

## WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

### Suggested bibliography

#### ARTICLES

Goldstein, Lyle J.

Lessons of the Early Cold War or Understanding WMD Proliferation Today.

JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 15, no. 4, December 2002, p. 1-23.

Consideration of employing military options against rogue proliferators is, in many respects, a throwback to the period of the early Cold War. Preventive and preemptive war options have once again become a regular part of strategic discourse. This article explores similarities between the early Cold War and the present era, focusing on how the process of proliferation creates acute fears about shifting balances of power and the risks of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) conflict. Drawing on recently published US and Russian sources, which have enabled a vastly improved empirical understanding of this period over the last decade, the article illustrates how the instability of the 'age of crises' derived in large part from three rational pathways to global war. It is argued that these three pathways are also present in the contemporary strategic environment. Also, various stabilizing elements that existed during the early Cold War are not likely to function in present circumstances. The article concludes that instability may be an inherent feature of radically asymmetric WMD rivalry.

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Weapons of Mass Destruction : The New Strategic Framework.

US FOREIGN POLICY AGENDA, vol. 7, no. 2, July 2002, Whole Issue.

<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/0702/ijpe/ijpe0702.pdf>

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Lugar, Richard G.

Redefining NATO's Mission : Preventing WMD Terrorism.

WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 3, Summer 2002, p. 7-14.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

The US senator advocates that, at the November summit in Prague, NATO should define a new mission for itself to address the foremost security challenge of our time : combating the 'vertex of evil' between weapons of mass destruction and terrorism.

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Gressang, Daniel S.

Audience and Message : Assessing Terrorist WMD Potential.

TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE, vol. 13, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 83-106.

Whether or not terrorists will use weapons of mass destruction (WMD) is a vexing question which plays on our fears of the unpredictability of terrorism and the revulsion we harbor for chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear weapons. This article outlines an approach to that question through consideration of terrorism as a contest for influence, rather than for power or control. The terrorist is assessed in terms of his being fundamentally oriented around the interactive dynamic between terrorist and perceived audience. The author argues that the likelihood of terrorist WMD use - on a mass scale - may be better indicated by examining the terrorists' own perceptions and expectations of audience, the tone and content of both symbolic and rhetorical messages, and the status of terrorists' interactions with the larger society. The author uses that model to suggest that the terrorists most likely to seriously consider large-scale WMD use are those who champion a message of destruction for, or to, an ethereal audience and who consciously seek to withdraw as completely as possible from society.

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Mates, Michael

Technology and Terrorism.

COMMITTEE REPORTS (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), October 2001, 17 p. (491.6/24).

<http://www.nato-pa.int/publications/comrep>

This report outlines precisely how technologies may enable new and extremely dangerous forms of terrorism. Current strategies to counter these threats are briefly assessed. The author also offers a few suggestions to improve public safety through a better use of new technologies and legal and political remedies.

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Lodal, Jan

Pledging 'No First Strike' : A Step Toward Real WMD Cooperation.

ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 31, no. 2, March 2001, p. 3-8.

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Morgan, Patrick

The Impact of the Revolution in Military Affairs.

JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 23, no. 1, March 2000, p. 132-162.

This contribution begins by discussing what makes for a revolution in military affairs (RMA), the components of the current one, and its probable effects on warfare in the future. Then it speculates on how the revolution will affect the future importance and use of weapons of mass destruction. It notes that the RMA has already encouraged efforts to put WMD in the background and strengthened efforts to eliminate those weapons, but that it has also incited some states to develop or rely more heavily on WMD because they fear US or Western dominance in conventional forces.

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Riecke, Henning

NATO's Non-Proliferation and Deterrence Policies : Mixed Signals and the Norm of WMD Non-Use.

JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 23, no. 1, March 2000, p. 25-51.

Since 1994, the member states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) have run a campaign to stem the spread of WMD. NATO tries to raise the costs and to reduce the benefits of WMD proliferation. The alliance, however, still utilises its nuclear posture to deter the use of all classes of WMD. The sobering status of proliferation indicates that the usual suspect states have not renounced the use of WMD at all. How is this possible ? Neoliberal and constructivist hypothesis are applied to consider the effects of NATO's non-proliferation campaign on other states' decisions to use WMD. While NATO assists several non-proliferation regimes, it points to the strategic relevance of WMD and legitimacy of their use. States in NATO's vicinity might be successfully deterred from using WMD against the alliance, but they do not change their beliefs about the applicability of such weapons

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Preventing the Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction.

JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 23, no. 1, March 2000, Special Issue.

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Lambert, Denis

Les 'armes de destruction massive' : un concept global mais peu pertinent.

DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, no. 11, novembre 1999, p. 142-154.

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Mey, Holger H.

'Counterproliferation' : Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Nichtverbreitung von Massenvernichtungswaffen.

INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 54. Jahr, Nr. 10, Oktober 1999, S. 12-20.

Neben den rechtlichen und diplomatischen Massnahmen der Verhinderung der Weiterverbreitung von Massenvernichtungswaffen (Nonproliferation) gibt es auch militärische Optionen, die 'Counterproliferation' genannt werden. Counterproliferation ist nach Meinung des Autors eine sinnvolle und notwendige Ergänzung der rechtlichen und diplomatischen Bemühungen, um den aussenpolitischen Handlungsspielraum zu erhalten.

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Fechner, Wolfgang

Schwächen in der Bekämpfung der Proliferation.

EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 48. Jg., Nr. 9, September 1999, S. 45-47.

