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## Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document No. and Type</th>
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<th>Class.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01. Memo</td>
<td>Case Number 322949</td>
<td>01/06/92</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Edmund J. Hull to Jonathan T. Howe; RE: Algeria - New Islamic Electoral Success (1 pp.)</td>
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### Collection:

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**Date Closed:** 7/8/2005  
**FOIA/SYS Case #:** 1998-0099-F  
**Re-review Case #:**  
**P-2/P-5 Review Case #:**  
**AR Case #:** 98-0099-F/1(13)  
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**OA/ID Number:** 00002-001  
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- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information
January 6, 1992

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JONATHAN T. HOWE

THROUGH: RICHARD N. HAASS

FROM: EDMUND J. HULL

SUBJECT: Algeria: New Islamic Electoral Success and Old Stories on Nuclear Cooperation with Iraq

Algeria’s Islamic fundamentalist party (FIS) won a stunning victory in the first round of parliamentary elections Dec. 26. Of the 430 seats contested, FIS won 189 while the ruling FLN won only 16. Theoretically, the Islamists need only 27 seats in the second round of voting now set for Jan. 16 to have a majority. However, the ruling and other parties have contested the results in 145 districts, and the Constitutional Council may invalidate results in up to 100 districts where new elections would then have to be held in mid-April. There are also reports that the Army is prepared to intervene to prevent an Islamic government. Either way increasing instability is likely.

France will be acutely concerned by additional flows of Algerian refugees while Morocco and particularly Tunisia will face renewed challenges from their Islamic movements. In general, Arab regimes will be even more resistant to democratic reforms. U.S. interests and leverage are limited.

A distant and correct policy is our best bet.

The Sunday Times’s recent story on Algerian-Iraqi nuclear cooperation (attached) is not new. It is quite possible that some Iraqi nuclear scientists have taken refuge in Algeria, but we have no confirmation of reports of transfers of nuclear material. We have strongly demarched the GOA on this subject and received vigorous denials of any formal cooperation. Algerian-Chinese nuclear cooperation is a matter of public record. Anomalies in Algeria’s reactor—e.g. oversized cooling towers—have prompted us to make several demarches. As a result, the GOA has committed itself to full-scope IAEA safeguards. Like many other developing nuclear countries, these arrangements need to be monitored effectively.

Attachment
London Sunday Times article dated January 5, 1992

SECRET
Declassify on: OADR
ON ARMY-OR NOT?  
Commander, 
for now

Marshal Yegey Shaposhnikov became defense minister of the Soviet Union following the failed coup last August. He is now acting commander in chief of the army forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States. In an exclusive interview with U.S. News following a C.I.S. summit in Minsk, he discussed the challenge of reshaping the Soviet military.

On the nuclear button. I'd like to calm the international community. There are no disagreements here. A special procedure has been worked out for consultation between all the presidents who have nuclear weapons on their territory (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan). There will be unilateral command and control over all nuclear forces, tactical included. One of the nuclear "briefcases" is kept by the Russian president, one by me. The third is "in reserve." There are only two briefcases left.

[Tactical weapons] will be based, as well as scrapped, on the territory of the Russian Federation.

On Ukraine's intention to become a nuclear-free territory by 1994. It's possible to remove [nuclear weapons] from military detachments by then and to withdraw them from operational combat duty, which would rule out the possibility of a launch. But in this case, negotiations with the United States to preserve overall parity in nuclear offensive armaments would be necessary. I think the American side should take certain reciprocal steps in this direction.

U.S. NEWS &
WORLD REPORT
Jan. 13, 1992
Pg. 36

[Dividing the Soviet armed forces. Over the next two months, I'll be discussing this in all the states. The idea of joint armed forces is supported by five states: Russia, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Tajikistan and Kirgizstan. The others are sticking to the idea of national forces. I must say I don't like the idea of dividing the armed forces. It will only lead to more social differences.

There has not been a transitional period, say two years, during which we should have a joint general staff and a council of defense ministers to deal jointly with problems. We cannot turn our backs on the difficulties which will arise once we start dividing the armed forces. No matter how desperate some of the presidents are to have national armed forces, we have to take care of the destiny of our men.

Military reform on an even bigger scale than we had in mind before is necessary in our new situation. We already adopted many changes but we're determined to move forward. We plan to start introducing certain elements of a professional force in 1992. For a time we'll use both voluntary and conscript servicemen. But we expect to form the core of a professional army by 1995.

Doctrine is under scrutiny at the moment. We want to be agreed [on] by all member states. It will undergo considerable changes. But the core won't change. It will be the same defensive doctrine as before.

