



# BI-WEEKLY TREATY REVIEW



01 December– 13 December 2010

**DTRA**

## BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION (BWC)

### **UN Calls for Development of Bioweapons Monitors**

*BioPrepWatch*, 07 December 2010, <http://www.bioprepwatch.com/>

United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon recently called for the development of a structured and regular means of monitoring developments in science and technology in order to help achieve global biological weapons disarmament and increase international security.

(261 words) [Click here for full text.](#)

### **The Biological Weapons Convention Annual Meeting of States Parties**

*M2 PressWIRE*, 09 December 2010, accessed via Lexis Nexis

The Annual Meeting of States Parties to the Biological Weapons Convention began Monday in Geneva and is scheduled to conclude on Friday, December 10, 2010. (404 words)

[Click here for full text.](#)

## CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION (CWC)

### **UN Secretary-General Opens Chemical Weapons Convention**

*BioPrepWatch*, 01 December 2010, <http://www.bioprepwatch.com/>

The United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon opened the 15th Session of the Conference of the States Parties to the Chemical Weapons Convention on November 29 by lauding the convention's more significant contributions to world safety. (252 words)

[Click here for full text.](#)

### **15th Session of the Conference of the States Parties Concludes**

*OPCW*, 10 December 2010, <http://www.opcw.org/>

The 15th Session of the Conference of the States Parties to the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) concluded on Friday, 3 December 2010 with the adoption of a final report. (629 words)

[Click here for full text.](#)

### **Russian President Signs Law on Use of Buildings for Chemical Weapons Storage**

*ITAR-TASS*, 10 December 2010, accessed via Lexis Nexis

Russian President Dmitry Medvedev has signed amendments to the law "On the destruction of chemical weapons" and to the Code of Administrative Offences, that specify the rules for using the buildings designated for chemical weapons' storage, the Kremlin press service reported on Friday. (414 words) [Click here for full text.](#)



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## FISSILE MATERIALS

### **IAEA Approves Global Nuclear Fuel Bank**

*World Nuclear News*, 06 December 2010, <http://www.world-nuclear-news.org>

The board of governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has adopted a resolution establishing a global nuclear fuel bank aimed at providing an alternative to countries seeking producing their own nuclear fuel. (599 words) [Click here for full text.](#)

## NEW STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TREATY (NEW START)

### **Kyl Joins Republicans Opening Up to Nuclear Treaty with Russia**

*BusinessWeek*, 03 December 2010, <http://www.businessweek.com>

Arizona Senator Jon Kyl became the latest Republican to show a willingness to support a new arms control treaty with Russia by the end of the year even as his party vowed to block nearly all business in the chamber. (887 words) [Click here for full text.](#)

### **Russia Ready to Adjust New START Treaty – Duma Speaker**

*RIA Novosti (Russian Information Agency)*, 04 December 2010, <http://en.rian.ru/>

Russia's lower house of parliament, the State Duma, is ready to make amendments to the text of the new START treaty if the move is initiated by the United States, Speaker Boris Gryzlov said on Saturday. (260 words) [Click here for full text.](#)

## PROLIFERATION SECURITY INITIATIVE

### **Counterproliferation Program Gains Traction, but Results Remain a Mystery**

*Global Security Newswire* 10 December 2010, [www.globalsecuritynewswire.org](http://www.globalsecuritynewswire.org)

The U.S.-led Proliferation Security Initiative [PSI] has recently gained key allied help in the ongoing battle to curb ... would-be proliferators. However, details of its contribution to the global effort to stem the spread of weapons of mass destruction remain a closely held secret. (1,876 words) [Click here for full text.](#)

## FULL TEXT OF BI-WEEKLY ARTICLES FOLLOWS:



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United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon recently called for the development of a structured and regular means of monitoring developments in science and technology in order to help achieve global biological weapons disarmament and increase international security.

“While much is being done to promote assistance and cooperation for the peaceful uses of biological science and technology, more could still be done to improve coordination and communication,” Ban said in an address to the meeting of the state parties to the Biological Weapons Convention, UN.org reports.

