After all, the only country that used nuclear weapons against the cities and the civilians of its enemy (the United States in World War II) was a country strongly associated with the democratic traditions and notions of Lockean liberalism.

What is not widely appreciated in American debates about this issue is that it is not only the Foreign Ministry in Egypt that has very grave concerns about it; the Egyptian military establishment has similar concerns. The fact that its leaders do not aspire to, or anticipate, a military confrontation with Israel, and the fact that military leaders have a clear and solid understanding of Israel's power, should not lead to the conclusion that they are likely to accept a permanent Israeli monopoly of nuclear weapons in the region. Moreover, the issue of Israel's nuclear monopoly has become important in the domestic political discourse of countries such as Egypt and Jordan, among others. There are many discussions in the Arab world about the risks involved in maintaining the status quo. Obviously, authoritarian regimes have constrained their domestic political debate in a way that favors the status quo. However, should political liberalization take hold in Arab countries, there is a greater likelihood of rejection by wider segments of the Arab public of Israel's nuclear monopoly. As a result, these Arab regimes are likely to feel pressures to adopt stronger positions regarding this matter, refrain from signing treaties banning chemical weapons as long as Israel has a nuclear monopoly, or in few cases be pressured into pursuing nuclear options.

Conclusion

To conclude, dealing effectively with "nuclear temptations" discussed in this brief is not a matter of choosing between regional approaches and global ones. Each of these approaches has its own merits and demerits, and neither one should be treated as a pure and an unchanging formula for preventing nuclear temptations from escalating into nuclear capabilities. In a setting characterized by very sharp and aggravated regional conflicts, expecting highly unequal regional actors involved in such conflicts to easily reach a settlement to their protracted conflicts, including the acquisition of nuclear weapons, can be a form of wishful thinking. Global mechanisms based on equal principles and criteria have to be involved as well. De-escalating and settling the conflicts that could increase such temptations and pursuits is a must. Some balanced yardsticks and an activist role by the United States should be useful, whether the effort under discussion is regional or global. Finally, a degree of learning from the lessons of past failures seems to be indispensable. But can we really learn?

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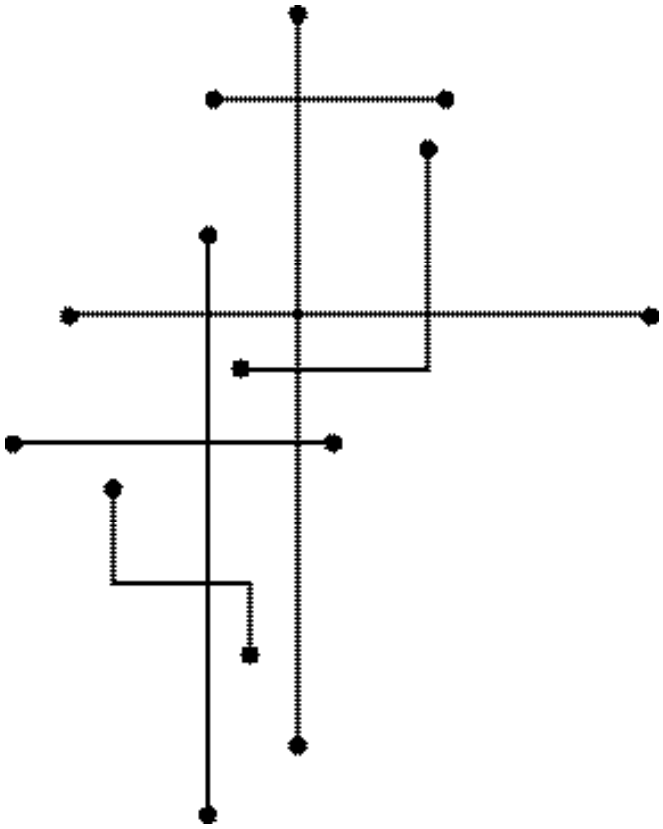

South Asia

After the Attacks: India-Pakistan Relations and US Policy Toward the Subcontinent After September 11
Chair's Report by Lee A. Feinstein, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and The German Marshall Fund of the United States

Enduring Features in the South Asian Neighborhood: Policy Options for the United States After September 11
James C. Clad, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service; Cambridge Energy Research Associates

The South Asia Nuclear Conundrum: US Interests and Choices
Lewis A. Dunn, Science Applications International Corporation

Securing Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons Complex
David Albright, Institute for Science and International Security

Participant List for South Asia Working Group Discussions

After the Attacks: India-Pakistan Relations and US Policy Toward the Subcontinent After September 11

Chair's Report From the South Asia Working Group

By Lee A. Feinstein
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Chair's Findings and Policy Recommendations

- After September 11, the United States found itself in the unaccustomed position of having good relations with India and Pakistan at the same time, maybe the best with both simultaneously in the 54 years since their independence.

- Washington's role in promoting regional stability on the subcontinent has grown, as has the importance of relations between India and Pakistan to American interests.

- Revived US and international engagement with Pakistan offers the possibility of curbing militancy and addressing years of corruption, cronyism, and social and economic decline. To improve the chances for progress, US and international support and assistance to Pakistan must continue beyond the immediate crisis.

- The US-India relationship stands on its own feet. Closer US relations with Pakistan benefit India and vice versa. It remains an open question whether New Delhi will view Pakistan's gain as India's loss or whether New Delhi can learn to accommodate an enduring US-Pakistan relationship.

- The Afghan crisis may magnify the trend in Beijing toward greater pragmatism in its policies toward New Delhi. Beijing is, nonetheless, likely to maintain close but possibly less intimate ties to Islamabad. China's nonproliferation policies toward Islamabad will depend in part on ups and downs in the US-China relationship.

- The United States must play a more active but discrete role in moving India and Pakistan toward a process to address the half-century-old dispute over Kashmir.

- Nuclear restraint on the subcontinent is integral to the global effort to prevent weapons of mass destruction (WMD) from falling into the wrong hands.

- India and Pakistan can be provided certain types of assistance to provide better security for nuclear weapons and infrastructure. This support can be structured in a fashion that does not compromise the fundamental purposes of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

- Accidental or inadvertent nuclear war is an under-scrutinized danger. Dialogue between present or former Indian and Pakistani officials to avert misunderstandings is an urgent priority.

- The United States must continue to pursue nuclear restraint on the subcontinent even as it relies on Pakistani and Indian support in the fight against terrorism. The United States should continue to encourage India and Pakistan to define their announced goal of a credible minimum deterrent at the lowest possible level, to maintain their moratorium on nuclear testing, to announce an end to production of fissile materials, and to cooperate to prevent the export of know-how and materials relating to WMD.

Key Issues Facing the United States in South Asia

The Stanley Foundation's 42nd annual Strategy for Peace Conference, *US Strategies for Regional Security*, convened just six weeks after last September's terror attacks on the United States, but the impact of these attacks on relations between India and Pakistan, and for US relations with both countries, was already coming into focus.

Suddenly, after more than a decade of estrangement from the United States and growing international isolation, Islamabad became Washington's principal Islamic ally in the fight against terror. What would the impact of Pakistan's abrupt abandonment of the Taliban be on the stability of the Pakistani government? Would it increase support for insurgency in Kashmir in compensation? Would the new US-Pakistan relationship be a short-lived tactical realignment, or would Washington remain engaged in Pakistan over the long term?

Meanwhile, Washington's rediscovery of Pakistan tested the strength of America's budding relationship with India. Would Delhi revert to form and view Pakistan's gain as India's loss, or would it instead seek to leverage Washington's influence on its western neighbor to stanch Pakistan's descent into failed statehood and contain the Pakistani connection to militant organizations?

The shifting geopolitical furniture on the subcontinent placed the United States in the unaccustomed position of having good relations with India and Pakistan at the same time, maybe the best relations with both simultaneously in the 54 years since their independence. Like it or not, the US role in promoting regional stability on the subcontinent had now grown, as had the importance to the United States of managing tensions between these newly nuclear rivals.

How would these realignments affect efforts to deny terrorists WMD? Would reaction to the Pakistan-US alliance lead to replacement of the current government by radical Islamists, who would then have control of Pakistan's small but relatively sophisticated nuclear arsenal as well as its fairly extensive nuclear infrastructure? Even if radicals do not come to power, can any Pakistani government prevent the flow of know-how and materials to terrorists and, for that matter, are India's nuclear secrets safe from theft or misuse?

Are the risks of a nuclear confrontation over Kashmir greater now? And can or should the United States pursue nuclear restraint on the subcontinent when it is relying on India and Pakistan for its support for the fight against terror?

US Policymakers Converge

The Stanley Foundation convened 25 of the nation's leading scholars and practitioners to discuss these issues and, to a surprising degree, there was consensus on the challenges facing India and Pakistan, and on the approach the United States needs to pursue to advance its longer-term goals for the region.

Perhaps most surprising was the growing convergence of views between "regionalists" and "functionalists," that is, specialists whose expertise focuses on India and Pakistan on the one hand and those concerned primarily with the consequences of continued nuclear rivalry on the subcontinent on the other. For much of the last quarter century, since India exploded its first nuclear device, American policy toward New Delhi concentrated on reversing and later containing India's development of nuclear weapons and missiles to deliver them. Since the withdrawal of the last Soviet troops from Afghanistan in 1989, Washington has treated Pakistan as something of a boutique item, with priorities shifting from nuclear proliferation to threats to democracy to terrorism.

During this time, regionalists contended that US policy focused too heavily on the nuclear question and other single issues at the expense of important US regional and geostrategic interests. Functionalists viewed the regionalists as overstating the importance of these two nations to America and undervaluing nonproliferation as a core US interest.

In this light, it was surprising to find basic agreement among these leading specialists on the following points.

- The regional and nuclear issues in South Asia were now inextricably linked. US policy has been hampered over the years for an overemphasis on the nuclear issue, which brought limited results in any event.

- Nuclear sanctions, which the United States lifted on both countries within two weeks of the terror attack, had already run their course before the Afghan crisis.

- The most effective nonproliferation measure would be for India and Pakistan, with a discrete assist from Washington, to get serious about a process to address the half-century-old dispute over Kashmir.

Below is an overview of the main issues discussed.

Pakistan: From Pariah to Front-Line State

Pakistan's adroit, if opportunistic, decision to align itself with the United States posed a threat and an opportunity for Pakistan's military ruler and self-appointed president, Pervez Musharraf. The most immediate danger was whether Musharraf could survive expected challenges by radical Islamist elements inside Pakistan, who were supportive and, in many cases, closely linked to the Taliban as well as to Al Qaeda.

As it turned out, Islamic reaction has been milder than many had predicted. In any event, according to James Clad of Cambridge Energy Research Associates, Musharraf could count on a self-interested and highly disciplined army corps to prevent a coup by radicals. Pakistan's "most important buttressing feature," says Clad is "the army [which] continues to have great institutional durability." The army acts out of self-interest, wanting to preserve the perquisites long enjoyed by its leadership.

Many American officials worry about the growing influence of radical Islam, even in the army, a trend worsened, they say, by the cutoff of US military cooperation with Pakistan since 1990 when sanctions barring US assistance were invoked due to Islamabad's advancing nuclear program.

But the alliance with the United States and its emerging role as a guarantor of Pakistan stability also posed an opportunity for Musharraf and his supporters to crack down on radical support for terror organizations opposing Indian control of Kashmir, and Islamist elements within the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) agency, which operates semi-autonomously within Pakistan and maintains very close ties to jihadists operating out of Kashmir. In addition, US and international economic support for Pakistan offers the possibility of addressing years of social and economic decline. Washington and the international community, it was agreed, must not repeat the previous mistake of ending engagement with and support for Pakistan once the immediate regional crisis passes.

It was unclear at this writing, and may not be clear for some time, whether Musharraf or a subsequent Pakistani government, whether elected or not, will move to rein in radical factions or, as India fears, seek to balance rejection of the Taliban with increased aid for or acceptance of insurgency. Last October's attack by militants on a municipal building in Srinnigar, the capital of Indian-controlled Kashmir, and the terror attacks on the Indian Parliament in New Delhi in December tested Pakistan's commitment to opposing terror groups. Musharraf's strong speech in January 2002 opposing terrorism and the rounding up of suspected militants were potential watershed changes in policy.

Pakistan cannot be confident that its partnership with the United States will inoculate it from pressure to crack down on terrorist activities, as the Palestinian Authority learned at the end of 2001. Pakistan, in fact, faced increased pressure from the Bush administration to clamp down on Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Muhammad, which operate openly in Pakistan and advocate violence to drive India out of Kashmir. Pakistan agreed to Washington's request to freeze the bank accounts of Jaish-e-Muhammad, which initially claimed responsibility for the Srinnigar attack, but later recanted. The administration later designated both groups as "foreign terrorist organizations," requiring US banks to block any assets held by the groups and to take other steps to isolate them.

Pakistan's Regional Position

The effects of the Afghan war will likely accelerate shifting power balances in the region, where Pakistan's relative influence was already declining. Apart from more or less nuclear parity, the gap between India and Pakistan, measured by any range of social or economic

indicators, continues to widen. It is hoped post-war international assistance will help to address Pakistan's crisis of governance, rather than exacerbate the cronyism that characterized the tenure both of elected and military leaders.

The transitional government established in Afghanistan will be less friendly to Pakistan than the odious but accommodating Taliban regime. Perhaps most important will be the degree to which Beijing distances itself from Islamabad.

China had already begun to distance itself from Pakistan as Beijing became increasingly concerned about Islamic militancy in western China, and the spillover effect of lawlessness to its southwest regions. In this regard, China and its historical rival India share strategic interests, and Beijing has shown signs of adopting a more pragmatic relationship with Delhi.

Under American pressure, China's assistance to Pakistan's nuclear and missile program has generally ebbed since the high point of the transfer of M-11 missiles in the 1990s. Yet China will probably continue the relationship as a part of a hedge strategy against India, and China's nonproliferation behavior is also rapidly responsive to ups and downs in Sino-US relations. For example, China has yet to address satisfactorily US concerns that Beijing has not lived up to its November 2000 pledge not to assist the Pakistani missile program "in any way." It is also unclear at this time whether the Bush administration will prioritize the nonproliferation issue in the bilateral relationship, or how Washington will address it in the aftermath of the Afghan war.

