

**CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION (TREATY
DOC. 103-21): HEARINGS BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, UNITED
STATES SENATE, ONE HUNDRED THIRD
CONGRESS, SECOND
SESSION. MARCH 22, APRIL 13, MAY 13 AND
17, JUNE 9 AND 23, 1994**

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UNITED STATES SENATE
ONE HUNDRED THIRD CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

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C O N T E N T S

MARCH 22, 1994

	Page
Christopher, Hon. Warren, Secretary of State	1
Prepared statement	4
Holum, Hon. John D., Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency .	7
Prepared statement	10

APRIL 13, 1994

Jeffords, James M., U.S. Senator From Vermont, prepared statement	46
Ledogar, Hon. Stephen J., U.S. Representative to the Conference on Disarmament, U.S. Department of State	26
Prepared Statement	32

MAY 13, 1994

Slocombe, Hon. Walter B., Deputy Under Secretary for Policy, Department of Defense	50
Prepared Statement	55
Smith, Jr., Dr. Harold P., Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Atomic Energy, Department of Defense	59
Prepared Statement	62

MAY 17, 1994

Landry, Maj. Gen. (Ret.) John, USA, National Intelligence Officer for General Purpose Forces, National Intelligence Council	71
Prepared Statement	73
Lauder, John, Chief, Arms Control Intelligence Staff for the Director of Central Intelligence	74
Mahley, Donald, Acting Assistant Director, Bureau of Multilateral Affairs, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	74
Prepared Statement	78

(III)

IV

JUNE 9, 1994

	Page
Bailey, Kathleen, Former Assistant Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Livermore, CA	125
Prepared Statement	127
Carpenter, Will B., Chemical Industry consultant, Salt Lake City, UT	88
Prepared Statement	90
Gaffney, Frank, Jr., Director, Center for Security Policy, Washington, DC	119
Prepared Statement	121
Hoeber, Amoretta, Former Deputy Under Secretary of the Army, Arlington, VA	92
Prepared Statement	94
Lehman, Ronald F., Former Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Livermore, CA	113
Prepared Statement	116
Meselson, Matthew, Department of Biochemistry and Molecular Biology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA	96
Prepared Statement	99
Moodie, Michael, president, Chemical & Biological Arms Control Institute, Alexandria, VA	102
Prepared Statement	104
Smithson, Amy, director, Chemical Weapons Convention Implementation Project, Henry L. Stimson Center, Washington, DC	130
Prepared Statement	132

JUNE 23, 1994

Holum, John D., Director, United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	158
Prepared statement	159
Shalikashvili, General John, M. USA, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff	153
Prepared statement	155
Woolsey, R. James, Director of Central Intelligence	162

APPENDIX

APRIL 13, 1994

Responses of Mr. Ledogar to Questions Asked by Senator Helms	179
Responses of Mr. Ledogar to Questions Asked by the Committee	190

MARCH 22, 1994

Responses of Mr. Holum to Questions Asked by Senator Lugar	191
--	-----

MAY 17, 1994

Responses of Mr. Mahley to Questions Asked by the Committee	194
---	-----

JUNE 23, 1994

Responses of Mr. Holum to Questions Asked by Senator Moynihan	195
Responses of Mr. Holum to Questions Asked by Senator Helms	198
Letter and Statement of Charles J. Conrad	199

CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION (TREATY DOC. 103-21)

TUESDAY, MARCH 22, 1994

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met at 10:02 a.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Claiborne Pell (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Pell, Kerry, Simon, Feingold, Helms, Lugar, Pressler, and Brown.

The CHAIRMAN. The Committee on Foreign Relations will come to order.

I will postpone my opening statement while we listen to the Secretary. The fact is that he is coming up himself to testify because of the importance he attaches to this treaty. Following that, the minority member and myself will have statements, but you will be excused unless you are fascinated with wanting to hear us and then we would be delighted. Secretary Christopher.

STATEMENT OF HON. WARREN CHRISTOPHER, SECRETARY OF STATE

Secretary CHRISTOPHER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I am here today to express strong support for the Chemical Weapons Convention and to seek the Senate's expeditious advice and consent to its ratification. As you well know, Mr. Chairman, nonproliferation is a strategic priority for our foreign policy and I believe the most urgent arms control issue of the 1990's.

Before I discuss the Chemical Weapons Convention, let me say a few words about a nonproliferation issue that has certainly been on our minds for the last few weeks: the international effort to halt North Korea's nuclear program. As I was thinking about it last night, Mr. Chairman, I thought it would be quite surprising if I appeared today on a nonproliferation subject without just saying a few words about North Korea.

Over the last year, since North Korea announced its intention to withdraw from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, we have pursued a steady, deliberate policy. Our objective is to bring North Korea back into full compliance with its NPT obligations and to restart talks with the Republic of Korea aimed at a denuclearized Korean Peninsula.