The meeting of the state parties to the Biological Weapons Convention, currently underway in Geneva, will examine various proposals aimed at strengthening the BWC and facilitating its full implementation.

In a further message, delivered by Sergei Ordzhonikidze, the director-general of the UN Office at Geneva, Ban said that it was critical to face the challenge of universal membership of the convention, according to UN.org.

“Thirteen states have signed the convention without ratifying it, and 19 states have yet to sign it at all,” Ban said. “I call on those states that have not done so to sign and ratify the convention without further delay.”

Ban encouraged the attending countries to continue to work and prepare practical proposals for the upcoming Seventh Review Conference. He assured the attendees that they would have the UN’s unwavering support.

The meeting of the states parties, held every four years, is part of a program mandated by the Sixth Review Conference, held in 2006, for the purpose of improving the convention as a practical barrier against the development of biological weapons.

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*M2 PressWIRE, 09 December 2010, accessed via Lexis Nexis*

The Annual Meeting of States Parties to the Biological Weapons Convention began Monday in Geneva and is scheduled to conclude on Friday, December 10, 2010.

Ambassador Laura Kennedy, the United States Ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament, leads the U.S. delegation as the U.S. Special Representative for Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention Issues.

The United States continues to show its commitment to the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) through President Obama's National Strategy for Countering Biological Threats, introduced by Ellen Tauscher, the State Department's Undersecretary for Arms Control and International Security, at the BWC Annual Meeting of States Parties in 2009.

Under the agreed intersessional work program, this year's Meeting of States Parties focuses on the provision of assistance and coordination, upon request by any State Party, in the case of alleged use of biological or toxin weapons.

The United States recognizes that it is essential for the world community to rapidly detect, respond to and contain infectious disease or other public health events, whether naturally occurring or man-made, that occur anywhere in the world, and is committed to supporting a coordinated and connected system to detect and respond to the disease threat.

This commitment is demonstrated through our support of the World Health Organization's (WHO) International Health Regulations (2005). In 2010, the United States hosted two international conferences highlighting the interrelationship between the Biological Weapons Convention and those Regulations, and recently completed a workshop on international perspectives on bio-risk management.

The intersessional meetings of the past two years have been important opportunities for experts from around the world to discuss the components of comprehensive disease surveillance and response, impediments to implementing efficient and effective systems, and lessons and recommendations that can help build capacity around the world that is vital for public health and invaluable in the event that a biological weapon is used.

In support of this year's intersessional topic the United States seeks to highlight the potential value of the "One Health" approach to disease surveillance; emphasize the importance of cooperation between public health and law enforcement, and among relevant international

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organizations; and draw particular attention to the need to build capacity in advance of a potential biological weapons attack.

Leading to the BWC Review Conference in December 2011, the United States is working toward three overarching objectives: building global capacity to combat infectious disease, regardless of origin; preventing bioterrorism; and promoting confidence in effective BWC implementation and compliance by showing transparency.

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The United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon opened the 15th Session of the Conference of the States Parties to the Chemical Weapons Convention on November 29 by lauding the convention's more significant contributions to world safety.

"I welcome the significant progress that has been made, including the destruction of more than 60 percent of the world's declared stockpiles of chemical weapons under strict verification," the Secretary-General said, according to the meeting's official transcripts.

Ban also said that he believes that the convention remains an effective, non-discriminatory and comprehensive legal instrument that has the ability to verify the existence and destruction of chemical weapons stockpiles, as well as prevent their proliferation.

He further lauded the progress of three possessor states that recently completed their destruction programs and commended the actions of the remaining possessor signatories. The challenge, according to Ban, will be for them to fulfill all of their obligations by the April 2012 deadline.

The secretary-general paid particular attention to the global nature of the convention.

"With 188 states parties encompassing 98 percent of the global population, the convention is approaching universal membership, thereby moving ever closer to eliminating the possibility that chemical weapons will be used," Ban said.

There was also a message to those nations that are not a part of the convention.