The End of "Old Think" in South Block?

The week of September 10, 2001, US officials were readying a briefing for congressional staff that the Bush administration was preparing to suspend all nuclear-related sanctions on India, while leaving in place many sanctions that limited US assistance to Pakistan. As it happened, that briefing would be postponed and twelve days later the United States would announce the lifting of sanctions on both India and Pakistan. The equal treatment came as something of a shock for India, and Clad reports that lobbyists for India in Washington actually sought to block sanctions relief for Islamabad at a time when Washington wanted to consolidate its alliance with Pakistan, now a front-line state in the war against terrorism.

The sanctions issue was one of several tests for Indian diplomacy after the terror attacks. Initial Indian reaction at the official level, it was agreed, was disappointing, especially to US administration enthusiasts who promoted the strategic value of closer ties with New Delhi.

India stood to benefit from already shifting balances in the region, which would likely be driven further by the rout of the Taliban. The wisest course for India was to avoid the temptation to press for immediate advantage. In that sense, India found itself in a position similar to Israel's during the 1991 Gulf War. For India, the longer-term benefits included replacement of a hostile regime in Afghanistan with a transition government dominated by Northern Alliance forces it had long supported; more realpolitik by Beijing in its relationship with India, marked by recent meetings between President Jiang and Prime Minister Vajpayee; negotiations toward resolution

of the Chinese-Indian border dispute in Kashmir; and a global focus on terrorism, which held out the possibility of curbing Pakistan's support to anti-Indian militancy.

In addition, the United States was in a position for the first time in a decade to exert influence over Pakistan, which enlightened Indian analysts understood offered the best, if slim, chance for Islamabad to reverse its downward spiral into ungovernability.

Prime Minister Vajpayee and the Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) leadership seem to understand that closer US relations with Pakistan benefit India and, moreover, that the Indo-US relationship now stands on its own feet. But it is still an open question how deeply they have absorbed this fact and, even if they have accepted it, whether the BJP can overcome Cold War attitudes inside the foreign service bureaucracy and whether the hothouse of Indian politics can accommodate Indian acceptance of an enduring US-Pakistan relationship.

Indian diplomats wondered aloud whether Pakistan would now have a "free hand" in Kashmir and opposed the inevitable resumption of a military aid relationship with the United States. Continued terrorist attacks on India, however, gave plausibility to Indian concerns. As they did following the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, fleeing Pakistani fighters might again take up refuge in northern Pakistan or Pakistani-controlled Kashmir to continue their militant activities. At this writing, it was unclear whether India, in response to positive moves from Musharraf, could move back from the brink of war.

Kashmir

As the US administration begins to contemplate subsequent phases of the war against terror, Kashmir interferes more often than India, Pakistan, or the United States would like. Washington has been well aware of the connection of Pakistani-supported militants in Kashmir to Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda. Since the bombings of US embassies in East Africa in 1998, US efforts to enlist the Musharraf government in the hunt for bin Laden overtook proliferation concerns as the major issue in the bilateral relationship.

The Bush administration temporarily set aside these concerns immediately following September 11, but participants agreed that renewed Pakistani support for insurgency could no longer be tolerated after the defeat of the Taliban and rout of Al Qaeda. The US effort to maintain international support for the next phase of the campaign against terror could ill afford rising tensions, no less full-blown war, between India and Pakistan, on top of the crisis between Israel and the Palestinian Authority.

Participants also agreed that gratitude for Pakistan's wartime alliance with the United States would not override US concerns to maintain its credibility in the fight against terrorism. Washington will pressure Musharraf to rein in militants and will offer its assistance to that end.

Meanwhile, Washington will urge India to exercise maximum restraint. In exchange, the United States will publicly condemn terror attacks against India, add extremist groups in

Kashmir to the official US list of terrorist organizations, and undertake greater law enforcement cooperation with Delhi.

But most agreed that Washington needed to make a more assertive effort to move India and Pakistan toward a process that would address the dispute over Kashmir. Some argued for a more public US approach in the hopes of speeding progress. Washington has recently played such a role, including fairly public involvement to end the Kargil conflict in 2000, and Secretary Powell has assumed a much higher profile on these issues.

The key goal for the foreseeable future is to work with both countries to establish a process for addressing the Kashmir dispute. The outlines of what an ultimate Kashmir settlement might look like are less important at this time than establishing the way to get there. Kashmiri representatives would need to be associated with the process for it to be considered legitimate by all interested actors.

A majority of participants believed that behind the scenes, the United States should urge President Musharraf to take steps to diminish violence perpetrated by Pakistani-based groups in Indian Kashmir. Musharraf must come to understand that the new breed of insurgents in Kashmir is very similar to the new breed that came to dominate Afghanistan and, now that Islamabad has joined the US-led fight against terror, these groups are no more Musharraf's friends than they are friends of Washington.

US diplomacy should also send a discreet message to Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee that if there is a discernible reduction in infiltration across the line of control by Pakistani-backed insurgents, India must be prepared to reciprocate in tangible terms. As one example, India could reduce deployed Indian troops in the region and also make a political-level commitment to a process for addressing the Kashmir dispute.

Nuclear Priorities

Al Qaeda's attacks on New York and Washington have injected the policy debates on what to do about proliferation in South Asia with a heavy dose of frightening reality. It was agreed that US policy toward the region must now address three fundamental concerns:

- Preventing WMD from falling into the wrong hands.

- Preventing a nuclear confrontation in South Asia.

- Mitigating negative side effects on countries outside South Asia that have flirted with developing ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons.

Nuclear Security

The issue garnering the most attention initially was whether Pakistani nuclear weapons might fall into the hands of Al Qaeda or other forces sympathetic to its radical Islamic goals through either theft or an overthrow of the government by militants.

In the most basic sense, the security of Pakistani nuclear weapons is a function of the political stability of the Musharraf government, as discussed above. Most of the group agreed that Musharraf would handle the expected challenges to his leadership effectively in the short and medium term, but that Pakistan's crisis of governance was the longer-term threat that needed to be addressed to reduce the risks posed by radical Islam.

Of greater concern may be Musharraf's ability to control the ISI agency, which has operated semi-autonomously. Musharraf has fired its chief, who was in Washington meeting with senior US officials on September 11. Musharraf also has jailed two former senior officials with past responsibility for various aspects of Islamabad's nuclear program, based upon suspected ties to Al Qaeda.

While analysts have bandied about any number of military options for commandeering or destroying nuclear weapons in the event of a radical coup in Pakistan, none of the options, it was agreed, is very promising. Commando units would have little confidence that they had seized all of Pakistan's nuclear weapons. Even if they captured all the weapons, Pakistan's fairly extensive nuclear infrastructure would have to be extensively bombed to have a chance of success. Pakistan's nuclear infrastructure includes stockpiles of nuclear material (both weapons and non-weapons grade), as well as facilities for uranium enrichment and plutonium separation.

It was noted that if Pakistan were ultimately ruled by a radical regime, no military action would be likely to prevent it from acquiring a nuclear capability. The United States would have to learn to live with the consequences of an Islamic bomb, just as it learned reluctantly to live with China's acquisition of the bomb in 1964.

An overlooked issue meriting discussion is the degree to which Indian nuclear weapons or materials might also be vulnerable to theft or diversion. India is a multiethnic society with the world's second-largest Muslim population, and Arab fighters could blend into Indian society. It is unclear whether Delhi has given serious attention to this potential in light of official overconfidence about the security of India's nuclear weapons.

There is a growing consensus on the kind of assistance that the United States could and ought to provide to Pakistan and India to provide better security of their nuclear weapons. Most of this assistance could be provided quickly and in response to short-term needs.

According to Lewis Dunn of the Science Applications International Corporation, these would include:

- Organizational "best practices," including personnel reliability programs, site security, and rapid response teams.

- Tabletop exercises to assist in identifying potential vulnerabilities and requirements.

- The promulgation of "US lessons learned" during the last 50 years to identify likely issues that should be addressed more comprehensively by Pakistan and India.

• Provision of nonsensitive equipment—including monitoring equipment for vaults tracking equipment for nuclear weapons—and communications equipment.

NPT Dilemma: Clean Needles to Drug Addicts

Most agreed that the NPT does not and should not be interpreted to hamper the types of measures described above to promote security of nuclear weapons and materials in the region. The NPT was envisioned to avert nuclear war, so it should not now be used to stand in the way of efforts to do just that, particularly if the information shared is in the public domain.

The NPT obligates nuclear weapon states "not in any way to assist, encourage, or induce any non-nuclear weapons State to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices." While the meaning of this prohibition will be debated by US government lawyers and others, there was general agreement that the NPT affords ample room to provide information of the type described above, particularly if it is already publicly available. Also, the NPT would not be contravened if US-India and US-Pakistan discussions were about procedures and technologies that have a general application rather than a solely nuclear weapons-related purpose. In addition, where there is concern about NPT prohibitions, information could be provided on an unofficial basis without the direct involvement of governments on either side.

In general, Dunn argued that the guiding principle of all US aid and advice should be "Do no harm." This sentiment was given equal emphasis by David Albright of the Institute for Science and International Security, in his written contribution to discussions. According to Albright, Washington should withhold any technologies and components that would allow Pakistan and India to "operationalize" nuclear weapons via deployment on missiles. Forbidden technologies include permissive action links and other safety and security devices intrinsic to advanced US weapons designs. Although it is true that such devices would make Indian and Pakistani weapons safer (less prone to accidental detonation) and more secure (impervious to unauthorized use), these technologies would also have the side effect of increasing either country's ability to deploy their weapons on a regular basis.

Whoops! The Risk of Accidental Nuclear War

Transporting nuclear weapons is a particular concern, and working group members agreed that technology to prevent catastrophic accidents is a priority. In Pakistan, for example, components of its nuclear weapons infrastructure are believed to be located diffusely throughout the country, according to Albright. Fissile cores for nuclear weapons are believed to be stored separately from the warheads, and it is likely they are stored in different vaults. According to Albright, Pakistani nuclear weapons are probably not designed according to US or Soviet safety standards and therefore are probably more vulnerable to accidental detonation.

One of the routes to a nuclear confrontation that was discussed would be an escalating conventional clash between India and Pakistan during which the sides took steps to ready their nuclear forces by mating warheads and moving them into position over the region's very poor roadways. An accidental detonation, for instance, of a Pakistani nuclear weapon could be interpreted by Pakistan as part of an Indian first strike, while India could interpret it as signaling the imminence of Pakistani nuclear use.

To prevent accidental nuclear war, Dunn suggested promoting an unclassified dialogue between retired officials of both sides to think through possible "pathways" to a nuclear crisis. This is especially important in light of continuing tensions over Kashmir. Indian and Pakistani officials publicly deny that the Kargil conflict of 1999 or earlier periods of conflict had a nuclear dimension, despite public reports indicating otherwise.

The Restraint Agenda

With the suspension of nuclear-related sanctions, should the United States continue to promote the nuclear restraint agenda developed by the Clinton administration after the May 1998 tests? The fundamental point stressed by the working group was that the United States must not be tempted to shunt aside the issue of nuclear restraint for fear of offending an important ally in the region or destabilizing its government. Nuclear restraint on the subcontinent is integral to the global effort to prevent WMD from falling into the wrong hands.

More broadly, key decisions are still open in India and Pakistan as to how many and the type of weapons each side plans to build, how they plan to deliver those weapons, what doctrine they will adopt to govern their potential use, whether they would be operationally deployed, and the type of command and control system each chooses to maintain. Another issue discussed was the potential impact on the nuclear dynamic if theater missile defenses were introduced into the region.

Despite having demonstrated an ability to test nuclear weapons, the direction Indian and Pakistani nuclear programs take can still be influenced by the type of relations each has with the United States and others. The suspension of the sanctions and the Afghan crisis may give the United States more leverage now than in the aftermath of the tests.

US nuclear diplomacy, it was suggested, should focus on the following points:

- Encourage India and Pakistan to define their announced goal of possessing a "credible minimum deterrent" at the lowest possible level. The approach should be to make the case why nuclear restraint is in the mutual self-interest of India and Pakistan.

- Promote implementation by India and Pakistan of confidence- and security-building measures envisioned at the Lahore summit meeting in 1999.

- Work with India and Pakistan to prevent the export of knowledge, materials, and expertise relating to WMD. This was a growing problem, even before September 11, for both Pakistan and India.

- Promote cooperation with India and Pakistan on the global problem of proliferation. The dilemma is how to enlist India and Pakistan as partners in nonproliferation without undercutting the basis for cooperation with other nations that have given up the nuclear option. Certain areas of high-tech and other trade could be rewards for good behavior. A guiding principle to be considered is not undercutting existing control regimes, such as the Nuclear Suppliers Group. Enhanced cooperation in the Australia Group, where membership by non-NPT members is permitted, may be a place to start.

- Promote continued adherence to the moratorium on nuclear tests and pursue a moratorium on the production of fissile material, either on a bilateral basis between India and Pakistan or as part of a multilateral halt by, say, the countries that have tested nuclear weapons.

The Broader Nonproliferation Picture

The United States is at a critical juncture in the effort to prevent the proliferation of WMD, and developments on the subcontinent will have a significant impact on the perceptions and decisions of other key states. The concern is to avoid a "cascading effect" where second-tier states feel increasingly exposed by their earlier decision to give up the nuclear option.

For this reason, US nonproliferation policies toward South Asia will be watched closely. The United States must not be perceived as walking away from these concerns but, instead, adjusting its approach to deal with the present situation. In this regard, there was discussion about "red lines" in US cooperation with both countries, including the prohibition on nuclear cooperation with India and Pakistan due to the operation of unsafeguarded reactors in both countries. In this regard, it was noted that the United States maintained close ties with Israel, but not nuclear cooperation, due to Israel's nuclear program, and that US and Indian policymakers might consider this example as their relationship progresses. There was also discussion about the US position toward eventual UN Security Council membership for India and its connection to Delhi's nuclear policies, including whether favoring permanent membership would undercut broader US nonproliferation goals.

Conclusion: A New Role for the United States in South Asia?

In the aftermath of last September's attacks, India and Pakistan found themselves as declared members of the same side in the fight against terrorism. Meanwhile, the United States found itself in the unaccustomed position of having good relations with both countries at the same time. These realignments presented new opportunities for India, Pakistan, and the United States to address longstanding regional and nonproliferation concerns. What will we make of them?