On conditions in the military. The key problem for us at the moment is housing construction for officers and their families. More than 200,000 officers' families do not have apartments. Only if we preserve our military can we count on preserving capable armed forces, discipline and high morale. If we fail to do this, we may well lose everything.

On the possibility of second coup. My view has not changed. The armed forces must not be used in solving political, national or other internal problems. It's none of the military's business. I'll do everything I can to stop any politician who tries to use the armed forces for his own ends.

WASHINGTON TIMES
Jan. 6, 1992
Pg. 8

Russia, Ukraine spar over military spoils

By Deborah Seward
ASSOCIATED PRESS

MOSCOW — Ukraine's military and economic goals already are tearing apart the fledgling Commonwealth of Independent States, as a Russian-Ukrainian spat over who should control the Black Sea Fleet highlights the difficulties of creating a united armed forces.

The two most powerful members of the new Commonwealth of Independent States have been so consumed by friction over the timing of price increases and control over the former Soviet armed forces that they have failed to create political structures to resolve their conflicts.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin now faces the problem of responding to Ukraine's claim to control the important Black Sea Fleet. Kiev also demands that former Soviet soldiers on its territory swear allegiance to Ukraine.

Mr. Krawchuk sees Russia as the successor to the Soviet Union, which Ukrainian President Leonid Krawchuk says he never accepts. After seven decades of domination by communist authorities in Moscow, Mr. Krawchuk does not want to see a resurgence of pro-revolutionary Russian domination over its Slavic neighbor.

WASHINGTON TIMES
Jan. 6, 1992
Pg. 8

Russia by demanding that Soviet soldiers on his territory swear allegiance to Ukraine. An unknown number of soldiers reportedly began doing so Friday — about 1,000 participated in a ceremony in Kiev Sunday — but others, including Russians, have refused.

The Ukrainian parliament initially authorized a force of more than 400,000 soldiers. But Mr. Krawchuk has said it might be as low as 90,000, depending on the country's economic capabilities.

Mr. Krawchuk has estimated 1.3 million servicemen are based in Ukraine, more than 44 percent of them ethnic Russian.

Marshall Yeghey Shaposhnikov, the head of the Commonwealth's armed forces, has said that Ukraine's move to create a powerful fleet violates the Commonwealth's defense agreements to keep strategic armed forces under a common command.

Ukrainian leaders contend the fleet is not a strategic force because it is not now armed with nuclear weapons. But military leaders in Moscow say the fleet's moves could be a counter to the U.S. 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean.

Russia and Ukraine also have clashed over uranium, trade and access to the Black Sea.

Ukraine intends to introduce its own currency in the middle of this year. That plan, along with Ukraine's overwhelming vote in favor of independence,轴线
two countries," Specter said.

"The uranium could be held in trust until Iraq gets it back or until Iraq brings technology into Algeria. Alternatively, the stuff could be used to breed plutonium for nuclear warheads."

He said one kiloton of the imported Iraqi natural uranium would be enough to produce the 10kg of plutonium required for two bombs.

"Algeria already has substantial supplies of uranium dioxide, imported from Argentina, which can be used to fuel the reactor. But the material from Iraq will ensure that production continues into the next century."

Intelligence officials have been worried for some time about the programme, pointing to recent statements by senior Islamic politicians in Algeria that the regime should build nuclear facilities in the country, if necessary.

"We have said that Saddam lost the Gulf war because he did not have an atomic bomb."

American officials suggest that Algeria's interest in the atomic bomb stems from fears about future developments in neighboring Libya. Colonel Muammar Qaddafi, the Libyan leader, has a slow-moving nuclear programme.

Intelligence sources remain uncertain about the precise details of Saddam's nuclear pact with Algeria. "It might be a trade-off, such as Saddam saying 'I'll do something, you do something'. Or he might just be saying 'Do something with this stuff for me'," said one source.

"Algeria is the only Arab nation with a nuclear capability and not to have signed the non-proliferation treaty, and Western defense officials remain sceptical of recent Algerian offers to invite international inspectors to examine the Oussara plant."

Chen said last week it would sign the treaty, ensuring that any further assistance to Algeria will be subject to international safeguards by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

"Insight: David Leppard, Nick Ralston, Ian Burrell"
SADDAAM HUSSEIN has secretly sent nuclear material and scientists to Algeria, prompting Western intelligence fears that two countries have formed a "nuclear axis" to build the Islamic world's first atomic bomb.

Iraq, successfully smuggled more than 10 tons of natural uranium past the allied military blockade before the first United Nations nuclear inspection teams arrived last May.