"It is crucial for the remaining seven states that are not party to the convention to join without delay," Ban said. "Their accession would build confidence in their respective regions and strengthen international peace and security in general."

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OPCW, 10 December 2010, <http://www.opcw.org/>

The 15th Session of the Conference of the States Parties to the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) concluded on Friday, December 3, 2010 with the adoption of a final report. Of the 188 States Parties to the CWC, 127 participated in this year's Conference together with one signatory State (Israel), 10 international organizations and specialized agencies, and 15 non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

Following are highlights of outcomes and decisions of the 15th Session contained in the final report:

### *Elections*

The Conference elected as its Chairperson Ambassador Julio Roberto Palomo Silva of Guatemala. The Conference elected representatives of 10 States Parties as Vice-Chairpersons of the Conference: Bolivia, Chile, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Italy, Kenya, Nigeria, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Ukraine, and United States of America. The Conference elected, as Chairperson of the Committee of the Whole, Ambassador Vaidotas Verba of Lithuania.

### *Chemical Weapons Destruction*

The Conference considered and noted a report by the Director-General on the progress made by States Parties that have been granted extensions of deadlines for the destruction of their Category 1 chemical weapons.

The Conference noted with concern that the final extended deadline of April 29, 2012 may not be fully met, and urged all possessor States Parties to take every necessary measure with a view to ensuring their compliance with the final extended destruction deadline. The Conference stressed in this regard that no action should be undertaken that would undermine the Chemical Weapons Convention (hereinafter "the Convention") or that would raise questions about the commitment of States Parties, or lead to the rewriting of or reinterpreting of the Convention's provisions.

The Conference encouraged the Chairperson of the Executive Council to continue informal consultations on how and when to initiate discussion by the Council on issues related to meeting the final extended deadline for destruction of chemical weapons as mandated by the Council at its 58th Session.



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## *Extension of Destruction Deadlines*

The Conference considered and adopted a decision on the extension of the intermediate deadlines for the destruction by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya of its Category 1 chemical weapons.

## *Implementation of Article X*

The Conference requested the Executive Council to continue its deliberations in regard to developing further measures for emergency assistance to Member States, including with regard to the victims of chemical weapons, as provided in Article X of the Convention, taking into account all proposals brought forward from the States Parties to the Conference at the 15th Session.

## *Annual report on implementation of the Convention*

The Conference considered and approved the report of the OPCW on the implementation of the Convention in 2009.

## *Election of Member States to the Executive Council*

The Conference elected 21 members for the following elective places on the Council for a term of two years, starting on 12 May 2011:

- Africa: Cameroon, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda;
- Asia: China, India, Japan, Malaysia, Republic of Korea, Saudi Arabia;
- Eastern Europe: Croatia, Hungary;
- Latin America and the Caribbean: Argentina, Brazil, Mexico;
- Western Europe and Other States: France, Germany, Italy, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

## *2011 Program and Budget*

The Conference considered and adopted the Program and Budget of the OPCW for 2011, which the Executive Council had submitted to it.

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## *Payment of annual contributions*

The Conference considered and approved the proposal for a multi-year payment plan to regularize the payment of outstanding annual contributions, and considered and noted the report on the status of implementation by States Parties of agreed multi-year payment plans.

## *Fostering international cooperation*

The Conference welcomed the holding of a workshop on Article XI of the Convention on 24 and 25 November 2010, and requested the Council to consider the outcome of the aforementioned workshop through the ongoing facilitation process on the full implementation of Article XI of the Convention.



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Russian President Dmitry Medvedev has signed amendments to the law "On the destruction of chemical weapons" and to the Code of Administrative Offences, that specify the rules for using the buildings designated for chemical weapons' storage, the Kremlin press service reported on Friday. The law on the introduction of the relevant amendments was passed by the State Duma lower house of parliament on November 26 and approved by the Federation Council upper house on December 1.

The document prohibits the irrelevant use of industrial sites, buildings and structures, where chemical weapons are stored or disposed of. The law is to eliminate the legal possibility of the use of these facilities for other purposes, or their conversion.