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Hain-Cole, Crispin

The Summit Initiative on Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) : Rationale and Aims.  
NATO REVIEW, vol. 47, no. 2, Summer 1999, p. 33-34.

One of the innovative policies adopted by NATO leaders at the Washington Summit last April was an Initiative to ensure the Alliance's ability to address the challenge posed by the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD). This Initiative, an integral part of the Alliance's ongoing adaptation, will integrate political and military aspects of Alliance work on WMD issues and complement other existing international efforts in this area. The centrepiece of the Initiative is the creation of a WMD Centre to facilitate Alliance-wide coordination on proliferation matters.

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Mueller, John

Mueller, Karl

Sanctions of Mass Destruction.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 78, no. 3, May - June 1999, p. 43-53.

As Cold War threats have diminished, so-called weapons of mass destruction - nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and ballistic missiles - have become the new international bugbears. The irony is that the harm caused by these weapons pales in comparison to the havoc wreaked by a much more popular tool : economic sanctions. Tally up the casualties caused by rogue states, terrorists, and unconventional weapons, and the number is surprisingly small. The same cannot be said for deaths inflicted by international sanctions. The math is sobering and should lead the United States to reconsider its current policy of strangling Iraq.

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Panofsky, Wolfgang K. H.

Dismantling the Concept of 'Weapons of Mass Destruction'.

ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 28, no. 3, April 1998, p. 3-8.

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Betts, Richard K.

The New Threat of Mass Destruction.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 77, no. 1, January - February 1998, p. 26-41.

The risk of a catastrophic exchange of nuclear missiles has receded. Yet the chances of some use of weapons of mass destruction have risen. Chemical weapons are a lesser threat, but more likely. A vial of anthrax dispersed over Washington could kill as many as three million. Traditional deterrence will not stop a disgruntled group with no identifiable address from striking out at America. The United States must pull back from excessive foreign involvements and begin a program of civil defence to reduce casualties in the event the unthinkable happens.

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Payne, Keith B.

Detering the Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction : Lessons from History.  
COMPARATIVE STRATEGY, vol. 14, no. 4, 1995, p. 347-359.

The identification of 'how to deter' the use of WMD, in practice, is a question of how to deter an opposing leadership from extreme provocations under specific circumstances. The size and type of the US threat, and how, when and to whom it should be communicated will be shaped by the context and the character of the opponent. The initial question of interest is whether an opponent can be subjected to deterrence pressure. In addition, a significant set of contextual factors will determine the likely effectiveness of deterrence policies. The notion, widespread during the Cold War, that deterrence is simply a function of force characteristics, will be a risky basis for deterrence thinking in the future.

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Domenici, Pete V.

Countering Weapons of Mass Destruction.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 18, no. 1, Winter 1995, p. 145-152.

This article describes the threat posed by WMD, the roles of the Departments of Defense and Energy to counter the threat, and the need for a national strategy to address the threat.

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Kay, David A.

Denial and Deception Practices of WMD Proliferators : Iraq and Beyond.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 18, no. 1, Winter 1995, p. 85-105.

## BOOKS

623 /00947

Disarming Iraq by Force : **WMD** Stakes and Scenarios - Monterey, CA :  
Monterey Institute of International Studies.

15 p.; 30 cm.

Author(s):

1. Barletta, Michael

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003
2. **WMD**--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. Monterey Institute of International Studies. Center for Nonproliferation Studies (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.cns.miis.edu/pubs/week/pdf/iraqwar.pdf>> accessed 16/04/03.

'This paper outlines considerations on forcibly disarming Iraq of its capabilities to develop and wield **WMD**, divided into four sections. First, it outlines key empirical assumptions to ground the analysis that follows. Second, it offers schematic outlines of positive and negative consequences that may ensue in the event of war, organizing these diverse possible developments in terms of their relative likelihood and benefits/costs. Third, it surveys actual and possible outcomes that have been or could be realized in disarming Iraq of **WMD**, and reviews measures that have been or could be undertaken to minimize **WMD** threats posed by Saddam Hussein's regime. Fourth, on the basis of this analysis, it concludes that while all policy options entail significant risks, the likely negative outcomes of war outweigh likely positive benefits. On balance, quashing Iraq's **WMD** ambitions by force is an unnecessary gamble whose probable benefits do not warrant taking the inherent risks.'

URI: <http://www.cns.miis.edu/pubs/week/pdf/iraqwar.pdf>

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623 /00946

The North Korean 'Threat' and How to Counter It - Moscow : Carnegie Moscow Center.

6 p.; 30 cm.

(Briefing Papers ; vol. 5, issue 1, January 2003)

Author(s):

1. Pikayev, Alexander

Subject(s):

1. NUCLEAR WEAPONS--KOREA (NORTH)

Added entry(s):

1. Carnegie Moscow Center (SU)

Notes:

<<http://pubs.carnegie.ru/english/briefings/2003/issue03-01.asp>> accessed  
07/03/03.

'In the autumn of 2002, when the international community was distracted by the crisis in Iraq, a new challenge arose to the non-proliferation regimes for weapons of mass destruction (**WMD**). North Korea announced that it was pulling out of the Nuclear Weapons Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), expelling the inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and putting an end to the international monitoring of its storage facility for spent nuclear fuel, which could be used for production of weapons-grade fissionable materials. In addition, Pyongyang declared that it had everything needed for the manufacture of nuclear weapons, although for the time being it had no intention of putting them into production. Some experts believe that the DPRK already has one or two 'crude' nuclear charges.'