Enduring Features in the South Asian Neighborhood: Policy Options for the United States After September 11

Thought-Piece for the South Asia Working Group

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Summary and Introduction

This paper evaluates the foreign policy objectives of India and Pakistan in contemporary South Asia and examines the resultant implications for US foreign and defense policies toward the region. The paper briefly examines the enduring national interests of India and Pakistan and the effects of these interests on the foreign policy strategies of both countries toward their surrounding area before and after September 11. It then looks at how America's Asia policy has prioritized each country before and after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks—the aftermath of which now defines the thrust of US global and regional diplomacy.

Despite persistent tensions, India and Pakistan manage their rivalry better than alarmist views of nuclear competition often admit. Durability and continuity of national security objectives persist in each country.

The current Afghan-focused crisis poses to each country an opportunity, welcome or not, to influence longer-term American policy directions. Its outcome may yield new leverage for changes in an Indo-Pakistan bilateral agenda defined—but by no means encompassed—by a half-century dispute over the former princely state of Jammu and Kashmir. A post-Taliban Afghan regime points to major changes in Central and South Asia's power balance and possibly a permanent diminution of Pakistan's influence in its neighborhood.

That prospect depends on China. More specifically, it depends on Beijing's willingness to work toward the alteration of the subcontinent's basic power features in ways that may suit China's longer-term objectives. China's classic role has been that of patron for Pakistan, with extensive economic and military aid over the past several decades. Whether or not Pakistan's leadership can continue its increasingly strained efforts to "balance" the much greater economic and military power of India will depend to a large extent on China's bilateral relationship with Pakistan after September 11. China's future focus, in turn, depends on its evolving relationship with India. Will China regard India as a friend, a foe, or something in between? Signs of sharper strategic focus by China and India have emerged in recent border dispute discussions and in planning for India's Prime Minister A. B. Vajpayee's May 2002 visit to Beijing. This does not mean Chinese abandonment of longtime ally Pakistan, however.

South Asia Dynamics Before September 11

The Kashmir Dispute. Kashmir has a "definitional" resonance for both South Asian states. By this I mean that Kashmir remains central to each country's self-identity. Since 1947 the dispute has come to define progressively more of Pakistan's national mission, if only because the rest of Pakistan's purpose has come under increasing question. Without Kashmir, Pakistan's national mission and identity would be based entirely on its evolving status as a bastion of extreme jihad-based Islam.

Pakistan's position (rejecting incorporation into India of the former princely state of Jammu and Kashmir) has remained unchanged since the first Kashmir war in 1948. However, events in Kashmir have not been under the perfect control of Pakistan by any means. When an urban-based indigenous insurgency erupted against India in the Srinagar area in December 1989, it took both Delhi and Islamabad by surprise—whatever subsequent Indian accusations of Pakistan's complicity may say. India's counterinsurgency "successes" in the early 1990s, based on incorrect assumptions about the central role of Pakistan in the intifada, had a double-edged consequence. In comparatively short order, Indian repression identified and eliminated middle-class adherents of the preeminent separatist group, the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF). This left a vacuum in the valley at a time when the Afghan war against the Soviets was winding down. By 1989 Soviet troops were being withdrawn from Afghanistan, leaving intact a fractious Islamist-inspired insurgency, funded during the 1980s by the United States and nurtured by Pakistan. Using Afghan war-hardened veterans, invariably with no ethnic link to Kashmiris and enamored of strict, Saudi-financed Wahhabi or Salafiyah Islam, Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate facilitated Pashtun militants and even Arabs and other coreligionists from farther afield to enter the valley. Thereafter, they applied far more ruthless insurgency tactics than the JKLF had ever envisaged.

Thus the Koranic injunction of jihad, once applied without American objection to the struggle to expel the Russians, found a new target of opportunity: Kashmir. Afghan and Arab infiltrators into Indian-occupied Kashmir belong to a long list of such groups, and a steady progression of these have found their way into the terrorist watch lists published each year by the US State Department. And fleeing Taliban fighters from the 2001 Afghan war may find a new vocation in Kashmir—a prospect the Indians are absolutely determined to prevent.

Pakistan. Seen both from American priorities as well as by any objective standard, Pakistan's steady marginalization since the Cold War has become an inescapable feature of that country's foreign relations. The Afghan war of 2001 marks a temporary reversal of that longer-term trend. Following the Soviets' departure from Afghanistan after 1989, an ensuing power vacuum and an apparent US disinterest in the Afghan outcome enabled Pakistan to supervise after 1996 the installation of a compliant, albeit ideologically unpleasant, regime in Kabul. After September 11, that policy collapsed. General Musharraf's enemies within Pakistan describe the post-September 11 environment as a "strategic debacle," and they are not far wrong.

The period from 1996 to September 11, 2001, gave what Pakistanis often describe as "strategic depth"—a friendly if fanatic regime ruling Afghanistan, enabling Pakistan to devote full

attention to India's mismatched bulk to the east. But "depth" came at a high social and political price. Ongoing failure in Pakistan's state capacity exacerbated the country's position vis-à-vis India in nearly all other respects. Only an overt nuclear capability has given Pakistan a "force equalizer" to prevent the country's defeat and dismemberment in warfare by India.

Short of that, just about every other comparative index vis-à-vis India usually pushes Pakistan well into negative territory. These include economic performance, educational attainment, social capital investment, identification of and investment in competitive trading advantages, perpetuation of feudal attitudes in political life, and grotesque corruption exacerbated by discredited parliamentary governments. All these traits have come to define the Pakistani state.

Adding to this litany are moves that have pounded investor confidence, both within and outside the country in recent years. These include breaches of foreign energy project contracts and badly lagging telecommunication investment. Overall, a sense of comprehensive slippage dominates Pakistan by century's end. Against this backdrop, Pakistan's traditionally able statecraft cannot reverse the trends. Adept in earlier decades at leveraging Pakistan into near parity with India, Islamabad's diplomacy had retracted in the later 1990s into formulaic calls for "multilateralizing" the Kashmir dispute—which the Indians handily reject—and investing in the failed Taliban project. For Pakistan, the most durable foreign relationship has been with the Chinese. Yet in recent years, even Beijing was beginning to have second thoughts about the wisdom of backing Pakistan in a range of issues, from open-ended arms development and arms supplies to diplomatic support for Islamabad's position on Kashmir. Pakistan has repeatedly sought a Chinese endorsement of its version of the Kashmir dispute, including the nature of the low-level conflict and the likely optimal solution for ending that conflict. Beginning in the late 1980s—when Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi visited Beijing—and accelerating during the 1990s, Beijing began to back away from automatic endorsement of Pakistan's irredentist position on Kashmir. When fighting between India and Pakistan erupted in summer 1999 at Kargil—a Himalayan ridge overlooking the Indian-controlled road to Ladakh—Beijing opted for a position of near neutrality.

By any objective standard, therefore, Pakistan had slid very severely down the scale by September 11. New infusions of multilateral money only partly lifted the country's low assessment by the international capital markets. Internally, the picture gives little room for optimism. Few options for legitimate dissent exist. Parliamentary politics stand discredited. Leaders of the largest political parties lack widespread legitimacy.

Provincial-level politics have assumed new levels of mendacity and corruption. Social indices—notably markers such as women's literacy, child mortality, and primary education standards—have continued to fall as fertility remains at over 2.5 percent per annum. This augurs the impending arrival of an increasingly ignorant population of 200 million people in just twenty years' time, a populace devoid of training appropriate to the contemporary age.

While these trends point downward, the Pakistani state's most important buttressing feature often escapes notice. As a central facet of Pakistan's stability, the army continues to have great institutional durability—far more than periodic alarms over the extent of "Islamist" influence

would indicate. Indeed, with the marked deterioration of most other countrywide institutions in recent years, the army stands relatively even higher in cohesion and purpose. This is not a state where maverick colonels seize power. Pakistan's coups have a fated air to them: periodically and collectively, the army corps commanders back a move into front seat power by their highest-ranking officer. But even in times of civilian control, the army retains a huge amount of autonomy, far more than in, say, Thailand or Indonesia. And despite the attraction of Islamist ideas, this chain of command remains reliable.

Beyond that, intra-ethnic divisions within Pakistan do not go so far as to imperil the Punjabi-dominated army's keen sense of self-interest. Deep as the fissures go in Pakistan's society, they stop short of leading the army to abandon its supremely privileged place at the apex of the state. The corps commanders will never countenance a surrender of power, including the keys to Pakistan's assumed 24-28 nuclear weapons, to Islamist groups popular on the street.

Prior to September 11, the gain to Pakistan of its successful sponsorship of the Taliban regime could be counted as net-neutral. After that date, Pakistan displayed adroit (if extreme) realpolitik and decided, on good evidence, that the advantage had turned net-negative. From Afghanistan, an illicit drug trade, arms smuggling, ethnic hatred, and exacerbated religious division had already spilled over into Pakistan, badly corroding the social fabric. After September 11, if Pakistan had continued on its 1990s course, Pakistan would have had to contend with fierce international ostracism and possibly armed attack (should the Islamabad regime have wished to thwart American air power en route to Afghan targets). The opportunist streak in Pakistan's independent history, and in the dynastic history of countless earlier satrapies and kingdoms occupying the same territory, pointed just one way: accommodation with the prevailing wind, at least for the time being.

India. Though a victim to its own excessive expectations, India has seen its global position rising since its senior Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) leadership kept an election manifesto promise to test, and eventually to deploy, nuclear weapons.

Far from marginalizing itself, India's nuclear tests in May 1998 pushed the country into a higher circle of concern right across Asia and the world. American, Japanese, and other countries' sanctions proved ineffectual. Coupled with more assertive diplomacy, India has given China new reason to contemplate a more evenhanded approach to South Asia.

India's prestige rose on the back of the information technology boom in which so many Indian and Indian-American technicians and entrepreneurs figured. As American strategic thinking focused more on the implications in Asia of emerging Chinese power, a rapprochement with India became more compelling. With the nuclear weapons capability *a fait accompli,* and with domestic American opinion divided over the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), moves to refurbish the US-India relationship gathered pace in the last year of the Clinton administration.

The Bush administration's senior foreign policy team includes a large number of people attracted to the prospect of dealing more routinely and across a wider spectrum of issues with India. The deputy secretaries of state and defense are particularly prominent in this regard.

With Pakistan seen increasingly as a problem, India came to be viewed as an opportunity—even though the Vajpayee government has fallen well short of expectations in the economic sphere. India's need to make up for glaring shortfalls in infrastructure—notably roads, telecommunication, and energy—had spawned a rush by foreign investors to tap a seemingly ready market.

On the downside, successive commercial disappointments, notably in energy investment, have had a negative impact on the American business community. Specifically, the promise of a rapidly growing Indian market, one in which the middle class was estimated to reach 100 million people by some overoptimistic accounts, proved far more difficult to penetrate. Capital-intensive projects such as Enron's Dabhol power station fell afoul of Indian federal/state relationships, and patronage-ridden state electricity boards faced bankruptcy and defaulted on commitments.

Even Indian sovereign guarantees backing payment on agreed projects worked to no avail. By mid-2001, Dabhol faced default of agreed power payment terms by the local electricity board. Other investments, such as a gas supply deal by CMS Energy or another power station by AES, collapsed in 2001. India's high public sector deficit crimped financing options and, as global recession spread in early 2001, Western foreign investment began to dry up—in sharp contrast to continuing business optimism about China's prospects.

Meanwhile, Indian attitudes toward launching a new trade round at the World Trade Organization's (WTO) meeting at Doha in November 2001 also deeply disappointed the Bush administration. For example, US Trade Representative Robert Zoellick invested a visit to Delhi in July 2001, but Indian obstruction of a new round alienated a major backing of the Bush administration's tilt to India. Washington still possesses scant understanding of domestic Indian political imperatives which impel Delhi to identify with developing countries' agenda at the WTO; these "push factors" include longstanding protectionist attitudes within Indian industry. And the ruling BJP-coalition's principal rival, the Congress Party, is happy to endorse "Third World" attitudes not least because a crucial state electoral test awaits the BJP in late 2001 in Uttar Pradesh, India's largest state.

Nonetheless, the Indian prime minister himself and his national security adviser, Brajesh Mishra, have taken a direct interest in the broadening of the US relationship. Vajpayee reciprocated a visit to India in March 2000 by President Clinton when he came to Washington in September of that year. Vajpayee, in mid-2001, overrode objections from his foreign ministry to send a message of qualified endorsement of the Bush administration's plans for a national missile defense (NMD) system. He came again to Washington in early November 2001.

If Pakistan's problem lies in its self-inflicted marginalization, India's challenge may be found in the mismatch between its assumed strategic importance to the United States and the fact of its comparatively uninspiring position vis-à-vis China. Consider that China routinely attracts 30 times or more the amount of annual direct foreign investment than does India.

A range of issues still bedevils ties with the United States, from extradition to solving commercial disputes, such as a payment default imperiling Enron's Dabhol power station investment in Maharashtra. India had failed up to September 11 to provide many "deliverables" for the United

States, disappointing the pro-India enthusiasts within the Bush administration who hoped for faster signs of reciprocal attention from India to justify a new strategic relationship.

South Asia Dynamics Post-September 11

India and Pakistan. Immediately after September 11, both India and Pakistan sought to maximize their benefits. Pakistan's leader, General Pervez Musharraf, opted to reverse gears and cooperate with the US-led war against the Taliban regime protecting Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups. As in 1979, Pakistan saw an opportunity to leverage its position vis-à-vis Afghanistan into new largess and strategic significance. A "make-hay-while-the-sun-shines" mentality drove Pakistani requests—and the results were gratifying. New balance of payments support from the international financial institutions and bilateral sources, notably Japan, rewarded Musharraf for his choice. Humanitarian aid, trading concessions, and military sales further compensated Pakistan.

India's moves after September 11 make for an interesting contrast. In particular, India was caught unprepared for General Musharraf's about-face opportunism over the Taliban. Pakistan's willingness to step aside and watch the destruction of its Taliban ally—installed in Afghanistan after years of patient work and overt backing on the battlefield by Pakistani military—showed strategic pragmatism at its best and worst; by contrast, the BJP-led government in India assumed too much about the US commitment to fighting terrorism in all its forms. India automatically identified "terrorism" with Pakistan's support for terrorist-type insurgent activities in Kashmir.