Violation of the ban entails a fine under the Administrative Offence Code – for the officials it will be from 2,000 to 4,000 roubles, and for legal entities – from 30,000 to 40,000 roubles. Such violations cases can be considered by the head, deputy head of the federal executive authority body controlling this sphere, the heads of structural divisions of the body and their deputies. The law also specifies the rights of the federal authorities to exercise control "over the targeted use of the facilities for storage and destruction of chemical weapons."

Russia signed the Chemical Weapons Convention on January 13, 1993 and ratified it on November 5, 1997. Russia declared an arsenal of 39,967 tonnes of chemical weapons in 1997 consisting of blister agents: Lewisite, mustard, Lewisite-mustard-mix (HL); Nerve agents: Sarin, Soman, VX. Russia met its treaty obligations by destroying 1 percent of its chemical agents by the Chemical Weapons Convention's 2002 deadline, but requested technical and financial assistance and extensions on the deadlines of 2004 and 2007 due to the environmental challenges of chemical disposal. This extension procedure spelled out in the treaty has been utilized by other countries, including the United States. The extended deadline for complete destruction (April 2012) will not be met.

As of July 2010, Russia has destroyed 48 percent of its stockpile. Russia has stored its chemical weapons (or the required chemicals) which it declared within the CWC at 8 locations: in Gorny (Saratov Oblast) (2.9 percent of the declared stockpile by mass) and Kambarka (Udmurt Republic) (15.9 percent) stockpiles already have been destroyed. In Shchuchye (Kurgan Oblast) (13.6 percent), Maradykovsky (Kirov Oblast) (17.4 percent) and Leonidovka (Penza Oblast) (17.2 percent) destruction takes place, while installations are under construction in Pochep (Bryansk Oblast) (18.8 percent) and Kizner (Udmurt Republic) (14.2 percent).

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The board of governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has adopted a resolution establishing a global nuclear fuel bank aimed at providing an alternative to countries seeking producing their own nuclear fuel.

At its meeting on December 3, the IAEA board agreed to create an international low-enriched uranium (LEU) fuel bank, fulfilling the conditions of the \$50 million pledge proposed by the U.S.-based Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI) organization and U.S. billionaire Warren Buffett.

The NTI pledged \$50 million of funding for the fuel bank in September 2006, conditional on nations providing a further \$100 million and the IAEA taking the necessary actions to approve the establishment of the reserve. The financial commitment target was met in March 2009 when Kuwait agreed to contribute \$10 million to the project. This was in addition to the U.S. government previously pledging \$50 million, the European Union (EU) committing \$32 million, the government of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) contributing \$10 million and Norway committing \$5 million.

The IAEA will now draw up a framework that defines the fuel bank's structure, access and location.

### *Russian reserve*

On November 30, Russia separately announced that it has now established a 120 tonne stockpile of LEU available to any IAEA member country denied access to the normal commercial nuclear fuel market for its power reactors, despite being in line with its international non-proliferation obligations (apart from for technical and commercial reasons). The reserve was endorsed by the IAEA board in November 2009 after an official Russian proposal.

Russian state nuclear energy company Rosatom said that it had completed arrangements for the fuel store in the vault of the International Enrichment Centre at Angarsk. It will be managed under the auspices of the IAEA.

Commenting on the IAEA board's approval of the new fuel bank, the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Catherine Ashton said: "Following the creation of the LEU reserve in the Russian federation in collaboration with the IAEA, today's resolution constitutes the first decision on an assurance scheme under direct control of the IAEA."

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World Nuclear Association director general and former U.S. Ambassador to the IAEA John Ritch said, "Any mechanism that truly fortifies the nuclear non-proliferation system warrants support, both from the nuclear industry and from governments worldwide," but noted that "no-one has yet explained a scenario where a country is denied fuel by other governments even though it is meeting its commitments – and then turns to the same governments to supply the fuel through the IAEA."

## *Iranian talks resume*

The announcement of the new fuel bank came as diplomats from China, France, Germany, Russia, the UK and the USA resumed talks with Iran over its nuclear program. The two-day meeting in Geneva is the first such talks to take place in the past year.