Whitehall sources say Saddam has also sent a team of nuclear scientists to Algeria to work on a reactor that could provide material for the manufacture of two "Nagasaki" size atomic bombs every three years. Details of the discovery are to be included in a secret report to cabinet ministers later this month.

Western governments, already alarmed by the success of the Muslim fundamentalists in last month's first round of Algerian elections, fear that an Iraqi nuclear pact with Algeria will pose a severe threat to Southern Europe, Israel and the Middle East.

"Obviously we are concerned about recent political developments in Algeria," a senior Western intelligence official said. "This shipment indicates Algeria and Iraq have a common cause. They both want a Muslim bomb."

Officials say the movement of Iraqi nuclear technicians and materials may be destined for Algeria's Chinese-built reactor, which is due to begin production next year. They think it is possible the shipment may be payment for Algeria's tacit support of Iraq during the Gulf war.

Iraq has previously gone to great lengths to conceal its nuclear bomb-making facilities from UN inspection teams, but this is the first evidence of the programme being moved abroad.

A nuclear alliance with Algeria could allow the Iraqi leader to bypass the intense UN scrutiny, enabling him to realise his nuclear ambitious despite defeat in the Gulf war.

Western intelligence sources have now received several reports about the shipment, and the Government Communications Headquarters at Cheltenham has intercepted telephonic communications between senior Iraqi officials in Baghdad. The Iraqis were overheard describing how the consignment would be sent by lorry from Iraq to Jordan and then shipped to the port of Algiers.

However, Western officials remain sceptic of such claims. They say the plant's location, inside a heavily protected military area, together with its six large cooling towers, makes it a much higher capability than Algeria has admitted.

This plan is thought to be unsuitable for the civilian purpose of producing electrical power. There are no electrical transmission facilities, power lines or large population centres nearby.

The Algerians admitted the existence of the plant only after The Sunday Times' team revealed its location in April.

Officials say the Algerians could pack the uranium around the edge of the reactor and, by irradiating it, breed weapons-grade plutonium.

Leonard Spector, a nuclear proliferation expert at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, said evidence of a nuclear pact between Iraq and Algeria would be alarming.

"More disturbing than the actual transfer of uranium is the possibility of a nuclear explosion."

SADDAM...

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Germany Debates Whether to Free Some Terrorists

By Steve Vogel
Special to The Washington Post

BONN, Jan. 3-The possibility that some members of the notorious Red Army Faction could be released from prison early has sparked a fierce debate in Germany this week, causing tensions within the ruling coalition and prompting critics to charge that the country may be going soft on terrorism.

"Why freedom for terrorists?" said the headline of the lead story in today's edition of the conservative daily Die Welt. At the same time, the former head of Bonn's counterintelligence service warned against freeing the leftist guerrillas, and commentators complained that terrorists were receiving special consideration and that their release would make, as one said, "a mockery of their victims."

But supporters argued that releasing members of the old generation of terrorists could curb the new Red Army Faction, which has reemerged in the past two years with deadly attacks.

Some top officials have acknowledged that the release of the terrorists could be seen as a signal to the Red Army Faction to cease its attacks. According to this line of thinking, by showing that the government will treat the guerrillas the same way it does other prisoners, the group would have less reason to continue.

The debate began after Stern magazine reported this week that German courts were considering the release this year of at least seven Red Army Faction guerrillas, many of them serving life sentences for crimes including murder.

The Justice Ministry insisted that the cases be reviewed because German law, which does not permit the death penalty, requires life sentences to be reviewed after 15 years. "Possibly the terrorists will lose motivation, but that is not the reason for it [the review]," said Matthias Weckerling, the ministry's spokesman. "It will be up to the courts to make a decision."

There are 36 Red Army Faction prisoners currently held in 18 German prisons. Those being considered for early release were active during the 1970s, a time when the Red Army Faction, then also known as the Baader-Meinhof Gang, was at its heyday, launching a series of murders, bombings and kidnappings.

After years of dormancy, the Red Army Faction burst back on the scene soon after the fall of the Berlin Wall, declaring war on German unification. In late 1989, the organization killed a top banker who was a close confidant of Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Last year, the group claimed responsibility for killing the head of the government agency overseeing the privatization of formerly communist-owned businesses.

The debate is causing strain in Kohl's ruling coalition. The justice minister, Klaus Kinkel, is a Free Democrat, and members of his party have been prominent in supporting the idea of releasing some of the guerrillas.

But members of the more conservative Christian Democrats, Kohl's party, have been opposed. Releasing the terrorists might be seen as a sign that the government could be too lenient, Johannes Gerster, home affairs spokesman for the Christian Democrats in parliament, told Die Welt. He also said it would be illegal to expect terrorism to be deterred by any release.

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National Security Council
The White House

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