Does NATO have a role in the fight against terrorism and weapons of mass destruction?

Suggested bibliography

WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

ARTICLES

Parachini, John
Putting WMD Terrorism into Perspective.

So-called new terrorists may not always escalate to unconventional weapons. Inordinate attention on the comparatively unique challenges of WMD terrorism draws scarce resources and focus away from the more basic but essential activities to stop terrorism in the first place.

- Kempf, Olivier
Les ADM : un flou dangereux.

Les armes de destruction massive (ADM), au coeur de l'actualite, ne recoivent pourtant pas de definition precise. Ces imprecisions semantiques recouvrent une profonde ambiguite doctrinale. Cette confusion affaiblit en premier lieu la dissuasion, l'arme nucleaire pouvant devenir une arme d'emploi commun : en voulant faire profiter les armes non-nucleaires de l'interdit attache au nucleaire, on a attiedi cet interdit.

- Goldstein, Lyle J.
Lessons of the Early Cold War or Understanding WMD Proliferation Today.

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.

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

- Lugar, Richard G.
  Redefining NATO's Mission: Preventing WMD Terrorism.

  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.

- Gressang, Daniel S.

  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.
Mates, Michael  
Technology and Terrorism.  
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.  

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Morgan, Patrick  
The Impact of the Revolution in Military Affairs.  

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.  

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.


Lambert, Denis

Mey, Holger H.

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.

Fechner, Wolfgang
Schwachen in der Bekämpfung der Proliferation. EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 48. Jg., Nr. 9, September 1999, S. 45-47.

Hain-Cole, Crispin

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.

Mueller, John
Mueller, Karl
Sanctions of Mass Destruction.

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.

Panofsky, Wolfgang K. H.
Dismantling the Concept of 'Weapons of Mass Destruction'.

Betts, Richard K.

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.
Payne, Keith B.
Deterring the Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction : Lessons from History.

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.

Domenici, Pete V.
Countering Weapons of Mass Destruction.

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.

Kay, David A.
Denial and Deception Practices of WMD Proliferators : Iraq and Beyond.
9 p.; 30 cm.
(BASIC Paper; 45)
Author: Chamberlain, Nigel
Subject: NUCLEAR WEAPONS--IRAN

Notes:
'Iran is developing an extensive nuclear programme. The Iranian Government says it is entirely legitimate and necessitated by growing energy demands and the need to diversify energy sources. The Bush administration openly accuses Iran of working on a clandestine nuclear weapons programme. European governments have played a more conciliatory role, seeking greater transparency in exchange for civil nuclear technology transfer. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has been trying to establish the facts and has called on Iran to fully account for its activities by the end of the October 2003.'

xi, 55 p.; 23 cm.
ISBN: 1584871350
Author: Gray, Colin S.
Subject(s):
1. DETERRENCE (STRATEGY)
2. DETERRENCE (STRATEGY)--USA
Notes:
'While deterrence is as old as human conflict itself, it became particularly important with the advent of nuclear weapons when armed conflict between the superpowers had the potential to end civilization. Today there is a sense that terrorism has rendered deterrence obsolete and forced the United States to substitute preemption for it. The author illustrates that strategic reality is not simple. He provides both a conceptual framework for understanding deterrence or, more accurately, the psychology of deterrence and policy guidance on how the United States can most effectively use it. The author concludes that an adaptable and flexible military with robust landpower is the only tool that can maintain deterrence.'
Nuclear Terrorism = Le terrorisme nucleaire - Geneva : UNIDIR.
72 + 80 p.; 30 cm.
(Disarmament Forum ; 2/03 = Forum du Desarmement ; 2/03)
Subject(s): NUCLEAR TERRORISM
Authors:
1. Vignard, Kerstin, ed.
2. Compagnion, Valerie, ed.
3. United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
Notes:
'Since 11 September 2001, the concept of nuclear terrorism no longer seems far-fetched. Scenarios such as a suicide attack on a nuclear power plant or a 'dirty bomb' detonated in an urban area have been played out in the media, by government officials and experts - sometimes in an alarmist fashion and often generating more questions than answers. Are dirty bombs nuclear weapons? Are terrorists capable of building a nuclear weapon? Could they buy one? There seems to be widespread uncertainty concerning the capabilities of terrorists and the threat posed by them. In this issue, experts examine terrorist capabilities and means, distinguish hype from real concerns, and propose arms control responses.'