Iran is currently under United Nations sanctions because of its refusal to halt the development of a domestic uranium enrichment program which it claims is meant for civilian use, despite that it would be uneconomic to develop enrichment technology solely to fuel a single power reactor.

Meanwhile, Iran has announced that it is now self-sufficient in producing uranium for nuclear fuel. Ali Akbar Salehi, the head of the Iranian Atomic Energy Organization (IAEO), said that yellowcake from the Gachin mines in Bandar Abbas, southern Iran, had been delivered to the Isfahan conversion facility under the supervision of the IAEA. According to a report from the IRNA news agency, Salehi noted that another uranium mine in Yazd will soon become operational while activities in Ardakan yellowcake facilities have already been stepped up.

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## Kyl Joins Republicans Opening Up to Nuclear Treaty with Russia

*BusinessWeek*, 03 December 2010, <http://www.businessweek.com>

Arizona Senator Jon Kyl became the latest Republican to show a willingness to support a new arms control treaty with Russia by the end of the year even as his party vowed to block nearly all business in the chamber.

“If we can get this tax issue done and get the spending for the government accomplished, then there might be time to do it,” Kyl said on Fox News Channel’s “On the Record with Greta Van Susteren” program yesterday.

Republican leaders have stalled consideration of the new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, vowing to block passage of all bills until Congress takes up legislation extending the 2001 and 2003 tax cuts and passes a stopgap funding bill to keep the federal government operating until appropriations measures for fiscal year 2011 are enacted.

Kyl, the chamber’s No. 2 Republican, cited on November 16 “complex and unresolved” issues for why the new START would be unlikely to pass in the current lame-duck session. Since then, Republicans have come forward and indicated that they would be open to support the nuclear agreement once their tax and spending priorities were addressed.

“Everything is going in a very constructive way,” Senator Bob Corker, a Tennessee Republican, told reporters. “We still have the details to be worked out but they are being worked on” and “there is a real possibility as to it happening this year.”

Senate approval of a resolution supporting ratification of the accord would award a significant victory to President Barack Obama, who considers the treaty the top foreign policy priority of his administration for this congressional session.

*“Open To It”*

“I’m open to it,” Senator Lamar Alexander of Tennessee said in an interview. “The administration has made some important steps in the right direction” toward resolving Republican concerns, he said. “It’s a two-step process: We do taxes and then we do START,” said Senator Richard Lugar of Indiana, the top Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The START agreement, signed by Obama and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev in April, would cut each country’s deployed nuclear warheads by about a third, to a maximum of 1,550,

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and would allow both nations to resume on-site inspections. The previous treaty expired in December 2009.

Several Republicans indicated this week that talks were progressing. Robert Bennett of Utah, who is retiring at the end of the year, said he wanted to see what “wrangling” over the ratification resolution produced before saying how he would vote. Still, he described himself as “generally disposed to” approving ratification of the treaty.

### *“Move Forward”*

“I believe we can move forward with the START treaty and satisfy Senator Kyl’s concerns and mine about missile defense and others,” Senator John McCain of Arizona said on ABC’s “Good Morning America” program.

Two-thirds of the senators present and voting are needed to approve ratification. If all 100 senators are in the chamber, nine Republicans would have to join with Democrats to reach 67 votes. Three Republicans supported the treaty in a Sept. 16 vote in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. So far, only Lugar has said he would definitely support the treaty in the full Senate.

Ratification of each of the last three arms-reduction treaties was approved with more than 90 votes. Democrats suggested yesterday that the treaty’s chances for ratification in the next month were improving. “The START treaty will be done by Christmas,” White House press secretary Robert Gibbs said on CBS’s “Early Show.”

### *Colin Powell’s Support*

Obama urged passage of the treaty after a December 1 meeting with Colin Powell, former secretary of state under President George W. Bush and a former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

“Now it’s time to get this done,” the president said. “It is important for us to make sure we complete the evaluation process, we finish the debate and we go ahead and finish this up before the end of the year.