URI: <http://pubs.carnegie.ru/english/briefings/2003/issue03-01.asp>

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355.4 /01362

Terrorism, Proliferation : A European Threat Assessment - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

100 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 58)

Author(s):

1. Muller, Harald, 1949 May 13-

Subject(s):

1. **TERRORISM**

**2. WMD** NONPROLIFERATION

3. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY

4. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--EU COUNTRIES

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'Since 11 September, the security debate has been refocused. A brand of terrorism inspired by a militant political theology that sets no limits on the violence it employs, the spread of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery to extremist governments, and the combination of both, have become the main security concerns within the Western world that influence the preventive, defensive, and responsive instruments with which states and societies try to preserve their security. The terrorism/proliferation axis has become a very sensitive subject for the transatlantic partners, even though one might expect that their common interest in combating the risk would lead to a convergence of policies. The sharp unilateralist turn in recent US policies on arms control and non/counter-proliferation have divided the member states of the European Union. Strangely, an additional security risk emerges here to the European Union - not to the physical integrity of its member states but to the coherence of its institutions, and thereby to greater European integration.'

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327.3 /00623

Iraq : What Next ? - Washington : Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

21 p.; 30 cm.

Author(s):

1. Cirincione, Joseph
2. Mathews, Jessica T.
3. Perkovich, George

Subject(s):

1. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION--IRAQ
2. **WMD**--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.ceip.org/files/projects/npp/pdf/Iraq/webfinalv2.pdf>> accessed 18/02/03.

Bibliography.

'What can factually be said about the inspection process to date ? What more needs to be known before its success or failure can be judged, and against what measure should that judgment be made ? What are realistic timeframes for those decisions ? How should we understand and evaluate the claims, counterclaims and interpretations that will follow the reports on January 27 ?'

URI: <http://www.ceip.org/files/projects/npp/pdf/Iraq/webfinalv2.pdf>

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327.3 /00625

The United Nations and Iraq : Defanging the Viper - Westport, CT : Praeger.

xii, 238 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0275978389

Author(s):

1. Krasno, Jean E.
2. Sutterlin, James S.

Subject(s):

1. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION--IRAQ
2. **WMD**--IRAQ

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 229-230. Includes index.

'Following the Gulf War from 1991 to 1998, the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) was created to unveil and eliminate Iraq's weapons of mass destruction through inspections. This study describes how UNSCOM was designed to maintain its independence and authority, detailing the dramatic events that occurred as UNSCOM attempted to deal with an intransigent Iraq. The authors outline the special intelligence skills that UNSCOM developed over the years in response to Iraqi tactics. They also provide an accounting of UNSCOM achievements and analyze remaining concerns. Along with documentary research, much of the information in this book was obtained through a series of interviews with key players, including the Executive Directors, several UNSCOM



inspectors, and a number of ambassadors to the United Nations who were directly involved. Concerns about Iraq's remaining weapons capabilities, particularly its biological and chemical weapons, have become increasingly relevant since the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks and the ensuing anthrax threat. This study provides insight about the disarming of Iraq, as well as what lessons can be learned from the UNSCOM experiment.'

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623 /00944

Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction : A Net Assessment - London : International Institute for Strategic Studies.

78 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. **WMD**--IRAQ

2. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 76-78.

'In addition to providing a net assessment of Iraq's **WMD** capabilities, this dossier includes a history of Iraq's concealment and deception techniques to thwart UN inspections and discusses the challenges that would be faced by UN inspectors should Iraq decide to resume UN inspections, after nearly a four year hiatus. A useful compilation of key United Nations Security Council Resolutions is included in annex.'

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327 /01121

Iraq : A European Point of View - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

30 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 40)

Author(s):

1. Ortega, Martin

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ

4. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

5. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MIDDLE EAST

6. MIDDLE EAST--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

7. IRAQ WAR, 2003

8. IRAQ WAR, 2003--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'In the last few months, European governments have responded in different ways to the American desire to exercise 'pre-emptive action' against the Iraqi threat and to overthrow Saddam Hussein's regime. However, the Europeans share a sceptical attitude towards the initiative, since they perceive that a military solution might have unexpected negative consequences. Therefore, most Europeans believe that coercive action should not be taken hastily and that diplomatic means, especially through UNSC-sponsored inspections and destruction of Iraqi **WMD**, should be exhausted first. This paper suggests that Europeans are sceptical because they think that the United States underestimates the difficulties of post-Saddam state-building in what is a delicate regional environment. Also, Europeans fear that occupation of Iraq might lead to an escalation of terrorist activities in the West. Some voices in the US have indicated that creating a democratic Iraq would be the first step in the establishment of a new regional order in the Middle East, while Europeans are unconvinced about the possibility of 'importing' democracy into the region overnight by the use of force. Any stable 'new' regional order, the Europeans contend, should include a lasting and equitable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Finally, most Europeans believe that the international administration of postwar Iraq would have to deal not only with state-building but also with resources management. It remains to be seen whether this aspect of foreign administration would be accepted by the Iraqi population. In addition, lower oil prices would foster increased global oil consumption in the long term and, consequently, a worsening of the global environment, which is against the declared European policy of determined action against global warming.'

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323 /00750

After 9/11 : Preventing Mass-Destruction Terrorism and Weapons Proliferation - Monterey, CA : Monterey Institute of International Studies.

ii, 74 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Paper ; 8)

Subject(s):

1. **WMD** TERRORISM
2. **WMD** NONPROLIFERATION
3. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
4. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

Added entry(s):

1. Barletta, Michael, ed.
2. Monterey Institute of International Studies. Center for Nonproliferation Studies (US)

Notes:

<<http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/opapers/op8/op8.pdf>> accessed 20/09/02.