xiv, 276 p. : ill.; 24 cm.
ISBN: 0199252424
Author: Zarimpas, Nicholas, ed.
Notes:
Includes index.
'At a time when arms control is being deconstructed by some and a blueprint for its reconstitution is being sought by others, the enhancement of transparency in nuclear warheads and materials as a means to achieve deeper and irreversible nuclear reductions deserves urgent attention. The contributions in this volume map out the progress made and identify and discuss the reasons why countries possessing nuclear weapons are impeding transparency. The main focus is on the technical means and procedures that have been used, are under development or have been proposed for building, strengthening and institutionalizing transparency. The authors analyse the arrangements for the establishment of stockpile declarations, the verification of nuclear warhead status and dismantlement, the storage and disposal of fissile materials, as well as the monitoring of production facilities. This volume brings together a unique and wide body of information and in-depth analysis
by an informed group of arms control experts and is expected to stimulate international debate on the subject of nuclear transparency.'

327.3/00625


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

Subjects:
1. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION--IRAQ
2. WMD--IRAQ

Notes:

'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.'

15 p.; 30 cm.

Author: Barletta, Michael

Subjects:
1. IRAQ WAR, 2003
2. WMD--IRAQ

Notes:

'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.'

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: Pikayev, Alexander

Subject(s):
1. NUCLEAR WEAPONS--KOREA (NORTH)

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.'

355.4/01362
Terrorism, Proliferation : A European Threat Assessment - Paris : European Union
Institute for Security Studies.
100 p.; 24 cm.
(Chaillot Papers ; 58)
Author: Muller, Harald, 1949 May 13-
Subject(s):
  1. TERRORISM
  2. WMD NONPROLIFERATION
  3. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
  4. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--EU COUNTRIES
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.'
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

Notes:

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?'

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:

'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.'

623/00944
78 p. : ill.; 30 cm.
Subject(s):
1. WMD--IRAQ
2. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION--IRAQ
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.'

327/01121
30 p.; 30 cm.
(Of occasional Papers ; 40)
Author: 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
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.'

323/00750
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-
Author: Barletta, Michael, ed.
Notes:
'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.'
nation's relevant strengths and weaknesses and determine where these might best be mated to produce new forms of cooperation.'

327/01116
22 p.; 30 cm.
(Occasional Papers ; 39)
Author: 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
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.'
63 p.; 30 cm.
Subject(s):
1. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION--IRAQ
2. WMD--IRAQ
Notes:
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.'

Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction : The Assessment of the British Government - [s.l.] : [s.n.].
51 p. : ill.; 30 cm.
Notes:<http://www.fco.gov.uk> accessed 30/09/02.

x, 465 p. : ill.; 26 cm.
ISBN: 0870031937
Author : Cirincione, Joseph
Notes:
'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.'
vii, 312 p.; 24 cm.
ISBN: 1842121251
Author: Laqueur, Walter, 1921-
Subjects:
1. TERRORISM
2. WMD TERRORISM
Notes:
'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.'

viii, 151 p.; ill.; 25 cm.
ISBN: 0275972615
Author: Deaver, Michael V.
Subjects:
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.'
'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.'
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 'Super 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.
xxiv, 262 p. : ill.; 25 cm.
ISBN: 1586480391
Author: Butler, Richard
Subjects:
1. WMD--IRAQ
2. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION--IRAQ
Notes:
'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.'

viii, 270 p.; 24 cm.
(Cornell Studies in Security Affairs)
ISBN: 0801487048
Subjects:
1. WMD
2. MILITARY POLICY
3. COMMAND AND CONTROL SYSTEMS
Authors:
1. Lavoy, Peter Rene, 1961- , ed.
Notes:
'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.'
Weapons of Mass Destruction: Prospects for Proliferation

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.