Based on these calculations, India promptly made public but unsolicited offers of onward facilitation of American forces—a move that Washington perceived as imperiling Musharraf's domestic position in Pakistan. A sharp response by Washington toned down some of the enthusiasm, leaving Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh politically exposed in India. In the immediate aftermath of Pakistan's support for the United States, India's lobbyists in Washington sought to block removal of some residual US sanctions on Pakistan. This deeply angered US policymakers at a time when the requirement of the day was placating Pakistani political opinion. Washington wondered if the Indian senior policymakers had lost their sense of the longer-term game, a game in which US strategic attention had already tilted toward India in ways that Delhi had argued for years—including taking into account Indian perspectives on China.

The Political Future of Afghanistan. In the post-September 11 diplomacy circling the Afghan war's outcome, India's principal interest lies in severing future affinity between Pakistan and a compliant regime in Kabul. Indian and Russian support for the Northern Alliance forces resisting the Taliban rested, until September 11, on scant hope. But it shared, with Iran and the Central Asian states, a detestation of the Taliban government reinforced by the ruling BJP's visceral dislike of what it sees as Islamic fundamentalism. Minimally, India seeks an Afghan regime no longer answerable to Islamabad.

For Pakistan, nominal participation in the American-led counterterrorism strategy delivers the preservation of its voice in deliberations after the defeat of the Taliban regime. Minimally, Pakistan must have a nonhostile country to its west. Beyond that, Pakistan may have to settle

for a regime in Kabul that falls well short of the Taliban's recent utility, not least as a facilitator of irregular recruits for the anti-Indian insurgency in Kashmir. In particular, Islamabad will discover that it must now contend with firm views over the future disposition of Afghanistan from Beijing, Pakistan's most reliable friend. Growing more anxious about the vacuum of authority in Afghanistan *and* Pakistan, China has been reassessing its posture toward Central Asia for some time. Eventually this concern may lead to firmer advice for Islamabad about the wisdom of using foreign Islamist ideologues to bleed India in Kashmir. The Chinese now know too well the spillover consequences for this activism in their own domains, especially in vulnerable areas of Chinese Central Asia.

The Shape of Things to Come

Basic Elements. Fast-moving events after November 9 pointed to an impending Afghan successor regime. To achieve lasting acquiescence from an Afghan population brutalized by two decades of often-random war, this must achieve minimum inclusion of all major groups and factions. Fortunately, few students of Afghan history expect anything other than a very limited central authority to "take power," relying instead on the normal degree of high local autonomy prevailing in earlier eras.

The elements are as follows: Traditionally, a father-figure monarch came from the ethnic Pashtun community. Whether or not exiled King Zahir Shah or another member of the former royal family steps into the position matters less than the sense that a supervening and symbolic Afghan identity has stepped into the power vacuum in Kabul.

This has more appeal than an imposed "government of national unity" cobbled together by outsiders. Collective or temporary leadership offers a short-term solution but also a sure recipe for future problems. No matter how well intentioned, imposed regimes lack credibility and pretend at a consensus where none exists. Worst of all, these bogus entities rapidly scope down to just one aim: self-survival.

Beyond the basic rule against imposition (and the portable "transitional" UN model could also fall into this category), any new Afghan government must reflect and be acceptable to Afghan diversity. All during November, as the Taliban positions disintegrated and traditional opportunism re-exerted itself even among previously compliant Pashtun tribal leaders, the political stage saw bargaining tactics worthy of a Mughul court drama, in which contenders for the throne stake out their positions *in extremis*, everyone well aware that all players will have to be content with second best.

Beyond that, a new Afghan regime will have to be minimally acceptable to its neighbors. Iranian diplomacy will have to settle (as it probably could) for a compliant governor and repudiation of anti-Shi'ah policies by Kabul. For Pakistan on the east, the resulting compromise will be very much "second best"—even "third best," although the generals are seasoned opportunists and will bide their time and ceaselessly seek to increase (compliant) Pashtun participation in a new dispensation.

However, the close-in arc of states legitimately concerned with a post-Taliban Afghan outcome only begins with physical contiguity. Beyond Iran and Pakistan we see China, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan also having "policy" borders with Afghanistan.

Yet the true "core" states reach farther afield—to Russia, India, and the United States, front-line players in all but propinquity, though Russia's influence finds leverage (and vice versa) with Delhi's goals. Europe's major states—notably Great Britian, France, and Germany—also have an interest. So does Japan as aid donor and sharer of US strategic views.

Beyond them lie wider support networks in Saudi Arabia and other Gulf States; Saudi irresponsibility in leaving Wahhabi and other networks treat Central Asia and parts of the Islamic *umma'* farther afield as proselytizing playgrounds must end—and this couldn't come at a tougher time for the Saudi royal family.

Who plays the broker? Whether the United States likes it or not, it "owns" the problem. Should recent UN experience in places such as East Timor, Kosovo, or Bosnia determine the operational mode? What about regional Islamic activism—as in multilaterally supervised aid from the Organization of the Islamic Conference or the Islamic Development Bank? The risk is that the pace of events after November 9 has enabled the UN road show to move into the vacuum, a second-best outcome if the process is mismanaged. A strong UN role was enabled by default of US diplomacy as well as by slow-motion gamesmanship by exiled King Zahir Shah.

More to the immediate point, what will India and Pakistan do in the fevered diplomacy over a transitional and longer-term authority in Kabul? If China plays for longer stakes and sees a chance for reorientation of its South and Central Asia policy (as suggested above), Pakistan could find itself with very few options—just as domestic recrimination over the Taliban policy failure reaches high pitch.

If there is any major switch in Taliban roles internally and externally, then the only option lies in sending them to Indian-occupied Kashmir. This option the Indians will fiercely resist, having determined that Pakistan's state failure is now irreversible. This prospect points to potentially greater low-intensity conflict in South Asia—driven, as usual, by the Kashmir dispute.

India, by contrast, sees significant gains from the reversal of fortune in Afghanistan, assuming that Taliban guerilla resistance does not impede Afghan reunification. Together with Russia, India's roots in the Northern Alliance run deep. Its friends rule most of the Central Asian states. Vajpayee knows that China holds the key to a significant permanent diminution of Pakistan's ability to play the spoiler in South Asian affairs. Judging by the prime minister's past strategic sense, we should not be surprised to see India seeking a broader understanding with China to accelerate the process of Beijing's distancing itself from Islamabad, a process that began in the mid-1990s.

US Policy Choices: Strategies for the Short and Long Term

Given this strategic flux, what might US policymakers wish to focus upon in South and Central Asia during the coming weeks and months? The first point is to remember our war aims—and these do *not* include front-row participation in every detail of an Afghan reconstruction and

regeneration. We aim (lest we have forgotten) to dismantle terrorist networks and to target states providing haven for those networks. Even states opting *not* to pursue measures aiming at terrorist network eradication will also incur American wrath. President Bush is very clear about this.

Beyond that, the tired subcontinental agenda between India and Pakistan seems set to obtrude more often than the United States would wish. Despite efforts to convince us otherwise, Delhi's strategic vision remains hostage to the rivalry with Pakistan. India has not, therefore, shown us it really can "think outside the (subcontinental) box." Meanwhile, whoever rules Islamabad will do whatever they can to seek legitimacy via ongoing support for insurgency in Kashmir, an insurgency in which terror has become routine.

This enduring feature carries more problems for US policy than might first appear. Does this require (as Pakistan might hope) active engagement by the United States in the Kashmir problem? More than Islamabad (or Delhi) might realize, the events of September 11 amounted to a new US comprehension and understanding of Pakistan's use of terrorism. Few senior policymakers have any illusion about Islamabad's influence among the most radicalized of Islamist fighters; despite Pakistani patronage, many such fighters could very well turn on the United States in future terrorist acts. The upshot is that, like it or not, the United States must take an interest in Kashmir quite soon—if only because not doing so will enable the Islamist terror cycle to begin anew, and with Pakistani patronage as before.

Given that India will seek to invite American policy to consider a second front against Islamist terror in Kashmir (and one can hardly blame Delhi for this), what options await the United States? To walk away from Kashmir invites continuation of Pakistani support for very disreputable groups and continuation of disreputable lines of credit to them from Saudi and other donors in the Gulf.

The one new point of pressure lies in China's options. As noted above, China has been reassessing its policy toward Pakistan for some time. Its policy of marginalizing US influence in East, South, and Central Asia lies in shambles after September 11. The critical variable will be the degree to which India can enable China to back away from its fulsome embrace of Pakistan. If India seems too opportunistic in pressing home its advantage over Pakistan in the immediate post-Afghan war environment, China will have less room to jettison its residual promises of support for Pakistan. But a longer-term view has some promise—a view in which gradually the Sino-Indian border conflict inches toward settlement, and in which China's perspective on great power politics in Asia is shared with India to some extent (as in its distrust of a too-prominent American role in the region).

Using China constructively in this fashion carries great risks of getting the timing and the pace wrong. The positive outcome could be, however, a world in which Pakistan is finally "put in its place." This has a literal as well as metaphorical sense: Pakistan has resisted subordinate status to India ever since 1947, at increasing cost and, over time, with fewer cards to play. Indian restraint—which comes down to accepting Pakistan's right to exist (no easy task for the BJP leadership, to be sure)—must also come into play. But the prospect of a bigger strategic game with the United States and China holds immense appeal to an Indian

strategic elite tirelessly telling us, for the last 25 years, that their country deserves a bigger place in the sun.

Enlightened post-Afghan war diplomacy for South and Central Asia must amount therefore, to the following:

- Encouraging China to reassess its basic posture of support for Islamabad *with the aim of bolstering Pakistan's basic survival,* coupled with an acceptance of a solution of the Kashmir dispute, probably by a partition of the disputed territory mostly along the line of actual control.

- Toward this end, engaging India and China to work toward this objective by making plain to Delhi that short-term opportunism in the immediate aftermath of the Afghan war will only enable Pakistani efforts to block this game to succeed. The United States must also appeal to Beijing's sense that India must not press home its strategic advantage against Pakistan.

- Working with Iran and Russia to buttress the fragile foundation of a newly neutral Afghanistan by showing restraint—i.e., encouraging Pakistan to accept the Afghan outcome and its "place" in South Asia through avoiding opportunism from the North (too favorable a dispensation for the Uzbeks and Tajiks) as well as from the West.

Conclusion

The strange outcome of the post-September 11 US war effort may lie in an unexpected chance to get down to fundamentals over Kashmir. The chance thus offered has not been evident since the early 1960s when, in the aftermath of the Sino-Indian war but before the misadventure in Vietnam, the United States put in its last serious attempt to bring Pakistan and India to accept what was then second best for each over Kashmir. This time, Pakistan will have fewer cards to play.

The South Asian Nuclear Conundrum: US Interests and Choices

Thought-Piece for the South Asia Working Group

By Lewis A. Dunn
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Introduction

The September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon—and the start of what could well be a prolonged campaign to root out Al Qaeda, the wider Osama bin Laden terrorist network, and their supporters—have created yet another turning point in US relations with South Asia. Even prior to those attacks, the Bush administration was changing the US stance toward India. All signs pointed to a full lifting of the economic sanctions imposed after the May 1998 nuclear tests, increased technology exchange, and renewed actions to establish a longer-term strategic relationship with India. Such changes are now being pursued with greater vigor and can be expected to meet considerably less political opposition within the United States. Indeed, the "Glenn Amendment" sanctions that were levied in response to Indian nuclear tests in May 1998 have been fully lifted.

Similarly, prior to the attacks, plans were underway to lift the nuclear-related sanctions on Pakistan. The attacks have accelerated this process and led to a more extensive transformation of US political, economic, military, and other relations with Pakistan. As part of US efforts to gain and sustain Islamabad's support for a prolonged campaign against Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda organization, President Bush has waived the full array of nuclear nonproliferation sanctions and also the sanctions imposed after military ruler Pervez Musharraf's coup to take over the government of Pakistan in 1999. Missile proliferation-related sanctions are still in place and are expected to remain unaltered. Otherwise, the United States is making a major effort to stabilize Pakistan's domestic and international security situation through concerted economic, diplomatic, and military aid.

Prepared as background for the Stanley Foundation's 42nd Strategy for Peace Conference, this paper focuses on the nuclear dimension of the US relationship with South Asia. As already noted, the Bush administration has made one key choice: lifting sanctions. In the months and years ahead, it will confront still other choices. Among the choices on the nuclear agenda are:

- Whether, and if so how, to seek to buttress security over nuclear weapons and nuclear materials in Pakistan and India.

- To what extent, and in what manner, the United States should emphasize the need for nuclear restraint in dealings with both countries.

- How to lessen the risk of a nuclear conflict in South Asia and what steps the United States should be prepared to take "on the brink."

- What next after waiving sanctions—in granting both countries access to technology, economic assistance, and military cooperation.

- How to keep the global nonproliferation coalition from "losing faith and losing heart."

- What, if anything, to do about Pakistani nuclear weapons if radical Islamic forces are on the brink of gaining power in that country.

Enhancing Security and Control Over Nuclear Weapons and Materials[59]

There is a clear US interest in effective security and control of nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons materials in Pakistan and India.[60] This was so even before the attack on the United States by Al Qaeda. A security breakdown or loss of control by Pakistan or India over their nuclear weapons was, and remains, one potential trigger of a wider nuclear confrontation between India and Pakistan.

However, the post-September 11 security environment has clearly made the issue of Indian and Pakistani control of nuclear infrastructure, materials, and weapons more salient than ever. Pre-September 11 debates focused almost exclusively on how Pakistan and India would handle their small nuclear arsenals during a crisis situation that mandated full or partial nuclear deployments. In contrast, the new debate encompasses the need for tight security over fissile material stocks as well as assembled and unassembled weapons in both countries. Nuclear weapons and stockpiles of fissile materials in both Pakistan and India comprise a possibly enticing target for Al Qaeda. Possession of even a single bomb could be seen as a valuable political force multiplier—a means to shape US actions, influence wavering US supporters, and further claim legitimacy in some Muslim quarters. September 11 demonstrates as well that there would be no compunction against using a stolen nuclear weapon to kill innocent civilians.