'Since its inception in July 1999, the Monterey Nonproliferation Strategy Group (MNSG) has been preoccupied by the spread and potential use of mass-destruction weapons, whether by such states as Iraq or transnational terrorist organizations like al-Qa'ida. In December 2001, the MNSG met in Monterey, California, to reflect upon the impact of the

September 11 terrorist attacks in the United States and their US and international repercussions, and to strategize about how the United States and international community can avert terrorism and reduce NBC threats to US and international security. This publication includes papers prepared for the meeting and a thematic review of the group's deliberations.'

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623 /00926

Proliferation in the 'Axis of Evil' : North Korea, Iran, and Iraq - Washington : Center for Strategic and International Studies.

ii, 71 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

Author(s):

1. Cordesman, Anthony H.

Subject(s):

1. **WMD**--KOREA (NORTH)
2. **WMD**--IRAN
3. **WMD**--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)

Notes:

<[http://www.csis.org/burke/proliferation\\_axis.pdf](http://www.csis.org/burke/proliferation_axis.pdf)> accessed 18/03/02.

URI: [http://www.csis.org/burke/proliferation\\_axis.pdf](http://www.csis.org/burke/proliferation_axis.pdf)

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623 /00929

Beyond Nunn-Lugar : Curbing the Next Wave of Weapons Proliferation Threats from Russia - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

xii, 263 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584870869

Subject(s):

1. **WMD** NONPROLIFERATION--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. **WMD** NONPROLIFERATION--USA
3. CTRP

Added entry(s):

1. Sokolski, Henry D., ed.
2. Riisager, Thomas, ed.
3. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'The essays in this book were originally commissioned by the Nonproliferation Policy Education Center (NPEC) as part of a year-long study on the future of US-Russian nonproliferation cooperation. What makes the book different from other studies of US-Russian cooperation is its reliance on competitive strategies. Although businesses and other organizations generally use competitive strategies analysis to secure advantage over their challengers, it also can be used to help them identify beneficial opportunities for cooperation. To date, this has not been the approach US officials have taken on nonproliferation cooperation with Russia. Instead, they have assumed that the specifics of cooperation

should be determined by whatever goals and strategies Russia and the United States share. This book takes a very different approach. The authors first focus on how Russia's and America's proliferation-related strategies and goals differ. They then identify each nation's relevant strengths and weaknesses and determine where these might best be mated to produce new forms of cooperation.'

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327 /01116

Iraq : The Transatlantic Debate - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

22 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 39)

Author(s):

1. Gordon, Philip H., 1962-

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

2. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

**3. WMD--IRAQ**

4. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION--IRAQ

5. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ

6. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ

7. IRAQ WAR, 2003

8. IRAQ WAR, 2003--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'Most Americans see the regime of Saddam Hussein as a major threat to regional and international security that must be thwarted, even if that means threatening or even using military force. Europeans do not deny that the Iraqi regime is a threat, but they question whether that threat is so pressing that the international community should run the risk of invading an Arab country in the heart of the Middle East. It will not be easy to overcome these differences in perspective - which result from a range of deeply rooted historical, cultural, strategic and domestic political factors. But it should not be impossible either. This paper proposes a common US-European strategy : joining together to demand, under the threat of an invasion that would change the Baghdad regime, Iraq's full compliance with UN Security Council resolutions calling for an end of its weapons of mass destruction programmes. If Iraq failed to comply with a new UNSC resolution reiterating these demands and setting forth a new verification regime, the United States and Europe would together overthrow Saddam Hussein and undertake a major reconstruction and peacekeeping effort in Iraq. If, on the other hand, Saddam did give up his weapons of mass destruction under the credible threat of military force, the United States would forgo plans for invading Iraq so long as Baghdad complied with existing and new UNSC resolutions.'

327.3 /00620

Iraq : A New Approach ? - Washington : Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

63 p.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION--IRAQ
2. **WMD**--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/Iraq.Report.pdf>> accessed 12/09/02.

'The papers in this collection grew out of discussions held at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace from late April to late July 2002. The discussions included top regional and military experts, former inspectors with dozens of man-years' experience in Iraq, and individuals with intimate knowledge of the diplomatic situation at the United Nations. They hold a range of views on how to ensure that Iraq complies with its international commitments to eliminate its weapons of mass destruction. Not all of the participants agree with all the views expressed in these papers. The majority agree, however, that the new approach presented here is worthy of the most serious consideration and public debate both in the United States and abroad.'

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623 /00934

Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction : The Assessment of the British Government - [s.l.] : [s.n.].

51 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. **WMD**--IRAQ

Notes:

<<http://www.fco.gov.uk>> accessed 30/09/02.

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623 /00939

Deadly Arsenals : Tracking Weapons of Mass Destruction - Washington : Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

x, 465 p. : ill.; 26 cm.

ISBN: 0870031937

Author(s):

1. Cirincione, Joseph

Subject(s):

1. **WMD**
2. NUCLEAR WEAPONS
3. BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS
4. CHEMICAL WEAPONS
5. WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

Notes:

Includes index.