In recent weeks, the White House has brought in officials from previous administrations, both Democratic and Republican, to endorse the pact. Last month, Obama met at the White House with James Baker, President George H.W. Bush’s secretary of State; Henry Kissinger, secretary

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of state under Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford; and Madeleine Albright, President Bill Clinton's secretary of state.

## *"Compelling Reasons"*

In an opinion article in yesterday's *Washington Post*, Powell, Baker, Kissinger and two other Republican secretaries of state – George P. Schultz, who served under President Ronald Reagan, and Lawrence Eagleburger, who also worked for President George H.W. Bush – wrote there are "compelling reasons" for their party to approve ratification.

Russia plans to build up its nuclear forces if the U.S. fails to ratify the treaty, Prime Minister Vladimir Putin said in an interview on CNN's "Larry King Live" two days ago. "Russia will have to ensure her own security through different means" if its proposals are "met with negative answers only," Putin said. The United States and Russia must "agree on a joint effort."

Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, said Democrats were eager to approve ratification. "There's a very vocal group of senators who believe this needs to be taken up now," Kerry told reporters November 30. "What we need to do is carve out space to get it done even as we do some of the other business."

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## Russia Ready to Adjust New START Treaty – Duma Speaker

RIA Novosti (Russian Information Agency), 04 December 2010, <http://en.rian.ru/>

Russia's lower house of parliament, the State Duma, is ready to make amendments to the text of the new START treaty if the move is initiated by the United States, Speaker Boris Gryzlov said on Saturday.

Russian President Dmitry Medvedev and U.S. President Barack Obama signed the new treaty on April 8 in Prague to replace the START 1 agreement that expired in December 2009. It can only come into force after it is ratified by both houses of the Russian parliament and the U.S. Senate.

Russia has said it will act symmetrically with the United States regarding treaty ratification, but the treaty has met strong Republican opposition in the U.S. Senate over concerns that it may weaken U.S. anti-missile defenses.

"I hope the U.S. Congress ratifies the new START treaty, although we have already received information that they [United States] are trying to adjust and clarify the text," Gryzlov told the Rossiya TV channel. "If they do this, we will have to do the same."

"I have already ordered our international affairs committee to prepare possible adjustments to the treaty, in case such amendments are made by Congress," he added.

The Republicans won a solid majority in the U.S. congressional elections in early November, meaning President Barack Obama has until January, when the new Congressmen take up their positions, to try to push the treaty through.

The new Russian-U.S. pact obligates both nations to cap their fielded strategic nuclear weapons to 1,550 warheads, while the number of deployed and non-deployed delivery vehicles must not exceed 800 on either side.

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## Counterproliferation Program Gains Traction, but Results Remain a Mystery

*Global Security Newswire 10 December 2010, [www.globalsecuritynewswire.org](http://www.globalsecuritynewswire.org)*

The U.S.-led Proliferation Security Initiative [PSI] has recently gained key allied help in the ongoing battle to curb ... would-be proliferators. However, details of its contribution to the global effort to stem the spread of weapons of mass destruction remain a closely held secret.

South Korea has stepped up its participation to become a major partner in the initiative. October PSI naval exercises in South Korean waters along with a conference last month in the critical region have bolstered the program's efforts to deter or intercept the illicit movement of unconventional weapons. ...

The initiative's worldwide contribution against proliferation has been praised by two very different U.S. administrations.

Publicly, the program also has widespread international backing. Roughly half the nations in the world have endorsed the Proliferation Security Initiative's Statement of Interdiction Principles to deter illicit trade in weapons of mass destruction and related materials. The nations pledge to strengthen legal efforts, exchange information and take action to interdict unconventional weapons and related materials before they can reach states and terrorist organizations "of proliferation concern." Program exercises are conducted regularly around the world.

Yet the initiative's actual effectiveness and cost of is hard to measure. The clandestine nature of actual PSI operations along with its loose organization makes it hard for even its supporters to point to actual results or specific dollar costs.