Setting aside for the moment its acceptability to Washington, Islamabad, or Delhi, at least in principle a variety of assistance could be offered and provided officially, semiofficially, or unofficially to help enhance security and control over the new nuclear arsenals in both countries.[61] Such assistance might range across a spectrum from "software" to "hardware," from greater to less sensitivity in terms of direct entanglement in either country's nuclear weapons posture. Specifically:

- Transfer of US organizational best practices; e.g., procedures related to personnel reliability programs, the storage and transport of nuclear weapons, access restrictions, overall site

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[59] After gaining support for the campaign against Al Qaeda, enhanced security and control over nuclear weapons and materials in Pakistan and India may well be the top priority among post-September 11 US regional interests. For that reason, and given the complex choices raised, this paper devotes somewhat greater attention to this matter.

[60] If news reports are accurate, US officials may already understand and be thinking about how to pursue this interest. See Douglas Frantz, "US and Pakistan Discuss Nuclear Security," *The New York Times*, October 1, 2001.

[61] For an earlier discussion of these issues, see Lewis A. Dunn, "Containing Nuclear Proliferation," The International Institute for Strategic Studies, Adelphi Paper # 263, winter 1991.

security, and response procedures to thwart an attempted nuclear security incident while in progress or to recover a stolen weapon.

- Tabletop exercises, making use of an "illustrative" nuclear weapons storage site and designed to assist both countries to move ahead on their own to identify potential vulnerabilities and requirements as well as to develop and implement appropriate fixes.

- Transfer of lessons learned, surprises, and unexpected security- and control-related problems, and just plain "whoopses" from the early years of the US nuclear weapons program—in effect, identifying questions and issues that both Pakistan and India should address on their own.

- Discussion of the types of steps that might be implemented to make a nuclear weapon unusable were it to be subject to an attempted or successful theft but stopping short of direct support to implementation of the principles at work.

- Provision of "generic" nonsensitive, dual-use technology and equipment that would enhance nuclear security and control at storage sites (and which could be used in effect to enhance security over any highly valuable assets; e.g., monitoring equipment for nuclear weapon and material vaults, tracking equipment for nuclear warheads, and communications equipment).

- Provision of nuclear weapon design not directly related to technologies and equipment for the secure transport of nuclear weapons and materials; e.g., related to shipping containers, vehicles, communications, and other protective measures.

- Transfer of permissive action link and other control technologies to guard against unauthorized access or use of a nuclear weapon.

Constraints on New US Policies to Secure Nuclear Weapons and Materials

In practice, crafting of any package of nuclear security assistance will need to reflect at least three constraints: US obligations under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), possible acceptability issues in both Pakistan and India, and the US interest in nuclear restraint. It also would need to take into account the possibility that were such assistance to fall into the wrong hands, it could provide useful information to individuals seeking to gain unauthorized access to nuclear materials or weapons. Consider each very briefly:

US Obligations Under the NPT Regime

Article I of the NPT obliges the United States and the other nuclear weapon states "...not in any way to assist, encourage, or induce any non-nuclear weapon State to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices…" What this means will clearly be subject to legal analysis and debate within the US government—and for that matter, in other governments. A number of questions stand out. Since Pakistan and India have already acquired nuclear weapons, would assistance in helping to ensure safety and security not be banned? Or would such assistance have the effect of encouraging both Islamabad and Delhi to manufacture

additional nuclear weapons by easing their concerns about loss of control? What difference would it make if any such assistance were provided by outside organizations rather than the government? How important would it be if such assistance covered only openly available information and not classified data?

These are important questions and US NPT obligations are not a trivial concern. The United States was one of the moving forces behind the creation of the NPT and has been a leader over the years in supporting that treaty. Despite its limitations, a strong NPT remains an important element of overall global efforts to contain future proliferation. More broadly, the United States also has a strong interest in the global rule of law. For all of these reasons, it will be important to avoid another repeat of the 1980s debate over the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty in which US officials put forward—and ultimately had to withdraw—a questionable interpretation of that treaty's limits.

However, a legally sustainable case probably can be made that some types of assistance do fall outside the purview of the NPT's ban on assistance. It is no longer a question of assisting, encouraging, or inducing either country to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons. Perhaps more important, a great deal may depend ultimately on the "what" and the "how" of any such assistance. Suffice it to suggest that there likely is room under the NPT's obligations at least for provision of unclassified, publicly available knowledge related to nuclear security and control—particularly if it is not provided on an official basis by the US government.

Political and Military Constraints on South Asian Acceptance of US Assistance

The acceptability of US assistance to either Pakistan or India likely will raise other issues and again set limits on what can be done. Though Pakistan's foreign minister, as well as some other civilian and military officials, have raised the issue of assistance for security and control, there certainly will be limits on what types of activities that country would welcome. In particular, Pakistan's military and technical establishment can be expected to be reluctant to reveal information about nuclear weapons designs, detailed security and storage procedures and locations, and other detailed nuclear posture information. For its part, even if such assistance were offered to Delhi, it could well simply refuse to accept it. Pride, a belief that it has matters well enough in hand, concern about loss of sensitive information, and reluctance to get the military more involved in the nuclear weapons arena all could lead to that refusal.

The Long-Term US Interest: Encouraging Nuclear Restraint

There also are US interests in both encouraging nuclear restraint and in lessening the risk of a nuclear conflict in South Asia. To some degree, whatever actions the United States takes to assist Islamabad and Delhi in making nuclear weapons and materials more secure will increase the relative "nuclear comfort level" in either country. As a result, there could be greater readiness to expand their nuclear arsenals or to deploy available weapons in time of crisis. Moreover, even if both countries accept some assistance, suspicions that the other side really was benefiting more could itself create pressures for arms racing. To be weighed against these concerns is the likelihood that one possible trigger to a nuclear clash between these two countries could be a breakdown of nuclear security and control in a conventional conflict. Further, should leaders in Delhi and Islamabad believe that their countries' security

demanded nuclear deployments in the midst of a future crisis, concerns about security and control would not prevent that action.

"Leakage" of US Nuclear Advice?

To some degree, there also could be a risk that information about nuclear security and control procedures could be compromised. Knowledge of such procedures could make it easier for either Al Qaeda sympathizers or, in the case of Pakistan, internal forces to defeat security systems. At the same time, the very purpose of some of the types of assistance that could be provided; e.g., on personnel reliability programs, would help to weed out such threats. Besides, this threat may already exist and would not be made worse, but could be reduced by some types of assistance.

Finding the Right Policy Balance

What balance should be struck among these considerations? Given the dangers that access to nuclear weapons by Al Qaeda would directly pose to the security of the United States as well as that of many other countries, steps need to be taken to offer assistance to both Pakistan and India in ensuring the security and control of their nuclear weapons and materials.[62] In so doing, however, two possible rules of thumb stand out in light of the preceding constraints. To the extent possible, first, US assistance should be focused more on "software" than on "hardware" and more on securing the front end of the nuclear weapons production-to-storage-to-deployment cycle; second, the means of providing such assistance should entail greater reliance on knowledgeable retired officials and retired military personnel than on official government-to-government or laboratory-to-laboratory activities.

Encouraging Nuclear Restraint in South Asia

Both India and Pakistan have become nuclear "powers," at least in the sense of being publicly reported to have some nuclear weapons and to be able to deploy them militarily on short notice. For the foreseeable future, moreover, leaders in both countries will continue to believe that nuclear weapons are essential to their security—and in India's case, its claim to global status and prestige. The United States cannot turn back this nuclear clock in South Asia.

Nonetheless, both countries' nuclear weapons capabilities still are limited in terms of size, scope, sophistication, and integration into military planning and activities. There is, moreover, considerable uncertainty and internal assessments in both Delhi and Islamabad concerning nuclear next steps—how many weapons to produce, whether advanced later-generation nuclear weapons are essential, what sort of delivery means to pursue, what doctrine to adopt, how far to go toward day-to-day nuclear deployments and operations, what provisions for command and control, and the many other choices that come with possession of nuclear weaponry. Moreover, after the first flush of pride and success after the tests, there also are signs of recognition that they are riding a nuclear tiger. So viewed, it may yet be possible to encourage nuclear restraint. For the United States, this would somewhat dampen any proliferation chain effect, buttress the

[62] This concern also reinforces the importance of continued strong funding and political support for those elements of the Cooperative Threat Reduction and Material Protection Control and Accounting programs aimed at reducing the risk of diversion of nuclear materials or weapons from Russia.

wider nonproliferation regime, strengthen global and regional stability, and be consistent with broader US interests in avoiding another use of nuclear weapons.[63]

Nonetheless, with priority placed on sustaining support from Islamabad and Delhi for the campaign against Al Qaeda, the Bush administration may be tempted to shunt the issue of nuclear restraint to the sidelines rather than to raise a potentially divisive matter. This would be a mistake. Within both countries' leaderships, as noted, the question of future nuclear weapons posture and requirements remains open—and potentially subject to outside influence. Moreover, given the preceding discussion, smaller, nondeployed Pakistani and Indian nuclear forces would be easier to protect against unauthorized access or theft. Further, nuclear restraint would help to lessen the potential adverse nonproliferation spillovers beyond the region.

Therefore, Bush administration officials should keep the issue of nuclear restraint by India and Pakistan on the overall US agenda with both countries. As a start, US officials should continue to make the case for why restraint is in the self-interest of both India and Pakistan. This would be consistent with both countries' claim to be seeking only a minimum deterrent capability. As for specifics, both countries could be encouraged to continue their post-1998 nuclear testing moratorium and to reaffirm it. In turn, US officials could urge both countries not to deploy nuclear weapons in the field; to stop short of integrating nuclear weapons into day-to-day military planning by creating a dedicated "strategic nuclear organization";[64] not to engage in public and provocative nuclear exercises, training, or other steps; and continue to explore jointly other steps such as limits on the production of nuclear weapons materials.

Perhaps equally important, continued semi-official and nonofficial actions to encourage nuclear restraint might be supported. A number of former cabinet-level US officials have already visited both Delhi and Islamabad to describe some of the difficulties that lie ahead for both countries as nuclear weapon possessors. These types of visits should be continued and supported by the Bush administration. Lower-level Track 1 1/2 discussions involving a mix of serving officials; senior retired officials and military personnel; and experts from the United States, India, and Pakistan also warrant continuation. In both instances, these contacts could suggest various restraint steps, but in the final analysis would leave officials in Delhi and Islamabad to draw their own conclusions about what nuclear risks they choose to accept.

Lessening the Risk of Nuclear Confrontation in South Asia

Though Indian and Pakistani "insiders" are less inclined today than in 1998-1999 to adopt an "I'm all right, Jack" approach toward their new nuclear status, both Indians and Pakistanis still publicly deny that the 1999 Kargil clash—or earlier crises in 1987 and 1990—had a nuclear dimension. By contrast, "outsiders" are more inclined to speculate that nuclear readiness was increased on both sides of the border during the Kargil crisis. Both US officials and outside experts also believe that

[63] For its part, the Clinton administration made a major effort to convince both countries to exercise nuclear restraint. In so doing, it set out a series of possible "benchmarks" that could lead to lifting sanctions and improved relations. These included no testing of nuclear weapons, signature of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, limits on production of fissile material, export controls, and no deployments of nuclear weapons.

[64] The model to avoid would be US creation of the Strategic Air Command in the late 1940s.

the risk is too high for comfort that a future clash in Kashmir could escalate first to a limited conventional war and then to a nuclear confrontation (if not outright conflict). On this latter point, at least some, but not all, insiders in both Delhi and Islamabad appear to be coming to a comparable conclusion. Even limited use of nuclear weapons, however, could result in major loss of life in both countries if not the virtual destruction of Pakistan as a state. It also would shatter the five-decade nuclear taboo with unforeseeable ramifications for further proliferation and use of nuclear weapons.

The primary burden for holding in check the risk of nuclear confrontation or conflict in South Asia necessarily rests with the leaders in both countries. For its part, the United States (and other countries) can and should take a number of actions to reinforce and support that national responsibility. As a start, for instance, both Delhi and Islamabad could be urged to begin a process of dialogue on nuclear risk-reduction measures. Such a dialogue was envisaged by the Lahore Declaration, but was then put on hold after the Kargil crisis.

Realistically, however, neither country may now be prepared to take this step. At most, it may be possible to extend and transform ongoing Track 1 1/2 exchanges into a more regular and institutionalized process of nuclear dialogue. In either case, the very process of a continuing dialogue on nuclear risk reduction may well be as important as specific topics covered or agreements reached. US support could include a readiness to offer official or semi-official inputs on specific topics, including, as above, lessons learned and questions to address.

Regarding agenda, an official or semi-official dialogue could usefully begin with exchanges on what each side means by such oft-used concepts as minimum deterrence, stability, nuclear weapons deployment, and others. These concepts appear variously interpreted between the two countries. Possible pathways to nuclear use—deliberate, unintended, nonauthorized, and hybrids of each—could also be considered, along with ways to avoid them. In turn, the agenda could cover possible measures to reduce the likelihood of the types of physical, human, or organizational accidents that could trigger a nuclear confrontation or conflict. Further topics for an extended dialogue could include how to enhance nuclear decision making as well as avoid escalation in crisis or conflict. Possible restraint regimes to stabilize deterrence would be another suitable topic for discussion.[65]

Aside from encouraging discussions between Delhi and Islamabad on nuclear risk reduction, what other actions might be pursued by the Bush administration? The types of measures discussed above to enhance nuclear weapons security and control would also contribute to lessening the risk of a nuclear conflict. Perhaps even more so, measures to lessen the danger of nuclear weapons-related accidents could pay off here. This is especially so since one of the more plausible routes to a nuclear confrontation would entail a mix of an escalating low-level conventional clash, steps to enhance nuclear readiness and nuclear deployments, and a resulting nuclear weapons accident that could be misinterpreted—by both sides.[66]

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[65] This dialogue might be extended to include "gaming" both possible pathways to nuclear conflict as well as actions that might be taken by India and Pakistan, separately or jointly, to avoid those pathways.

[66] An accidental detonation, for instance, of a Pakistani nuclear weapon could be interpreted by Pakistan as part of an Indian first strike, while India could interpret it as signaling the imminence of Pakistani nuclear use—or the converse in the event of an accident on Indian territory.