Transnational Threats: Blending Law Enforcement and Military Strategies

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

vii, 80 p.; 26 cm.
(Perspectives on Prevention)
Subjects:
1. WMD NONPROLIFERATION--USA
2. WMD NONPROLIFERATION--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. WMD NONPROLIFERATION--FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS
4. CTRP
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.'
323/00717
The Ultimate Terrorists - Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press.
214 p.; 24 cm.
ISBN: 0674003942
Author: Stern, Jessica, 1958-
Notes:
'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.'

623/00866
xxiii, 684 p. : ill.; 24 cm.
ISBN: 0275965287
Author: Cordesman, Anthony H.
Subjects:
1. IRAQ--MILITARY POLICY
2. IRAQ--ARMED FORCES
3. IRAQ--DEFENSES
4. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS--IRAQ
5. WMD--IRAQ
Notes:
'Through an 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.

623/00867
   x, 432 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.
   ISBN: 0275965295
   Author: Cordesman, Anthony H.
   Subjects:
   1. IRAN--MILITARY POLICY
   2. IRAN--ARMED FORCES
   3. WMD--IRAN
   4. IRAN--DEFENSES
   Notes:
   '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.'
Rogue Regimes: Terrorism and Proliferation - New York: St. Martin's Griffin.

Authors: Tanter, Raymond

Subjects:
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.


Author: Hajjar, Sami G., 1939-

Subjects:
1. WMD NONPROLIFERATION--MIDDLE EAST
2. MIDDLE EAST--NATIONAL SECURITY

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.'
‘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 reevaluate alliance strategy with WMD threats from the Middle East in mind.’
xiv, 247 p. : ill.; 23 cm.
ISBN: 0160478227
Subjects:
1. COUNTERPROLIFERATION--USA
2. WMD
Authors:
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.'

23 p.; 21 cm.
(Intelligence Digest Special Briefing Paper ; 141)
Subjects:
1. CHEMICAL NONPROLIFERATION--DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
2. BIOLOGICAL NONPROLIFERATION--DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
3. NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION--DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
4. WMD

26 p.; 25 cm.
(Conflict studies, 0069-8792 ; 235)
Authors: Barnaby, Frank
Subjects: NUCLEAR WEAPONS
TERRORISM

ARTICLES

Bennett, Christopher
Combating Terrorism.

The Alliance has refined its contribution to the war on terrorism. The author compares the current debate on NATO with that of a decade earlier.

Varwick, Johannes
Die Nordatlantikorganisation und der 'War on Terrorism'
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 41. Jg., Heft 5, September - Oktober 2003, S. 617-621.

Robertson, George
The Role of the Military in Combating Terrorism.

Yavuzalp, Osman
Working with Partners to Fight Terrorism.
NATO REVIEW, Spring 2003, 2 p., accessed 24/04/03.
http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2003/issue1/english/art3_pr.html

EAPC leaders endorsed a Partnership Action Plan against Terrorism (Action Plan) at the Prague Summit. In signing up to the Action Plan, which was drawn up by NATO in close consultation with Partners, EAPC leaders recognised that all countries face the same security challenges and that only by working together would they be able to combat them. Allies stand to gain because the Action Plan increases the opportunities and provides mechanisms for interested Partners to contribute to and support NATO’s efforts in the fight against terrorism. From the Partners’ perspective, the Action Plan helps increase cooperation among them in combating terrorism. The Action Plan may also serve as an instrument by which countries can share expertise and experience of combating terrorism. In the coming months, focus will be placed on the following areas: political consultations; information sharing; border control; WMD-related terrorism; cooperation in civil-emergency planning; information exchange about forces; and force planning.
Bennett, Christopher
Combating Terrorism.
NATO REVIEW, Spring 2003, 3 p., accessed 24/04/03.
http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2003/issue1/english/art2_pr.html