As you know, our diplomatic efforts have now reached an impasse. The North Koreans did not permit the International Atomic Energy Agency to conduct essential activities during the recent in-

spections. As a result, the agency is unable to certify that the North is not diverting or producing nuclear material for nonpeaceful purposes. Yesterday the agency's board of governors passed a resolution referring this matter to the U.N. Security Council. The North has also broken off negotiations with South Korea on exchanging envoys to discuss the nuclear issue.

We will now turn to the Security Council where deliberations with respect to this important subject have already begun. We expect that the council will soon consider a resolution calling on North Korea to complete the inspections. If there is no change in the North's attitude, sanctions will be an option soon to be considered. The United States is seeking the broadest possible international support to persuade North Korea to comply with its international nonproliferation obligations.

Our diplomacy has now reached a critical point. We have made it clear to North Korea that it must become a responsible member of the international community or that community will have no choice but to pursue other options. These other options include progressively stronger measures.

Our commitment to South Korea's security remains firm. We are prepared to take all necessary steps to ensure that the North does not misread our determination to deter aggression. The United States and South Korea offered to suspend the team spirit 1994 military exercise that we have annually with South Korea on the premise that North Korea would fully implement the International Atomic Energy Agency's inspection and also exchange envoys with the South to discuss the nuclear issue. Because these steps have not been taken, we are now consulting with South Korea on re-scheduling team spirit 1994.

The United States and South Korea, as you know, have also agreed to deploy Patriot missiles to South Korea immediately. This deployment is a prudent and defensive response to the threat posed by North Korea's ballistic missiles.

Mr. Chairman, this is clearly a difficult situation. It remains a critical foreign policy issue and we will continue to pursue a steady and resolute course with respect to this matter.

Let me now turn to our brief discussion of the Chemical Weapons Convention. Ratification of the Convention is a high priority for our administration.

President Clinton has described the Convention as being one of the most ambitious treaties in the history of arms control, one that bans an entire class of weapons of mass destruction. It will significantly enhance our national security and contribute greatly to worldwide security when it is ratified by the United States and other nations.

In his speech to the General Assembly last September, the President called on all countries to ratify the Convention quickly so that it can enter into force at the earliest possible time, January 1995. To meet this goal, the United States and others must complete their ratification procedures in time to deposit their instruments of ratification with the Secretary-General of the U.N. by July 17 of this year. Hence, this hearing marks a historic and critical step toward bringing the Convention into force.

It is important, Mr. Chairman, to recognize the long history of this Convention and the strong bipartisan support that it has had over the years. For more than 25 years under both Democratic and Republican administrations, the United States has participated in international negotiations for a Chemical Weapons Convention. This Convention that is before you today would fulfill a U.S. objective of even longer standing, the total elimination of chemical weapons.

Much has been done in the last 2 years to achieve this goal. The Bush administration helped conclude negotiations in Geneva. The U.N. endorsed the Convention. The Convention was opened for signature in Paris. Then the Convention was signed by Secretary Eagleburger on behalf of the United States and, to date, by more than 150 countries around the globe. President Clinton submitted the Convention to the Senate for ratification last November.

Other nations are awaiting U.S. action. They are looking to us to exert the leadership that is necessary to bring this treaty into force. Every move we make on the Convention sends an important message around the world. For that reason, I urge Senate action just as soon as possible.

The Chemical Weapons Convention is both a disarmament and a nonproliferation treaty. It addresses the demand for and the supply of chemical weapons. It requires parties to destroy their chemical weapons and also their production facilities and to open up these former facilities to international inspection. The treaty also prohibits them from transferring chemical weapons to others or assisting any nation in doing something that is prohibited by the Convention. States that are parties to the Convention must ban trade in specified chemicals with countries that decline to join the Convention. Finally, in the event that chemical weapons are used or threatened to be used against parties, the Convention contains procedures for assistance to those who are endangered or threatened by other countries.

The Convention thus promises to eliminate a scourge that has hung over the world for almost 80 years. Unfortunately, as we all remember, the threat chemical weapons pose to innocent civilians is not merely theoretical. Chemical weapons were first used in World War I. They have been used in local conflicts ranging since that time from Ethiopia in 1935 to the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980's and also by Iraq against its citizens.

The United States originally pursued the Convention during the cold war to eliminate the massive Soviet stockpiles. Now the good news is that, with the support of Congress, we are helping Russia to destroy its chemical weapons. The United States is already legally required to eliminate the majority of its own stockpile, irrespective of the Convention, and we are in the process of doing so. U.S. ratification will encourage Russia to ratify as well and to destroy the huge stocks of such weapons that it built up during the Soviet period.

The Convention is even more important in addressing the threat posed by chemical weapons in regions such as the Middle East and South Asia. Indeed, the Convention can play a vital role in stabilizing the post-cold war world, a world in which dangerous low-intensity conflicts can be made even more lethal if chemical weapons