Again, as above, a spectrum of steps from "software" to "hardware," from official to nonofficial involvement can be identified as potential means to lessen the risk of a nuclear accident. The same considerations regarding NPT obligations, acceptability to Pakistan and India, and implications for overall nuclear restraint also would apply in balancing the interests at stake and crafting a US approach.

Addressing the Roots of Conflict

None of the preceding actions would address the underlying problem of low-level violence in Kashmir. As long as that violence persists, it will continue to provide the most likely trigger to a widening clash between Delhi and Islamabad, conventional conflict, and ensuing escalation to the nuclear brink. The difficulties confronting any outside attempt to mediate a resolution of the Kashmir conflict are well known and have made American officials reluctant to become too deeply engaged. That assessment seems unlikely to change.

Nonetheless, US diplomacy needs to explore what steps may be possible to neutralize the Kashmir conflict for now. This may well include convincing the Pakistani leadership that now is not the time to step up its support for Kashmiri jihadis. (Pakistan's support for the United States and the internal violence that has resulted could make it more difficult or politically costly for President Musharraf, however, to control Pakistani-supported jihadis inside Kashmir.)

Should violence in Kashmir bring India and Pakistan to the nuclear brink, however, US officials—with the support of other outsiders—would need to be prepared to use political capital to restrain both countries. As has occurred in previous crises, US good offices and intelligence also could be used to avoid misinterpretations by either side of the other's activities and intentions.

What Next After Lifting Sanctions?

As the decision of the Bush administration to provide an initial $50 million in economic assistance to Pakistan indicates, the lifting of economic sanctions is likely the first, not the last, step in redefining the broader economic, technological, and military relationship between the United States and Pakistan. In turn, the administration is moving as well to resume earlier US efforts to forge a new strategic relationship with India. As this process proceeds, many questions will need to be addressed, such as:

- How much access to provide either country to US nonmilitary high technology.
- What sort of limits to continue on military technology exports and sales.
- How much additional economic assistance to Pakistan.
- How to respond to possible renewed Indian interest in technical cooperation in the nuclear safety field.
- Whether to seek to restore military education assistance to Pakistan.
- What sort of overall military-to-military contacts to permit.

In thinking about "what next" after lifting sanctions, the importance of solidifying support in both Islamabad and Delhi for a successful long-term campaign against Al Qaeda provides a compelling argument to lean toward greater cooperation and engagement. The US stake in avoiding spiraling internal instability in Pakistan, if not its collapse as a failed state, reinforces that interest. Similarly, enhanced economic and technological dealings with India would be consistent with underlying US interests in greater strategic cooperation with that country.

Nonetheless, there are several countervailing considerations. First, US actions that were widely seen to be inconsistent with existing international export controls; e.g., the Nuclear Suppliers Group Guidelines, would undercut an overall regime that the United States played a key part in creating. Second, US easing of economic and high-technology controls may be seized upon by officials in some other nuclear-supplier states to justify their dealings with countries of proliferation concern. This could make it even harder to slow proliferation programs in Iran, Iraq, and elsewhere. Third, for some countries, a perceived US readiness to come to terms with the nuclear weapons status of Pakistan and India could weaken their own national commitments to nonnuclear status. Indeed, since the May 1998 nuclear tests, Japanese officials in semipublic meetings, for instance, have been uncharacteristically blunt in stating that Japan's decision to adhere to the NPT presupposed that no additional countries would join the nuclear club.

In balancing these considerations, certain limits suggest themselves. In effect, the test would be one of "how would we react if China did it?" In turn, the United States should avoid policy actions that would facilitate more extensive nuclear deployments, including possible deployments geared toward nuclear first-strikes. The principle here would be "do no harm." But this may be subject to differing interpretations in practice. For instance, technology transfers that assisted India to develop more effective space reconnaissance capabilities could provide needed assurance that Pakistan was not moving toward a decapitating first strike in a future crisis—or it could provide valuable targeting data.

Avoiding Nonproliferation Demoralization

Support for global nonproliferation norms, institutions, and procedures has long been a US interest. Demonstrating that support, more than a belief that sanctions would result in a rollback of Indian and Pakistani nuclear advancement, provided a rationale for imposing sanctions after the 1998 nuclear tests. Though the time for sanctions has passed, how the United States proceeds in its dealings with both Delhi and Islamabad still can have an important impact on overall global nonproliferation efforts.

Particularly prior to the September 11 attacks, many countries would have viewed the lifting of sanctions and a process of economic, military, and technological re-engagement with Pakistan and India as "coming to terms with proliferation." One result could well have been a loss of heart—nonproliferation demoralization—among some strong nonproliferation supporters. Other countries' leaders could have questioned how much to pay in terms of national self-restraint to support specific nonproliferation objectives or to implement particular nonproliferation commitments. The perception that nonproliferation still matters and that a world of dozens of nuclear powers is avoidable could have been eroded.

It is more difficult to gauge after September 11 how this overall set of US policy changes will be viewed and what impact it will have on both broader and more country-specific attitudes on nonproliferation questions. In some, if not many, capitals, US reengagement and even steps to provide assistance on nuclear security may well be viewed as a necessary, if not fully satisfactory, adaptation to the "needs of war." Among traditional nongovernmental nonproliferation organizations, by contrast, it is likely to be considerably more subject to criticism than support. How the United States explains these coming shifts—and how the governments of India and Pakistan act in the months ahead—may be especially important to containing possible broader erosion of nonproliferation morale and support.

Publicly, US officials could make clear that the United States, India, and Pakistan have basically "agreed to disagree" on nuclear issues. This public posture would include statements to the effect that nuclear restraint is in both India's and Pakistan's political, security, and economic interests. More practically, this would mean continued US opposition to India's becoming a permanent member of the UN Security Council. In turn, US officials should quietly but clearly point out to officials in both Pakistan and India that greater cooperation would be facilitated by some action or statement indicating their own commitment to nuclear restraint. In that regard, one possibility would be for them to announce the start of mid-level talks to implement the nuclear restraint provisions of the Lahore Declaration. At the least, they should avoid any "major hiccups"; e.g., new nuclear tests, highly publicized deployments, or ratcheting upward of existing nuclear capabilities or posture.

What if a Radical Islamic Regime Takes Power in Pakistan?

Like so many dimensions of the South Asian nuclear conundrum, the possibility that more radical Islamic forces could take power in Islamabad existed prior to the September 11 attacks. There were different judgments concerning the likelihood of that development.

In the new environment, that risk appears at first glance to be greater. President Musharraf's decision to provide support to the United States has already been condemned by opposition groups and met with public demonstrations. In the event of a prolonged conflict between US military forces and both Al Qaeda and the Taliban, public violence, unrest among the military, and widening instability could pose a growing threat to the regime. Here, too, how much of a threat is a matter of differing judgment—though few, if any, experts appear prepared to discount it altogether.

Different scenarios are conceivable for how Pakistan's nuclear weapons could figure in a situation of growing internal instability. Those weapons could become a prize to be seized, whether as a source of internal bargaining power for internal opposition groups or of legitimacy for coup makers.[67] Clashes between security forces and hostile groups at nuclear storage sites might result in the release of nuclear material or even conceivably a partial nuclear detonation. (The

[67] There are two precedents for nuclear weapons becoming a consideration in internal violence: first, during the 1961 "Revolt of the Generals" in Algiers, French forces on short notice tested a nuclear device present at their test site to ensure that it would not fall into the control of coup makers; second, during the Cultural Revolution in 1966, there was concern about the security of nuclear devices at China's test site in Sinkiang.

latter would depend in large part on the technical characteristics of Pakistan's nuclear weapons, their storage and assembly status, and what protective measures might already exist.) Should the Musharraf government be toppled, Pakistani nuclear weapons would come under the control of the new regime.

Assuming that the Musharraf government remains in power, the types of US safety and security assistance discussed earlier would be one step that might be taken to lessen these internal risks. Were a specific threat to arise, more direct actions—again in support of the existing government—might be warranted. For instance, emergency military support could be provided to disrupt or defeat attempted seizure of nuclear weapons or materials by internal opponents. Comparable support could be provided to recover stolen weapons or materials. If available, intelligence on imminent threats could be exchanged.

In the event that a takeover of power by more radical Islamic elements appeared imminent, very different issues and options would arise—for the United States, for India, but also for other countries. At least in theory, direct military action could be on the table as an option to block access to nuclear weapons or materials by a radical successor government.[68] But many questions would need to be addressed: military feasibility, potential risks of loss of life among innocent civilians, risks of wider conflict, and regional as well as global consequences. Just as both the United States and the former Soviet Union ultimately had little realistic choice in the 1960s but to come to terms with China as a nuclear power, much the same could be the case for a radical Islamic Pakistani successor regime.[69] If so, this serves to underline the importance of a more comprehensive US political, economic, technological, and social engagement with more moderate elements in Pakistan to avoid that outcome in the first place.

Conclusion

Though all but certain to be overshadowed by the demands of war, there are important nuclear choices still to be made in South Asia. In some instances these choices bear directly on foreclosing potential options open to America's terrorist enemies; e.g., regarding nuclear security and control. In other cases, these choices bear directly on the type of regional and global environment that will exist after this war is won; e.g., regarding actions to enhance the prospects for nuclear restraint and lessen the risk of nuclear conflict as well as to contain adverse nonproliferation spillovers. For both reasons, nuclear issues need to be an essential part of an overall post-September 11 strategy for dealing with South Asia.

[68] As South Vietnam collapsed militarily in 1975, the United States removed highly enriched nuclear fuel stored at the Dalat nuclear research reactor.

[69] In both countries, at different times in the 1960s, preventive, or then preemptive, military action was debated.

Securing Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons Complex

Thought-Piece for the South Asia Working Group

By David Albright[70]
President and Founder, Institute for Science and International Security

Introduction

During times of relative political and social normalcy, the security of Pakistan's nuclear arsenal is probably adequate and could be expected to improve consistent with other nuclear programs worldwide. However, fallout from Pakistan's decision to cooperate with the United States following the September 11 terrorist attacks may severely test Pakistan's security system throughout its nuclear weapons complex. Instability in Pakistan could make its nuclear weapons and stocks of nuclear explosive material dangerously vulnerable to theft. If domestic instability leads to the downfall of the current Pakistani government, nuclear weapons and the means to produce them could fall into the hands of a government hostile to the United States and its allies.

The precise threat to Pakistan's stability or its nuclear weapons complex is difficult to judge. Pakistan's Foreign Ministry says that "our [nuclear] assets are 100 percent secure, under multiple custody."[71] President General Pervez Musharraf said "there is no question of [Pakistan's nuclear assets] falling into the hands of any fundamentalists."[72] However, these statements are untested and spark skepticism, particularly in the changed security environment following September 11.

Pakistan is believed to maintain tight control over its nuclear assets, and it may have instituted special steps to deal with the current situation. Nonetheless, the US government and the international community should work to improve security over Pakistan's nuclear assets, both in the short and long term.

The war on terrorism is expected to be long and drawn out. The Pakistani military and intelligence services may retain strong ties to Taliban officials in Afghanistan. Like the Pakistani population, many among the Pakistani military or the nuclear establishment could be sympathetic to fundamentalist causes or hostile to the United States. These sympathies could grow, depending on the course of the war in Afghanistan or elsewhere. Such insider threats could pose one of the most vexing problems in the current crisis.

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[70] A shorter, less comprehensive discussion of principles to provide assistance to Pakistan to secure its nuclear weapons and fissile materials is presented in David Albright, Kevin O 'Neill, and Corey Hinderstein, "Securing Pakistan's Nuclear Arsenal: Principles for Assistance," ISIS Issue Brief, October 4, 2001.

[71] "Pakistani Nuclear Assets are Safe: Spokesman Says," Kyodo News Service, October 2, 2001.

[72] Interview on *Larry King Live*, CNN, October 22, 2001. Transcript available at *www.cnn.com*.

But even before the current crisis, Pakistan likely would have benefited from improved physical protection of its military and civilian nuclear facilities. According to a former Clinton administration Department of Energy official, before September 11 Pakistan had requested some kind of assistance to improve its physical security capabilities.[73]

In addition, significant security lapses and weaknesses have occurred in many nuclear weapons programs. A frequently quoted rule of thumb is that security needs to constantly improve in order to stay one step ahead of would-be thieves.

The United States struggled through much of the 1970s and 1980s to develop a security system to adequately protect its nuclear weapons and weapons components. Yet it still encounters difficulty in allocating enough resources to protect its nuclear weapons complex adequately.

The former Soviet Union experienced a severe drop in the effectiveness of its nuclear security systems in the early 1990s. Russia, with the help of the United States and other countries, is now engaged in a massive effort to improve the security of its nuclear materials and weapons.

Providing assistance to Pakistan, however, is not as straightforward as aiding the former Soviet Union. Direct, substantial assistance could embarrass the Pakistani government and provide ammunition to the government's political opponents that the United States is attempting to gain direct control over Pakistan's nuclear weapons. In addition, Pakistan treats the location of its nuclear weapons as highly classified and apparently depends on this secrecy to increase the survivability of its nuclear weapons. Pakistan is unlikely to welcome US assistance that could reveal its nuclear weapons storage sites.

In addition, the United States faces a series of constraints that complicate the provision of assistance to Pakistan. Such assistance should not violate US commitments or objectives under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), harm US relations with India, inadvertently encourage nuclear testing or otherwise contribute to advances in Pakistan's nuclear arsenal, or increase the threat of a nuclear exchange between India and Pakistan.

Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons Complex

During the last 25 years, Pakistan has developed an extensive nuclear weapons complex. Prior to its nuclear tests in May 1998, successive Pakistani governments tried to hide many aspects of its nuclear weapons program while simultaneously revealing enough to convince India and the rest of the world that it had workable nuclear weapons.

A result of this opaqueness is that Pakistan has released little information to the public about its complex of facilities devoted to making nuclear weapons. Typically, these activities include research, development, and testing of nuclear weapons; the production of plutonium and highly enriched uranium (HEU); the manufacture of nuclear weapons; and facilities for mating nuclear weapons to delivery systems, including aircraft and ballistic missiles.

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[73] "Pakistan's Nuclear Dilemma," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Non-Proliferation Project Roundtable, October 2, 2001. Transcript available at *www.ceip.org/files/events/Paktranscript.asp*.