'This book is a complete and authoritative resource on the spread of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and their means of delivery. Using the most accurate governmental and nongovernmental resources, it presents a clear picture of the risks posed by the proliferation of these weapons of mass destruction, as well as the successes and failures of international efforts to prevent their spread. It begins with an extended status report on the non-proliferation regime and lucid technical primers on nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and ballistic missiles. The body of the volume is country-by-country analyses - including the historical and regional influences on a country's decision to pursue, or abandon the pursuit, of weapons of mass destruction. The book has been designed to serve as an easy-to-use working resource for experts, students, journalists, and the interested public. Clear and meticulously researched charts and maps for each country of proliferation concern provide an up-to-date summary of capabilities and risks.'

623 /00909

The Price of Dominance : The New Weapons of Mass Destruction and Their Challenge to American Leadership - New York : Council on Foreign Relations.

xviii, 145 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0876092741

Author(s):

1. Lodal, Jan, 1943-

Subject(s):

1. **WMD** NONPROLIFERATION--USA

2. NUCLEAR DETERRENCE--USA

3. USA--STRATEGIC ASPECTS

4. NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--USA

5. NMD--USA

6. BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSES--USA

Notes:

Includes index.

'According to this book, the emergence of new nuclear, biological, and chemical threats is a price America pays for its growing military, economic, and cultural dominance. U.S. preeminence motivates states to oppose American power through whatever means possible, and the threat from weapons of mass destruction (**WMD**) has become more acute as globalization makes it easier for rogue states and terrorists to obtain the necessary technology. This book argues that the **WMD** threat can be stopped only with the active cooperation of other states - especially U.N. Security Council members Russia, China, and France - but U.S. policies are actually undermining international support. To gain their cooperation, the United States will have to change its approach to arms control negotiations, antiballistic missile defenses, intelligence, law enforcement, military strategies, and nuclear force deployments. The first step should be to abandon 'prompt retaliatory' nuclear war plans left over from the Cold

War that no longer serve any strategic purpose. If these plans are maintained while limited antiballistic missile defenses are deployed, they will give the United States a de facto nuclear first-strike capability and absolute military dominance. Retaining such a capability would make it possible to obtain the intelligence and law enforcement cooperation necessary to stop **WMD** proliferation. This book recommends an integrated program to foster international cooperation to stop **WMD** proliferation while retaining strong nuclear deterrence as the foundation of American security strategy.'

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323 /00699

The New Terrorism : Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction - London : Phoenix Press.

vii, 312 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 1842121251

Author(s):

1. Laqueur, Walter, 1921-

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM

2. **WMD** TERRORISM

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 283-299. Includes index.

'In this book, the author recounts the history of terrorism and examines the future of terrorism worldwide. The author traces the chilling trend away from group terrorism of oppressed nationalists and towards small clusters of fanatics bent on vengeance and simple destruction. Coinciding with this is the alarming increased availability of weapons of mass destruction, cheap and easily accessible chemical and biological weapons, and cyber terrorism. It is only a matter of time, the author argues, before the attainability of weapons of mass destruction creates a terrifying and unstable scenario.'

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327.3 /00618

Disarming Iraq : Monitoring Power and Resistance - Westport, CT : Praeger.

viii, 151 p. : ill.; 25 cm.

ISBN: 0275972615

Author(s):

1. Deaver, Michael V.

Subject(s):

1. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION--IRAQ

2. **WMD**--IRAQ

3. UNITED NATIONS--IRAQ

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 141-146. Includes index.

'The implementation of disarmament requirements imposed by the Security Council after the Second Gulf War established a strong and unequal



power relationship between the United Nations and Iraq. Although the ensuing struggle over imposed disarmament has been a major issue in world politics, international relations theorists continue to ignore it. Deaver argues that this case has important theoretical implications. Using sociological insights and a behavioural approach, he examines the power relationship as well as Iraqi resistance from 1991 to 1998. Theorists are likely to find these analytical tools useful since they provide a ready means of studying the micro-foundations of power relations in generalised terms.'

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623 /00896

Beyond Deterrence : A Global Approach to Reducing Nuclear Dangers -  
Washington : Henry L. Stimson Center.

iii, 26 p.; 30 cm.

(Report ; 38)

Subject(s):

1. NUCLEAR WEAPONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Henry L. Stimson Center (US)

Notes:

A Report on US Nuclear Weapons Policy by the New Nuclear Direction Dialogue.

'Deterring **WMD** threats in the post-Cold War era and reducing the presence and prominence of nuclear weapons do not have to be mutually exclusive. As the lone remaining superpower, the United States has the strength - and should have the courage - to lead the way toward reducing dependence on nuclear weapons, and thus enhancing the global security environment. This report seeks to facilitate US efforts toward charting this course. First, it examines the global role of nuclear weapons as they pertain to the security environments of nuclear states and recommends US actions regarding each of the states. Next, it looks at nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and US security. The report then provides a set of core principles that should support and reflect US commitment to a future where the roles, numbers, and salience of nuclear weapons are significantly diminished. It offers specific recommendations, consistent with these core principles, in three areas : nuclear testing, nuclear targeting, and ballistic missile defenses. The report concludes with a description of the end state that these core principles are likely to lead to; the steps that make the transition to the end state possible; and a discussion of the role the public should play in engaging their policymakers on these critical issues.'

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323 /00671

The New Face of Terrorism : Threats from Weapons of Mass Destruction -  
London : Tauris.

viii, 308 p.; 22 cm.

ISBN: 1860644600

Author(s):

1. Gurr, Nadine
2. Cole, Benjamin

Subject(s):

**1. WMD TERRORISM**

Notes:

Bibliography : p. 305-308.