9/11 changed terrorism from what was essentially a domestic, law-enforcement concern, into an international security problem. As a result, NATO’s relevance is increasingly measured in terms of its contribution to the war against terrorism. In response, the Alliance has put in place the building blocks for a comprehensive approach to the threat posed by terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, including a military concept for defence against terrorism. Allies agree that NATO should be ready to help deter, defend, disrupt and protect against terrorist attacks, as and when required. And at the Prague Summit, Alliance leaders endorsed a lengthy package of measures and initiatives, virtually all of which can be considered as designed to combat terrorism. Implementation may, however, prove problematic. Even if countries live up to their commitments, NATO will have to change the way in which it operates to reflect the requirements imposed by a new strategic environment. Moreover, many issues related to the war on terrorism remain controversial. The challenge is to achieve consensus around concrete actions to address the threats before another atrocity like 9/11 takes place.

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Gordon, Philip H.
NATO and the War on Terrorism.

Even with all the right reforms, NATO will probably not again become the central defense organization it was during the Cold War or even during the Balkan wars of the 1990s. But it remains an essential tool with which the United States and its key allies can coordinate their militaries, promote the unification of Europe, maintain peace in the Balkans, and quite possibly fight major military operations anywhere in the world. The Prague Summit should be used to revitalize and adapt a still-essential organization, not to announce its demise.
Lugar, Richard G.
Redefining NATO's Mission : Preventing WMD Terrorism.

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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Shea, Jamie
NATO and Terrorism.

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Valasek, Tomas
The Fight Against Terrorism : Where's NATO?
BOOKS

355.4 /01330
Western Unity and the Transatlantic Security Challenge
Garmisch-Partenkirchen: George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, 2002
(Marshall Center Papers; 4)
Authors:
Ham, Peter van, 1963-
Kugler, Richard L.

'Some observers worry that the United States and Europe are drifting apart. After a brief burst of cooperation in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on the United States, there is a rising chorus of both old and new complaints. Many Europeans criticize the United States for doing too much on its own, becoming overly focused on the Global War Against Terrorism, and ignoring legitimate European concerns. Americans respond that the Europeans are spending too little on defense, failing to implement the 'Revolution in Military Affairs', and pursuing narrowly European defense initiatives that may undermine NATO capabilities. This paper seeks to clarify such issues by presenting two rather different views. Peter van Ham, writing from the European perspective, contends that the transatlantic relationship suffers from the fact that it is asymmetrical. Richard L. Kugler provides an incisive American view. He applauds the European dream of unifying an entire continent under the mantle of democracy, economic integration, and multilateral cooperation, but he warns that Europe must not wall itself off from the rest of the world.'

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355.4 /01342
Shaping a New Security Agenda for Future Regional Co-operation in the Mediterranean Region
Rome: NATO Defense, 2002
(College Series: Seminar Report Series; 14)

'4th Mediterranean Dialogue International Research Seminar, Rome, 21-24 November, 2001. 'The theme for this seminar had been selected before the terrorist attacks plunged the US into mourning on 11 September 2001. The organisers' objective was to identify ways in which the Mediterranean dialogue countries could deal collectively with those risks that are sometimes referred to, incorrectly, as soft security issues, and to draw up a new agenda for regional co-operation. Indeed, the seminar highlighted the fact that unresolved economic, political, and social problems actually help to sustain the breeding ground for open conflict and terrorism at both the local and the transnational level.'

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The Twelfth International Antalya Conference on Security and Cooperation
Antalya : [s.n.], 2002
'The Twelfth International Antalya Conference on Security and Cooperation on Terrorism: A Global Challenge to International Security - NATO's capabilities and resources to maintain peace and peoples' peace and security' organized by the Turkish Atlantic Council was held in Antalya on 11th-15th April 2002 under the High Patronage of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. This book contains the basic documentation of the Conference and the transcripts of statements made by the eminent participants during the Inaugural Ceremony and sessions as well as the list of participants.'