A joint report by the Defense and State departments to Congress ... says "the U.S. government anticipates participating in seven to 12 U.S.-hosted and foreign hosted" PSI-related exercises in fiscal 2011-2013. "These activities focus on various regions of the world where the need exists to strengthen governments' capabilities to interdict transfers of WMD proliferation concern," according to the document.

Specific details of actual interdictions are cloaked in secret. The United States has released very little publicly on the details of PSI interceptions of potential weapon-making material. Still, well-placed current and former officials said in interviews that dozens of interdictions have taken place. "We have made some significant strides in stopping some of the shipments," a State Department official declared.

Officials involved with the initiative at the State and Defense departments spoke on the condition they would not be personally identified in accordance with department policy.

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Former White House top counterterrorism adviser Frances Townsend described the international cooperation as “an important tool. This allows us to share the necessary intelligence and the ability to act on it,” she said. “They can intercept a ship; they can intercept a shipment of materials.”

“So far it has been rather successful,” said a Western European diplomat in Washington. “It’s a very good example of the kind of cooperation we could have in that field of fighting nuclear terrorism.” ... Mark Valencia, who wrote a book on the subject, said the lack of information makes the effort difficult for outside analysts to evaluate. ... “The lack of concrete evidence also makes it hard for analysts to evaluate nonproliferation activities as being “distinctly PSI,” noted the Arms Control Association’s Peter Crail. “What still hasn’t been clear is exactly what the PSI contribution has been on top of more traditional export control efforts.”

The overall cost of the program is similarly amorphous, more than seven years after the program started, officials admit. “Determining the exact costs of these activities is a challenging task,” the report to Congress conceded, despite a legal requirement in the 9/11 Commission Act of 2007.

The program has no stand-alone organization devoted to its operation in the U.S. government or as an international body. “Quite frankly, there’s no single budget line for PSI,” said a Pentagon official. “A lot of the activities ... are sort of integrated with other budgets.”

State Department and Pentagon personnel, ships and planes involved in PSI operations are usually are devoted to other tasks as well. With caveats on the difficulty of pinning down actual costs, the report projects PSI spending at slightly less than \$1 million dollars annually. Projected spending ranges from \$900,000 to \$996,000 per year from fiscal 2011 to 2013.

### *Endorsed by Two Administrations*

Both the Obama and Bush administrations have promoted the Proliferation Security Initiative as a way to globalize the fight against WMD proliferation. ... Supporters and officials point out that 98 nations have subscribed publicly to the program’s interdiction principles. “The value of the initiative is the commitment that nations make that endorses the principle of stopping the proliferation of WMD and all the related material,” the State Department official said. That puts “a message out there for those who proliferate that they are not going to have a haven for proliferation activity.”

“It’s a state of mind,” the official noted. “But it’s a state of mind that’s reinforced by a fairly robust exercise program and a series of meetings both on a global and a regional basis ... trying to

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solve some very sticky legal problems as well as operational problems in stopping shipments and dealing with those you have stopped.”

Of the PSI participants, 21 member states form the core of the organization called the Operational Experts Group. These include: Australia, France, Japan, Russia, Singapore, the United Kingdom and United States. South Korea joined the leadership group last month, adding impetus to an experts group meeting in Japan. Still, critics say that some vital nations ... are absent from the program.

Robert Joseph, former undersecretary of State for arms control and international security, said raising awareness is “one of PSI’s major contributions. You have a lot more countries who have become much more aware of the trade in proliferation and are willing to take action.” South Korea’s decision in October to fully participate in PSI operations ... is seen as a new milestone for the initiative. “It’s a sign that operationally PSI is becoming more effective, especially given the region,” Joseph noted. ... Joseph [was] a key player in Bush administration WMD defense policy ... in 2003 when President Bush first announced this initiative...

One PSI contribution, according to analyst Crail, is bringing into the fold a large number of countries that do not belong to the Missile Technology Control Regime and the Nuclear Suppliers Group. Many PSI countries “are not part of these export control regimes. You didn’t have the same level of institutional coordination on preventing the illicit spread of sensitive goods and technologies....” “It isn’t just about interdiction. It’s about coordination and information sharing.” ...