'The end of the Cold War saw the end of the enemy 'out there' as the greatest security threat and its replacement by the 'enemy within' - the increased threat from international terrorism and the new menace from nuclear, biological and chemical weapons - a threat of extreme urgency. High profile terrorist attacks are nothing new and fear of indiscriminate slaughter by weapons of mass destruction is balanced by the argument that such mass violence could harm the cause of radical groups by forfeiting public support, stiffening government resolve and encouraging international co-operation. But the apocalyptic vision of attack by 'Spuer Terrorism' or 'Catastrophic Terrorism', with NBC weapons falling into the hands of smaller states freed from hegemonic control by Cold War superpowers or, even more alarming, of tiny and fanatical groups, haunts governments worldwide. The nerve-gas attack on the Tokyo subway by the Aum Shinrikyo religious cult, for example, produced Bill Clinton's Presidential Directive that 'there is no higher priority than preventing the acquisition of materials [by] terrorist groups.' This timely book examines actions by Aum Shinrikyo and similar groups as well as the activities of individuals such as Timothy McVeigh and Usamah bin-Laden, exploring the debate raging in the USA, Europe, Japan and Russia. The authors argue convincingly that it is foolish and counterproductive to exaggerate the threat but that it is vital for governments and security agencies to maintain extreme vigilance in the face of a possible doomsday disaster.'

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327.3 /00615

The Greatest Threat : Iraq, Weapons of Mass Destruction, and the Crisis of  
Global Security - New York : PublicAffairs.

xxiv, 262 p. : ill.; 25 cm.

ISBN: 1586480391

Author(s):

1. Butler, Richard

Subject(s):

**1. WMD--IRAQ**

**2. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION--IRAQ**

Notes:

Includes index.

'Today, more than a decade after Operation Desert Storm, Saddam Hussein has freed himself from controls over his weapons of mass destruction. He is rebuilding his chemical and biological weapons and the nuclear weapon, almost within his grasp in 1990, is back on his drawing board. He is extending the range of these missiles to Israel, Iran, and beyond. This book tells the inside story of the UN's failed attempt to stop Saddam and explains the terrible cost of this failure.'

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623 /00913

Planning the Unthinkable : How New Powers Will Use Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Weapons - Ithaca, NY : Cornell University Press.

viii, 270 p.; 24 cm.

(Cornell Studies in Security Affairs)

ISBN: 0801487048

Subject(s):

1. **WMD**
2. MILITARY POLICY
3. COMMAND AND CONTROL SYSTEMS

Added entry(s):

1. Lavoy, Peter Rene, 1961- , ed.
2. Sagan, Scott Douglas, ed.
3. Wirtz, James J., 1958- , ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'This book examines how new powers will use the chemical, biological and nuclear weapons that they have developed or are trying to acquire. It looks toward the future, examining the evolving military doctrines and command systems of the states and nonstate groups that have such weapons. It addresses how the leaders of new proliferators think about the use of this weaponry and how they ensure that the new weapons will be used when, but only when, they decide they should be used.'

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623 /00864

Weapons of Mass Destruction : Prospects for Proliferation - Houndmills, UK : MacMillan.

256 p.; 22 cm.

ISBN: 0333739388

Author(s):

1. Spiers, Edward M., 1947-

Subject(s):

1. **WMD**
2. WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 196-210. Includes index.

'Far from producing a new era of peace, tranquility and respect for international law, the ending of the Cold War has fuelled fresh concerns

about the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. These anxieties mounted both during and after the Gulf War, and were compounded by the revelations of the UN inspectors in Iraq and the belated Russian admission that scientists in the former Soviet Union had been engaged in a covert biological weapons programme for some twenty years. This book examines the changing pattern both of incentives and of disincentives for such proliferation, including the utility of these weapons at state and sub-state levels. It also considers how other states should respond, assessing the achievements and limitations of arms and export controls, the evolving concept of deterrence, the debates about counterproliferation policies and the problems in developing defences that will effectively counter an inherently dynamic phenomenon.'

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323 /00676

Transnational Threats : Blending Law Enforcement and Military Strategies - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

vii, 256 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584870370

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM
2. **WMD**
3. CYBERTERRORISM
4. ORGANIZED CRIME
5. USA--NATIONAL SECURITY
6. INTERNAL SECURITY--USA
7. LAW ENFORCEMENT--USA

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'On February 2-3, 2000, the US Army War College, the Triangle Institute for Security Studies, and the Duke University Center for Law, Ethics, and National Security co-sponsored a conference in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The conference examined transnational threats, including terrorism involving weapons of mass destruction, cyber threats to the national infrastructure, and international organized crime. The goal was to evaluate the seriousness of such threats and discuss strategies for dealing with them. In particular, the conference sought to address the question of how military and law enforcement could blend their strategies to better counter transnational threats. A secondary purpose was to clarify the role of the military in meeting challenges that transcend national borders and threaten our national interests. This book highlights some of the main issues and themes that ran through the conference. After looking at the various threats and undertaking a risk assessment, the book considers the unique aspects of transnational threats, and then identifies the key challenges facing the US, paying particular attention to the role of the military. To conclude, the book discusses some of the steps that should be taken to secure ourselves against transnational threats.'

623 /00912

U.S.-Russian-NIS Cooperation to Prevent Deadly Conflict - New York : Carnegie Corporation of New York.

vii, 80 p.; 26 cm.