Despite the shortage of official information, a rough sketch of Pakistan's nuclear weapons complex can be drawn.[74] For the purposes of this report, a partial summary follows that is focused on facilities with sensitive material. These facilities would be expected to be the major focus of any attempt to improve Pakistan's security over its nuclear weapons.

Significant holes exist in this sketch. An important missing piece is reliable information that could provide insight into the adequacy of security at critical nuclear sites, including sites containing fissile materials and nuclear weapons.

Quick Tour

All nuclear weapons complexes are composed of a myriad of facilities. They are linked together to function as a unit through transports of materials and manufactured items, personnel, and communication systems. A central, competent leadership is critical to maintaining adequate security over the complex and ensuring that adequate control exists over the nuclear weapons themselves.

Fissile Material Production. Pakistan has the capability to make both plutonium and HEU, or "fissile materials," for nuclear weapons. Its main uranium enrichment facilities are at the A. Q. Khan Research Laboratories at Kahuta. Pakistan also has another, newer, enrichment facility near Wah that the US government calls the Gadwal uranium enrichment plant. It may have other production-scale facilities. Pakistan also operates smaller enrichment facilities, including the Sihala and Golra ultracentrifuge plants.

Most of these sites would be expected to have HEU and low-enriched uranium stocks. The physical security arrangements at these facilities are unknown, although these arrangements would be expected to be rigorous.

Pakistan possesses a capability to make weapons-grade plutonium for nuclear weapons. Pakistan operates the Khushab reactor, which is estimated to generate about 50 megawatts of power, large enough to produce plutonium for a few nuclear weapons per year. Separation of the plutonium is reported to occur at New Labs at Rawalpindi, located near Islamabad. This plant, next to the Pakistan Institute of Nuclear Science and Technology (PINSTECH), is large enough to handle all the irradiated fuel from the Khushab reactor. The storage arrangements for the separated plutonium are unknown, although they would likely include vaults and other security procedures.

As of the end of 1999, the Institute for Science and International Security assesses that Pakistan possessed 585-800 kilograms of weapons-grade HEU and 1.7-13 kilograms of separated plutonium; these quantities are sufficient for 30-50 nuclear bombs or warheads.[75]

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[74] ISIS assessments of the Pakistani nuclear weapons program can be found at *www.isis-online.org/publications /southasia/index.html.*

[75] David Albright, "India's and Pakistan's Fissile Material and Nuclear Weapons Inventories, End of 1999," October 11, 2000, *www.isis-online.org/publications/southasia/stocks1000.html.*

Nuclear Weapons Manufacturing Sites. Pakistan maintains facilities to produce metallic fissile material and shape the metal into nuclear weapons components. Such facilities would have fissile material in liquid, powder, and solid forms. Other facilities produce the nonnuclear components and at least partially assemble the nuclear weapons. The location of these facilities has not been reported extensively, although at least some of these facilities are located near Wah.

Whether or not all of Pakistan's nuclear explosive material has been converted to nuclear weapons is unknown. One would expect that relatively large quantities of HEU are not in the form of partially assembled nuclear weapons and would be in-process in nuclear fuel cycle facilities. This amount translated into nuclear weapon equivalents must be subtracted from the above estimate of 30-50 nuclear weapons.

Nuclear Weapons Storage and Deployment Sites. Pakistan is widely reported not to have deployed its nuclear weapons. What that means exactly is difficult to determine from the available literature. For example, a definition of deployment is that the weapons have been transferred to military units for storage and rapid mating with delivery systems at military bases. Under this definition, South Africa did not deploy its nuclear weapons. However, the situation in Pakistan may be murky and may in fact best be described as partial deployment.

Pakistan is reported to have several nuclear weapons storage facilities. Their exact locations are unknown. Reports and interviews with knowledgeable individuals mention that storage sites are on military bases. However, other storage locations, such as tunnels or mines, would be expected.

According to a variety of media reports, Pakistan's nuclear weapons are implosion-type designs and are stored with their fissile cores separated from the nonnuclear components.[76] This arrangement may reflect safety limitations in the weapons, rather than be a fundamental method to provide better access control over the weapons as in the case of South Africa. Pretoria designed its weapons to have front and back sections that were stored separately.

The simplest interpretation of the available information is that the fissile core and the rest of the device are stored separately in vaults. However, it is also possible that the weapon minus the fissile core is mounted on a delivery vehicle, and the fissile core is stored separately. This arrangement would potentially allow more rapid deployment of the nuclear arsenal in time of crisis with India.

Pakistan's nuclear weapons are not thought to be "one-point safe" or equipped with permissive action links (PALs), at least as defined by the United States.[77] PALs are often viewed broadly as devices to prevent the unauthorized use of a nuclear weapon. The more effective ones, however, are integral to the warhead and require the entry of a code before the weapon can be armed and fired. A box and a lock could under some definitions be called a PAL. The problem, however, is

[76] A set of partially assembled components is considered a nuclear weapon here.

[77] One-point safe describes the degree of safety in a nuclear weapon. In the United States, it is a characteristic of a nuclear weapon that, upon undergoing one-point detonation initiated anywhere in the high explosive system, has a probability of no greater than one in a million of producing a nuclear yield in excess of four pounds of TNT equivalent.

that such a system is not integral to the weapon, and should be more appropriately considered as a physical protection device rather than a PAL. Similarly, a system applied after the weapon is built, such as a control over the electronic firing systems, could also be bypassed in a straightforward manner. Here, PALs are thus defined narrowly as a system incorporated in the design of the weapon that prevents unauthorized access.

It is unknown if Pakistan has coded switch devices integral to its delivery systems (as opposed to the actual warheads). Such switches would act as hardware "gatekeepers" for ballistic missiles or aircraft. The need for a special code to arm and fire the missile or drop a gravity bomb would impede the ability of unauthorized personnel to carry out a nuclear strike. Such devices may be easier to master than PALs.

Pakistan appears to emphasize the need to keep its storage locations secret. This strategy is different from the situation in the United States and Russia, where nuclear storage sites are relatively distinctive because of the elaborate security arrangements. These sites have extensive security—including fences, towers, guards, and bunkers—that is visible in overhead surveillance.

Development and Testing of Nuclear Weapons. Pakistan has a range of facilities involved in the development and testing of nuclear weapons. Pakistan has repeatedly stressed its need to be a nuclear equal to India to maintain its security. Nuclear parity has been implicitly adopted by much of the Pakistani leadership as a litmus test for the credibility of its arsenal. Therefore, Pakistan may keep nuclear devices ready for rapid testing in response to any future Indian tests. Toward this end, facilities associated with development and testing of nuclear weapons may hold nuclear explosive devices or significant quantities of fissile material.

Transportation of Fissile Material and Weapons. Little is known of the transportation arrangements for sensitive nuclear items in Pakistan. The type of transport containers or vehicles, or the extent of armed escorts, is unknown. Pakistan's transportation vehicles are unlikely to be of the caliber of the US Department of Energy's safe-secure transport vehicles.

Command and Control. Much has been written on this subject, so only a very brief summary appears warranted. The Pakistani military controls the nuclear weapons themselves and has instituted a range of measures to tighten controls over the nuclear weapons complex. According to a wide variety of South Asian specialists, the military is the least corrupt and most professional part of Pakistani society.

Threats

Multiple vulnerabilities exist in a nuclear weapons complex. Transportation of sensitive items is often viewed as one of the weakest links. Accordingly, many countries involved in transporting fissile material or nuclear weapons have invested heavily in better securing their transports. Insider threats are a recurring problem. The situation in the former Soviet Union highlights this threat.

Groups or individuals may violate security rules for a variety of reasons, including profit, settling a grudge, or religious or ideological motives. Violators may try to gain control over

sensitive items for their own use or to transfer these items to another state or to other non-state actors.

A special concern is that Pakistan will suffer another coup. A new leadership can be expected to place a high priority on seizing the country's nuclear assets.

The threat of theft or diversion of fissile material or nuclear weapons falls into three general areas:

- **Outsider Threat**—The possibility that armed individuals or groups from outside a facility gain access and steal weapons, weapons components, or fissile material.

- **Insider Threat**—The possibility that individuals who work at a facility will remove weapons, weapons components, or fissile material without proper authorization.

- I**nsider/Outsider Threat**—The possibility that insiders and outsiders conspire together to obtain weapons, weapons components, or fissile materials.

If Pakistan suffers extreme instability or civil war, additional threats to its strategic nuclear assets are possible:

- **Loss of Central Control of Storage Facilities**—Clear lines of communication and control over weapons, weapons components, and fissile material may be broken or lost entirely.

- **Coup**—In the most extreme case, a coup takes place and the new regime attempts to gain control of the nuclear complex. Foreign governments may intervene to prevent hostile forces from seizing the strategic nuclear assets.

In the current situation, Pakistan must also increasingly worry that experts from the nuclear complex could steal sensitive information or assist nuclear weapons programs of other countries or terrorist groups. The information could include classified nuclear weapons manufacturing data, exact storage locations of weapons or fissile material, security and access control arrangements, or operational details about the weapons.

Criteria for Providing Assistance to Pakistan

On the surface, it makes sense to provide a wide variety of assistance to increase the security of Pakistan's nuclear weapons complex. However, many types of assistance could undermine other US objectives such as bolstering nonproliferation norms or reducing the chance of nuclear war between India and Pakistan. In particular, some of the equipment the United States might provide for the purpose of nuclear security may in fact be "dual purpose," meaning that such materials or technologies could conceivably improve Pakistan's ability to deploy nuclear weapons operationally. This would be an unintended and unwanted consequence of US efforts to secure Pakistan's existing fissile material stockpiles and nuclear weapons.

Bruce Blair, president of the Center for Defense Information, tells of an experience he had in Russia. A senior Russian official in St. Petersburg told him that a group of Indian nuclear

officials had asked for aid in making PALs for their nuclear weapons. If they could make PALs, the Indians said that they could put nuclear weapons on a higher level of readiness and assure the political leadership that the weapons were safe. Thus a PAL could provide both greater assurance against unauthorized use of nuclear weapons and increased ability to deploy nuclear weapons. In South Asia, deployed nuclear weapons would increase the chance that a military conflict between these two states could escalate into a nuclear exchange.

The criteria that the United States should consider in providing assistance include, but are not limited to, the following:

- **Is the assistance consistent with US obligations under the NPT?** Under Article I of the NPT, each nuclear weapon state "undertakes…not in any way to assist, encourage, or induce any non-nuclear weapon state to manufacture, or acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, or control over such weapons or explosive devices." The administration needs to judge, both as a matter of policy and on a case-by-case basis, whether providing particular types of assistance to Pakistan, which under the NPT is a nonnuclear weapon state, constitutes a violation of this obligation or otherwise undermines the NPT. For example, assisting Pakistan to improve the security of its nuclear weapons storage facilities may be permissible. However, assistance that improves the safety and security of a nuclear warhead itself may also significantly improve Pakistan's ability to deploy a warhead on a ballistic missile, and may be prohibited under the NPT.

- **Will the assistance encourage nuclear testing by Pakistan?** The type of assistance given to Pakistan could inadvertently spark Pakistan to test a nuclear device to further improve the weapons design or operational capabilities.

- **Does the assistance increase the chances for nuclear war in South Asia?** US assistance should not permit the more rapid deployment of nuclear weapons, or make the weapons more reliable. The United States should also ensure that assistance does not allow Pakistan to store its warheads intact. The nuclear balance between India and Pakistan is not stable, and well-intentioned but short-sighted efforts to improve the safety and security of Pakistan's nuclear arsenal could end up increasing the risk of nuclear war between India and Pakistan.

- **Does the assistance negatively affect US relations with India or other states?** Some assistance may lead India to demand similar assistance or stimulate it to take countermeasures that may increase regional insecurity and complicate its relation with the United States.

Pakistan also faces constraints in accepting assistance:

- **Does the assistance undermine the regime politically?** The Pakistani government must resist assistance that could lead to charges that the United States is somehow gaining control over Pakistani nuclear weapons.

- **Does the assistance reveal the location of sensitive nuclear weapons storage sites?** Secrecy of the nuclear weapons storage sites is likely a key aspect of Pakistan's nuclear strategy.

Finding a proper balance between security and secrecy may be challenging. Although extensive physical security is desirable, it may also reveal the site to an enemy. Sophisticated communication equipment, designed to allow more effective control, may also be an indicator of the true purpose of the site. If the equipment came from overseas, Pakistan may also worry that it is "bugged," revealing the location of the site to a foreign power when it is operated.

Types of Assistance

The above constraints appear to severely limit the type and assistance that can be offered to Pakistan. However, in practice, a great deal of critical assistance can be provided. Most of the assistance can be provided quickly in response to short-term needs defined by the Pakistani government. Additional assistance can be provided as part of a long-term strategy to improve security over nuclear weapons in both India and Pakistan.

US assistance should be based on the guiding principle that Pakistan will continue to store its nuclear weapons in a disassembled state. This guiding principle would permit a variety of assistance that could significantly improve controls against unauthorized use of nuclear weapons.

Given the posited threats, Pakistan should be encouraged to reassess the security of its nuclear complex and make improvements where necessary. Although official statements that security is airtight may serve a necessary political purpose, they should not delude the authorities themselves into believing that the current crisis will not increase the risk of theft or diversion.

An optimal mix of assistance will necessarily rest on the extensive body of publicly available information about physical security and control of nuclear sites and nuclear weapons. This assistance can be supplemented by the provision of training and hardware. Examples of allowable assistance include:

- Generic physical protection and material accounting practices.
- Theoretical exercises.
- Unclassified military handbooks on nuclear weapons safety and security.
- More sophisticated vaults and access doors.
- Portal control equipment.
- Better surveillance equipment.
- Advanced equipment for materials accounting.
- Personnel reliability programs.
- Programs to reduce the likelihood of leaking sensitive information.

In addition, aid could focus on methods that improve the security of nuclear weapons against unauthorized use through devices not intrinsic to the design of the nuclear weapon or through special operational or administrative restrictions.