The global marriage of intelligence and action makes it valuable, Townsend said. “It’s one thing to collect important and useful information – and it’s another thing to act on it. And PSI was the one thing where we could actually act on important counterproliferation intelligence ... to stop the transshipment of essential components that were important to proliferation.”

Without offering specifics, the Defense Department official dealing with this area confirmed “PSI countries have interdicted items to states of proliferation concern. And those items include components that could go to a WMD program.”

### *PSI Forces Smuggling Tactic Change*

One area in which the program has changed over the years is an emphasis beyond finding illicit weapons material aboard ships. “The initiative has expanded into exercises on land and in the air,” Joseph noted.

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Interdiction at sea still appears to be a major thrust of the program. U.S. officials go out of their way to insist that interceptions of suspect materials are carried out under international law.

One potentially key country that has signed on in recent years is the Bahamas, which is often used as a flag of convenience for cargo ships. A U.S.-Bahamas ship-boarding agreement under the program “would be another means for seeking their permission if it involved a WMD-related proliferation case,” noted the State Department official.

### *Exercises: from Conference Table to Searches at Sea*

One area that U.S. officials will talk about in interviews is the range of PSI exercises. “They can go from being a simple tabletop exercise all the up to a full live exercise where you have assets and ships moving around,” the Defense Department official said. “In the case of a full-scale live exercise there would probably be a target item to be found. It could be WMD or it could be a precursors or a dual-use item that supports a WMD program.”

By having nations practice seizing material, PSI exercises such as the recent trials in South Korea can hold value for future WMD challenges. “These guys get out there and work together,” Joseph said. “You have Australian and Japanese and now South Korean vessels working alongside American ships. You build important and lasting relationships that way.”

The congressional report revealed a range of planned PSI-related exercises around the globe in fiscal 2011 to 2013. These include LEADING EDGE with an Arabian Sea port inspection and interdiction. The U.S. European Command plans SEA BREEZE in the Black Sea, BALTORS in the Baltics and possibly a Caspian Sea exercise. A “PSI scenario” is included in SAHARA WIND for Western Africa.

Regular PSI meetings, as well as interception exercises, are important for international cooperation, the Pentagon official noted. “The military component might be most visible, but that’s just one aspect of it,” he said. “Workshops involve interagency participants: law enforcement, diplomatic and military. A lot of the time we are talking about dual-use materials that are going to WMD development programs, then identifying what those materials are by pictures or descriptions.”

Cooperation only goes so far, according to ex-White House official Townsend. “There’s never a total sharing of information,” she said. “People rightly care about protecting their sources and

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methods. It depends on how important is the target you want to intercept and what is your willingness to take a risk by sharing the information.”

## *New Policy on PSI*

The initiative appears to have a future, with President Obama calling for it to become a “durable” international institution. Obama wants to “adapt PSI to his own nonproliferation strategy... to make it less of a sort of ad hoc activity than the Bush administration characterized,” explained analyst Crail.

The Obama administration’s aim is to make the program “an enduring effort” without adding an international bureaucracy, according to the Pentagon official. “There’s a need to maintain the voluntary and flexible nature of what everybody signed up to,” he said, while providing some leadership.

Currently, the United States serves as what officials call the coordinating “focal point” of the program, serving to help organize meetings and share information among PSI participants. “One of the concrete steps that have been taken [to] institutionalize this is the focal point arrangements,” the defense official said. “There are certainly ongoing discussions about things that can be done further.”

Washington hopes eventually other countries will “pick up the ball,” a U.S. official noted, and serve in the coordinating role. Other U.S. considerations include finding a way to distribute the products of PSI work groups and exercises, along with developing a handbook for PSI countries.

More advance scheduling of PSI programs is another U.S. goal. “We could do tempo a little better,” the official conceded. Rather than radically revamping of the way the system operates, the aim is “how we can mature it further,” he noted.

“What we don’t intend to do is create an international organization,” the State Department official added. “That would defeat the purpose of PSI.”

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