(Perspectives on Prevention)

Subject(s):

1. **WMD** NONPROLIFERATION--USA
2. **WMD** NONPROLIFERATION--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. **WMD** NONPROLIFERATION--FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS
4. CTRP

Added entry(s):

1. Carnegie Corporation of New York (US)
2. Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict (US)
3. Nunn, Sam, ed.

Notes:

Reports of a Commission Task Force.

'This report focuses on a paradox confronting the US in the post-Cold War era : the risk of calculated nuclear annihilation initiated by Russia has diminished, but the potential danger of a small-scale yet highly destructive use of weapons of mass destruction (**WMD**) against the US has increased. The purpose of this report is to provide an overview of the problem and a set of recommendations for extending to Russia and the newly independent states (NIS), US cooperative **WMD** assistance in nonproliferation. The report explicates the current dilemma of the '**WMD** anarchy' confronting the US in the post-Cold War era and identifies the vital national interests at stake. It also reviews the successes and shortcomings of the existing Nunn-Lugar Program for Cooperative Threat Reduction, and highlights mounting geostrategic and political challenges in relations between the US, Russia and the NIS that threaten to derail cooperative nonproliferation assistance as it stands today. The report then recommends broad guidelines for cooperative nonproliferation assistance that build on previous experiences in light of future challenges.'

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323 /00717

The Ultimate Terrorists - Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press.

214 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0674003942

Author(s):

1. Stern, Jessica, 1958-

Subject(s):

1. **WMD** TERRORISM

Notes:

Includes index.

'This is a wide-ranging study of the threat of terrorist use of weapons of mass destruction (**WMD**). As a former director of Russian, Ukrainian and Eurasian affairs on the US Nuclear Smuggling Interagency Group, Stern is concerned with the problems of containing the spread of materials,

technology and expertise from the rickety apparatus bequeathed to the world by the Soviet regime. As the US is at the forefront of efforts to address these difficulties, Stern's insights should be read carefully by academics and officials alike. They provide an important and balanced view of the weaknesses in international security, which underpin the threat and of the measures required to provide a realistic response.'

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623 /00866

Iraq and the War of Sanctions : Conventional Threats and Weapons of Mass Destruction - Westport, CT : Praeger.

xxiii, 684 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0275965287

Author(s):

1. Cordesman, Anthony H.

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--MILITARY POLICY
2. IRAQ--ARMED FORCES
3. IRAQ--DEFENSES
4. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS--IRAQ
5. WMD--IRAQ

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 669-677. Includes index.

'Through a in-depth examination of Iraq's domestic politics, foreign policy goals, and future military capabilities, the author assesses the options available to the international community to counter the Iraqi threat. Since the Gulf War, Iraq has attempted to win through confrontation and diplomacy, and bluster what it could not achieve on the battlefield. Saddam Hussein's regime remains aggressive and ambitious, and its military capabilities cannot be judged solely by the current state of Iraq's armed forces. Most dangerous of all is Iraq's continuing effort to build an arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. Cordesman analyzes Iraqi strategic intentions and diplomatic opportunities, and assesses the options available to the international community to counter the Iraqi threat. Iraq has effectively used diplomatic means to divide the United Nations and exploit Arab sympathies, while using its oil wealth as an incentive to win support for an easing of sanctions. The military potential of Iraq, and especially its development of weapons of mass destruction, must be considered as much for its intimidation value as for any actual utility in a possible war.'

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623 /00867

Iran's Military Forces in Transition : Conventional Threats and Weapons of Mass Destruction - Westport, CT : Praeger.

x, 432 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0275965295

Author(s):

1. Cordesman, Anthony H.

Subject(s):

1. IRAN--MILITARY POLICY
2. IRAN--ARMED FORCES
3. **WMD**--IRAN
4. IRAN--DEFENSES

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 421-426. Includes index.

'Struggling with the legacy of its own Islamic revolution, Iran is deeply divided between the moderates who enjoy broad public support and the conservatives who control the levers of power. The mixed policies that result are reflected in Iran's ambivalent military posture. Iran may eventually limit any military expansion to a necessary defensive strength and set strategic goals for itself that are compatible with the legitimate interests of other nations, or it may choose a more aggressive course. Cordesman argues, regardless of the ultimate outcome, that it does no good to either demonize or excuse Iranian policies. Instead, the United States and other nations, with interests in the Middle East and Central Asia, need to deal realistically with Iran as a reemerging regional power. In this authoritative analysis, Anthony Cordesman concludes that the continuation of Iran's current defensive security posture depends as much on economic factors as on the outcome of domestic political rivalries.'

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327 /01008

Rogue Regimes : Terrorism and Proliferation - New York : St. Martin's Griffin.

xii, 338 p.; 21 cm.

ISBN: 0312217862

Author(s):

1. Tanter, Raymond

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
2. TERRORISM
3. WEAPONS PROLIFERATION
4. **WMD**

Notes:

Includes index.

'Now that the Cold War has ended, a threat matching the scope of the former Soviet Union is no longer believed to exist, but attention has turned to another part of the world that increasingly torments the US government. This region includes outlaws of the international system, notorious for state-sponsored terrorism, drug trafficking, and a desire to acquire nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. The author here explores US foreign

policy toward Middle East nations like Iran, Iraq, Libya and Syria, uncovering the reasons why these countries are so menacing to the United States. In addition, Tanter examines US policy toward North Korea, an Asian country whose disintegration may result in war involving American troops on the Korean Peninsula. The book concludes by discussing the practice of terrorism and proliferation across regimes like Iraq, formal groups like the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and freelancers like Osama bin Laden who is suspected of masterminding the bombing of American embassies in Africa.'