Assistance could also include descriptions of security procedures and methods used by states that stored nuclear weapons in ways similar to Pakistan, or faced similar constraints in storing

nuclear weapons. The early experiences of the Soviet Union and the practices of South Africa in the 1980s may be particularly relevant.[78]

Excluded assistance would include PALs; nuclear weapons design information aimed at making more secure, reliable, or safer nuclear weapons or devices; coded launch control devices; and environmental sensing devices. In addition, because of Pakistani sensitivities, the US government probably could not provide assistance that required US access to Pakistan's nuclear weapons sites or unsafeguarded nuclear sites. Therefore, "lab-to-lab" programs would be discouraged because, to be effective, these arrangements typically would require US national laboratory officials to have access to sensitive Pakistani sites.

Much of the assistance could be provided relatively rapidly. However, Robert Einhorn, former assistant secretary at the US State Department, points out that the US provision of certain types of equipment may require an export license. This type of assistance could also represent a change in US policy. If the equipment is nuclear "dual-use" equipment, such as may be the case for certain materials control and accounting items, US policy is to provide such items only to nonnuclear weapon states that subject all nuclear facilities to the safeguards system of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Pakistan is clearly not in that category.

Cooperation: First Thoughts

The provision of any assistance requires the United States to carry on a sustained dialogue with Pakistan. Whether this dialogue is occurring is unclear.

Secretary of State Colin Powell told reporters on his mid-October flight to Pakistan that he expected to talk with President Musharraf about nuclear weapons safety.[79] *The Washington Times* reported after Powell's visit that Pakistan had rejected a US proposal to provide security for its nuclear arsenal.[80] The stated reason was Pakistani fears that US personnel could block Pakistan's deployment of its nuclear weapons.

Prior to Powell's trip to South Asia, *The New York Times* reported that US and Pakistani officials had discussed assistance.[81] However, the US State Department subsequently denied this media report.

Longer-Term Assistance

Assuming that the United States and Pakistan will cooperate on the provision of assistance, a formula for providing the assistance discussed above is straightforward and certain types of assistance can be provided quickly. Meetings, briefings, and conferences could be held either

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[78] For more information about South Africa's nuclear weapons storage practices, see David Albright and Corey Hinderstein, "South Africa's Nuclear Weapons Storage Vault," ISIS Issue Brief, October 4, 2001, *www.isis-online.org/publications/terrorism/sastoragevault.html*.

[79] Secretary Powell, "Press Briefing on Board Plane En Route to Pakistan," October 16, 2001.

[80] "Pakistan Rejects Help," *The Washington Times*, October 19, 2001.

[81] Douglas Frantz, "U.S. and Pakistan Discuss Nuclear Security," *The New York Times*, October 1, 2001.

inside or outside Pakistan. The sponsors could include the US government, other interested governments, or nongovernmental organizations. The IAEA may be able to participate constructively in the discussion over generic physical protection guidelines and practices.

The United States and Pakistan could draw up a list of security and materials control and accounting equipment that the United States would provide. The United States would need to invest in the effort of obtaining the necessary export licenses for any dual-use equipment.

Nongovernmental groups or experts can play a role in providing certain types of assistance. Case studies based on open information or unclassified information about nuclear weapons security may be appropriate subjects. These subjects may be difficult for the US government to broach because of internal classification or policy constraints.

Emergencies

In the event of an emergency involving Pakistan's nuclear assets, the United States should be prepared to act quickly if President Musharraf asks for assistance. Toward that end, the United States should decide now what type of assistance it is willing to provide and under what circumstances.

The United States should evaluate various scenarios that may lead Pakistan to ask for assistance. Scenarios include attempts to steal fissile material or nuclear weapons; the successful theft of sensitive items; or the realization of dramatic weaknesses in material accounting, control and protection systems at particular facilities. Certain types of insider threats may also lead Pakistan to ask for assistance. The US government should prepare contingency plans for assisting Pakistan under these various worst-case scenarios.

If the US government anticipates providing Pakistan with dual-use equipment under these scenarios, it should take steps now to ensure that the process of obtaining export licenses does not slow down the assistance unnecessarily. In case Pakistan would ask for assistance in recovering nuclear assets, the United States should decide the type of assistance it can provide in this area. It should also plan and practice how to provide such assistance.

A Final Note: What About a Military Coup?

Several observers have suggested that if Pakistan suffers a coup by forces hostile to the United States, the US military should be ready to provide security over the nuclear weapons (or even to take the weapons out of Pakistan entirely) without the permission of Pakistani authorities.[82] Others have raised the possibility of asking President Musharraf to allow the United States or China to take possession of Pakistan's nuclear weapons during a coup.

Although such responses appear possible in theory, their implementation could be extremely difficult and dangerous. A US military action to seize or cripple Pakistan's strategic nuclear assets may encourage India to take similar action, in essence to finish the job. Even if India does nothing, a new Pakistani government may launch any remaining nuclear weapons at US forces or against India.

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[82] See, for example, Bruce Blair, "The Ultimate Hatred is Nuclear," *The New York Times*, October 21, 2001.

In addition, removing the nuclear weapons would not be enough. The new government would inherit the facilities to make nuclear weapons. Extensive bombing would thus be required at several nuclear sites, including the relatively large Khushab reactor and New Labs reprocessing plant. These types of attacks risk the release of a large amount of radiation if they are to ensure that the facility is not relatively quickly restored to operation. For example, bombing the facility so as to bring the roof down on the reactor core or hot cells is unlikely to be sufficient.

Such harsh contingencies may be important to consider in order to protect the vital interests of the United States and its allies. A better strategy, however, is to take appropriate steps to minimize the likelihood that such catastrophic scenarios materialize.

Participant List for South Asia Working Group Discussions

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Opening Remarks

Richard H. Stanley
President, The Stanley Foundation

Airlie Conference Center, Warrenton, Virginia
October 25-27, 2001

Introduction

Welcome to the Stanley Foundation's 42nd Strategy for Peace Conference. For more than four decades this conference has brought experts from public and private sectors to this off-the-record venue to explore US foreign policy issues of both contemporary and lasting concern. While the topics have changed over the years, our consistent focus has been on finding ways to manage global problems better. At its heart, this conference series has centered upon how the United States can use its power and influence most effectively and responsibly to bring about a secure peace with freedom and justice in this increasingly interconnected world.

A New Worldview

Today, we meet some six weeks after the horrific terrorist attacks of September 11. As we meet, there are continuing reports and rumors of further terrorist actions, and this country and many others are cooperating in actions intended to uproot the Al Qaeda network. To what extent do these developments alter the premise of this conference and our thinking on US international policy, both generally and toward these four specific regions?

Many of you know that the Stanley Foundation publishes *World Press Review* magazine. Each month this publication brings to its primarily US subscribers a snapshot of what the foreign press is saying about current issues. Immediately following September 11, our editorial staff, officed in Manhattan some 20 blocks from the World Trade Center area, scrapped and changed their plans for the next issue. That revised November issue is now off the press. Its cover headline says simply, "After Sept. 11: A new worldview."

Is this an overstatement? Is our worldview different since September 11? Should it be? I think so. Let me describe what I believe to be some of the lessons of September 11 that should be guiding principles for US foreign policy in the years ahead.

First, we cannot isolate ourselves from foreign turmoil. The United States must remain intensely engaged in international affairs. September 11 demonstrated that we are interconnected with the rest of the world, and we cannot be secure in isolation from it.

Second, the security threats we face are no longer exclusively, or perhaps even primarily, geopolitical in nature. Terrorist networks are nonstate actors. While there is state tolerance of and support for terrorism and these should be addressed, terrorism and other peace and security issues are not constrained by the world's increasingly porous state boundaries. Issues like population stabilization and migrations, poverty, humanitarian crises, disease, climate change, resource limitations, environmental preservation, and others are not primarily geopolitical in nature. They, like terrorism, transcend national boundaries. Effective national and international work to counter them will necessarily be interactive, involving a panoply of nonstate actors that includes the economic and market realm as well as the whole group of individuals and associations that is known as civil society. The ultimate antiterrorist solution is to build a world in which the pockets of poverty and ignorance that breed fanaticism no longer exist. We must broaden our thinking beyond traditional geopolitics.

Third, we must be truly multilateralist in our dealings with other nations. Since the end of the Cold War, US collaboration with other states in both regional and global forums has been uneven. We continued activities in the United Nations, supporting all of the peacekeeping interventions that took place and concurring in the regular budgets adopted by consensus. Yet we flogged the United Nations for inefficiency and fell into serious arrears in our dues payments for both the regular and the peacekeeping budgets. It is worth noting that appropriations toward partial correction of the arrears were passed with little debate almost immediately after September 11. While we urged international support for nonproliferation initiatives, we voted down ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and recently rejected nearly seven years of negotiations on enforcement measures for the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention. While we complained about the spread of conventional weapons, we refused to sign the antipersonnel land mine treaty, succeeded in watering down an agreement on curbing illegal trafficking in small arms, and remain the largest transnational seller of conventional weapons by a wide margin. We supported special tribunals for war crimes, but have not pushed for refinement and ratification of the International Criminal Court.

In short, prior to September 11 US policy was increasingly contradictory. There was uneven movement toward both cooperative global regimes—such as the Non-Proliferation Treaty—and unilateralist military capabilities with global reach—such as national missile defense. Within our government, there was persistent corrosive partisanship and little bipartisan consensus on the best means for addressing threats to US security.

The events of September 11 give us the impetus to reorient our international policy perspective. Unilateralist expectations that other nations will do our bidding are both unreasonable and unrealistic. We can and should use our position of leadership to build a cooperative international community that addresses the interests, concerns, and needs of contending groups in a fair and balanced manner. A significant outcome of the Cold War was the emergence of democratic government and market economics as preferred systems. The United States has been and should be a leader in these areas as well as in concern for human rights. We are working multilaterally in the aftermath of September 11, and this must continue to be our way of life. Let us hope that the shifts toward engagement and away from traditional geopolitics will be lasting and not merely a response to a particular crisis.

This Year's Focus: US Strategies for Regional Security

This year we have gathered to consider US foreign policy and defense strategies for achieving regional security in four major areas of the world: Europe, the Middle East and Persian Gulf, South Asia, and the Korean peninsula in Northeast Asia. This conference, conceived this past summer and early fall, is built on the conviction that regional conflicts and instabilities have ramifications that extend well beyond their specific region and that resolving regional concerns is a necessary part of achieving US national security in the post-Cold War era. That conviction is certainly applicable to these four regions. Sound regional security frameworks could supplement global cooperative regimes and also provide essential economic, political, and military foundations for making global security initiatives workable.

In Europe in the 1990s, Yugoslavia's collapse was not initially an overriding interest for the United States because it was not perceived as a global strategic concern like nuclear weapons or threats from hegemonic states. Ultimately, the conflict in Kosovo province was seen as a threat to the moral values, political and economic principles, and military credibility of NATO and the European Union, both of which were regional rather than global organizations.

Regional differences have also posed difficult nonproliferation conundrums that have no simple treaty-based solution. The politics and threat environments of the Middle East, South Asia, and the Korean peninsula have required different foreign policy strategies for preventing and reversing the spread of missiles and weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Foreign policy initiatives such as the Agreed Framework have proven to be necessary supplements to the various WMD treaty regimes that have been crafted and strengthened in global forums after the Cold War.

The network of Al Qaeda, stretching across more than 50 countries worldwide, is requiring a new US global security strategy. But many of the issues fueling the hatred of the thousands filling Al Qaeda training camps are centered around conflicts in two specific areas of the world: the Persian Gulf region—particularly Iraq's relationships with its neighbors—and Israel and Palestine. These conflicts and the US policy responses to them have been repeatedly stressed by bin Laden as the overriding rationale for attacks on the United States. Thus, while the Al Qaeda network has grown to be global and transnational, its political program is rooted in the conflicts in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf.

Successful resolution of these wide-ranging problems will require that we deal with the regional issues involved, align initiatives with global concerns and regimes, and use US bilateral relations to leverage solutions.

For your discussions in the next two days, we ask that you strategically examine each region, keeping in mind the following questions:

- For each region, what are the primary elements of a stable security framework?

- What is the ideal mix of economic, military, and political elements that would provide a foundation for long-term peace and security?

- What US initiatives and policies will help bring about the necessary regional security frameworks?

- Who are the state and nonstate actors within and outside each region that must be included for the security frameworks to work as envisioned? What is the best way to ensure the involvement and cooperation of these actors, some of whom may have competing and even diametrically opposed interests?

- How can the United States collaborate to fashion solutions in the region without creating new problems and conflicts in neighboring areas?

- Finally, how will this security framework fit within, supplement, and be supported by global regimes, including nonproliferation regimes and international organizations?

Post-Conference Plans

We are planning a series of outreach activities to follow this event. The foundation will publish a conference report consisting of the commissioned thought-pieces and a chair's report. Our chairs and rapporteurs will capture, without attribution, the priority issues and proposed policy options in our deliberations, and each chair will craft a "reaction piece" that synthesizes and evaluates both the discussions and the thought-pieces. After the release of the conference reports, we plan a variety of outreach events for specific target audiences in the media and the policy community.

Thank you for your presence here this weekend and for your participation in these dialogues. You bring impressive capabilities and knowledge to our exploration of these pressing issues. We look forward to learning with and from you.

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The Stanley Foundation

The Stanley Foundation is a nonpartisan, private operating foundation that strives for secure peace with freedom and justice by promoting public understanding, constructive dialogue, and cooperative action on critical international issues. Its work takes the form of media programs, educational initiatives, and focused discussions that convene policy professionals, diplomats, and other experts.

Programming is varied and reaches multiple audiences. The foundation convenes conferences and seminars, providing a forum for high-level dialogue among policy professionals, policy-makers, and opinion leaders on selected topics in global governance and US foreign policy. Global education programs reach and involve educators, administrators, and students from elementary school to college. The foundation produces a weekly public radio program on world affairs, *Common Ground*, and publishes *World Press Review*, the only English-language monthly magazine focusing on global issues through the prism of the international press.

Programs focus on matters including the United Nations and other international organizations, bilateral relations involving the United Nations, international security issues, global citizenship development, human rights, and global civil society.

The foundation works with a number of partners around the world, including public policy institutions, nongovernmental organizations, community colleges, elementary and secondary schools, media organizations, and others.

The foundation does not make grants.

Most Stanley Foundation reports, publications, programs, and a wealth of other information are instantly available on our Web site: *www.stanleyfoundation.org*.

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