All for One: Terrorism, NATO and the United States
Aldershot, UK : Ashgate, 2002
Author: Lansford, Tom
'This detailed examination of the role of the Transatlantic Alliance in support of the America-led military and intelligence operations against the Taliban and the Al-Qaida network since the terrorist attacks on the United States provides the first in-depth analysis of NATO's historic first invocation of Article V of the Washington Treaty. Including a substantial overview of NATO's place in the broad security framework of the Western Atlantic powers and both the shared history and ideals that form its common basis, the book specifically analyzes the political machinations behind the decision to invoke Article V and the impact of political differences among the Alliance partners. The book also looks at efforts to prevent future incidents by expanding the security framework of the Alliance. An essential reference source for military and foreign policy academics, courses and practitioners, this text offers the reader an unprecedented insight into NATO's response to this most significant event.'

NATO, the European Union, and the Atlantic Community: The Transatlantic Bargain Reconsidered
Lanham, MD : Rowman & Littlefield, 2003
Author: Sloan, Stanley R.
'This book provides a full interpretive history of the transatlantic alliance, which has been at the heart of US and European foreign and security policies since NATO was founded in 1949. The author explores the deep roots of current tensions shaking the alliance as its members face the challenge of adapting to new threats posed by terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. This comes at a time when the US-European relationship itself is in transition as NATO and the EU are taking in new members and seeking constructive ties to Russia. Meanwhile, the United States
is trying to adapt to its role as the world's only global power, sometimes acting too much like the hegemon that it has become. Concluding with a perspective on the future of transatlantic relations, the author argues that a new Atlantic Community treaty is needed to ensure the future vitality of transatlantic ties.'

496.3 /00346
NATO and European Security : Alliance Politics from the End of the Cold War to the Age of Terrorism
Westport, CT : Praeger 2003
(Humanistic Perspectives on International Relations)
Authors :
Moens, Alexander, 1959- , ed.
Cohen, Lenard J., ed.
Sens, Allen Gregory, ed.

'From the end of the Cold War to the terrorist attacks on the United States in September 2001, the NATO Alliance has changed profoundly. This book explores the multifaceted consequences of NATO's adjustment to new international and domestic political and security realities. Internal Alliance politics and matters of relative power within the membership have strongly influenced recent NATO developments. Several major issues challenging the Alliance are examined, including how the impact of efforts to develop an enhanced common European security and defence policy have affected NATO; whether missile defence is driving the United States and its European allies closer or further apart; how the experience of NATO in the Balkans and elsewhere brought alliance members together or made NATO cohesion more difficult to maintain; and in what way the changing role of NATO has influenced American and Canadian participation in the Alliance.'

323 /00801
The Counterterror Coalitions : Cooperation with Europe, NATO, and the European Union
Santa Monica, CA : Rand Corporation, 2003
(Rand Publications ; MR-1746-AF)

'The long-term success of the counterterror campaign will depend on concerted cooperation from European states, but a key question is the extent to which that cooperation should be pursued through European multilateral institutions. This study argues that the United States should pursue military and intelligence cooperation on a bilateral basis, and it should increasingly pursue financial and law enforcement cooperation on a multilateral basis. The United States should adopt a nuanced strategy in its counterterror relations with Europe.'
URL:  http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1746/ (accessed 20/10/03)
Managing Change: Evolution in the Global Arena and Mediterranean Security
(NATO Defense College Seminar Report Series; 15)
Authors:
Ose, Dieter, ed.
Borgomano-Loup, Laure, ed.

5th Mediterranean Dialogue International Research Seminar, Rome, 27-30 October, 2002. 'The events of 11 September 2001 have generated a wealth of discordant literature about the evolution in international security and the strategic changes required to cope with it. The Mediterranean region, in which some countries have been experiencing violence and terrorism for years, is the one that is most concerned in thinking about the exact nature of these changes that go far beyond strictly military security. But, while there is certainly a need to reconsider the existing policies of both the North and the South vis-à-vis the Mediterranean region, how can we implement change there without endangering a stability that does sometimes tend to be shaky? This Seminar tries to envisage change in terms of the international and regional security environment, training for the civilian and military actors, terrorism and, finally, the Mediterranean Dialogue itself.'