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623 /00843

Security Implications of the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Middle East - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

vi, 53 p.; 23 cm.

Author(s):

1. Hajjar, Sami G., 1939-

Subject(s):

1. **WMD** NONPROLIFERATION--MIDDLE EAST

2. MIDDLE EAST--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'Operation Desert Fox in December 1998 is the most recent demonstration of the centrality of the issue of weapons of mass destruction for US foreign policy priorities. The proliferation of these weapons in a region of the world deemed vital for US and Western interests because of its massive oil reserves, and the region's history of conflict and strife, mean that the potential for instability and adventurism is increased. This monograph addresses the important question of the security implications for the nations of the region of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East. The author offers a unique perspective based on extensive interviews that he conducted in the region, and makes specific policy recommendations for US military and civilian decisionmakers.'

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623 /00831

Denial and Jeopardy : Deterring Iranian Use of NBC Weapons - Washington : National Defense University Press.

xiv, 131 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 157906003X

Author(s):

1. DeSutter, Paula A.

Subject(s):

1. **WMD**--IRAN

2. IRAN--MILITARY POLICY

Added entry(s):



1. National Defense University. Center for Counterproliferation Research (US)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 113-129.

'The potential spread of nuclear, biological and chemical (NBC) weapons increasingly threatens the United States and its forces around the world. The use of such weapons could complicate every phase of military operations from deployment through ports and staging facilities to operating in an NBC environment while maintaining the cohesion of a coalition. Some states may pursue nuclear weapons capability for status alone, but the ability of NBC weapons to act as a force multiplier in the international arena has not escaped the attention of a disturbing array of hostile states, to include Iran. In this assessment, the author portrays Iran as aggressively pursuing NBC weapons, ballistic missiles, and other means of delivery and as particularly difficult to deter from using NBC weapons. She develops a strategic profile of that country, identifying probable Iranian incentives for using NBC weapons, the likely targets of such use, and the challenges faced by the United States in deterring Iranian use. Finally, she proposes a strategy designed both to strengthen deterrence of Iranian use of NBC weapons and means of delivery and to diminish the consequences of NBC use should deterrence fail. Many have assumed that US conventional or nuclear superiority can axiomatically deter a regional state from using NBC capabilities in a contingency, except perhaps as a weapon of last resort. This book challenges the reader to reconsider that assumption and suggests that thinking about deterrence should focus on regional threats to our security that might involve NBC use.'

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623 /00834

Strategic Exposure : Proliferation around the Mediterranean - Santa Monica, CA : Rand Corporation.

xviii, 107 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 083302373X

Author(s):

1. Lesser, Ian O., 1957-
2. Tellis, Ashley J.

Subject(s):

1. WEAPONS PROLIFERATION--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
2. **WMD**--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Rand Corporation (US)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 101-107.

'The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction - nuclear, chemical, and biological - and the means for their delivery at ever longer ranges is a leading issue in the post-Cold War debate about international security, and a prominent concern of US policymakers and strategists. Nowhere are the effects of proliferation trends more keenly felt than around the



Mediterranean, where the spread of such weapons across North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean places NATO's southern allies - Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey and France - at particular risk. The authors explore these proliferation trends and discuss the implications for European security and US and NATO policy. In a detailed, country-by-country analysis, the authors find that key states south and east of the Mediterranean either possess or are in the process of acquiring **WMDs**, along with the means for delivering these weapons across the Mediterranean. Within ten years, it is possible that every southern European capital will be within range of ballistic missiles based in North Africa. Because vulnerable allies may be reluctant to commit forces or even to support US action, European exposure to **WMD** risks will directly affect the United States and NATO. At a minimum, a Europe at risk will demand increasing reassurance and deterrence against these risks, and US and NATO policymakers must reappraise alliance strategy with **WMD** threats from the Middle East in mind.'

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623 /00771

Weapons of Mass Destruction : New Perspectives on Counterproliferation - Washington : National Defense University Press.

xiv, 247 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0160478227

Subject(s):

1. COUNTERPROLIFERATION--USA
2. **WMD**

Added entry(s):

1. Johnson, Stuart E., ed.
2. Lewis, William H., ed.
3. National Defense University (US)

Notes:

'Unlike classical force planning against a hostile nation with conventional forces, coping with weapons of mass destruction is a complex issue, and the tools at our disposal are imperfect. Motivations for developing or attempting to develop an arsenal of weapons of mass destruction differ from region to region and from country to country. An approach that is appropriate for one region or class of nations may be useless in addressing proliferation in another. This volume presents a broad look at the problem facing US policy makers.'

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327.3 /00472

The Third World and Weapons of Mass Destruction - Cheltenham, UK : Intelligence International Limited.

23 p.; 21 cm.

(Intelligence Digest Special Briefing Paper ; 141)

Subject(s):

1. CHEMICAL NONPROLIFERATION--DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
2. BIOLOGICAL NONPROLIFERATION--DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
3. NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION--DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
4. **WMD**

Added entry(s):

1. Intelligence International Limited (GB)

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623 /00631

Weapons of Mass Destruction : A Growing Threat in the 1990s? - London :  
RISCT.

26 p.; 25 cm.

(Conflict studies, 0069-8792 ; 235)

Author(s):

1. Barnaby, Frank

Subject(s):

1. NUCLEAR WEAPONS
2. CHEMICAL WARFARE
3. BIOLOGICAL WARFARE
4. NUCLEAR TERRORISM

5. **WMD**

Added entry(s):

1. Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism (GB)