

WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AS TOOL OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Uluslararası Siyasette Bir Araç Olarak Kitle İmha Silahları

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ABSTRACT

Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) has become serious issue especially after Cold War why symetric war perception has changed. In Cold War era, armament competition has been based for two blocks which has been between NATO and Warsaw Pacts. So Cold War has also involved to control of the armament process. Two blocks has signed treaties or agreements about disarmament concept. Conventional and nuclear arms were the main discussion issues in that era. Beside those arms, biologic or chemical arms has been intensively used in Vietnam War. Ideologic competition has required military solidarity with the super powers. USA and USSR have sold weapons to their allies in not only Europe continent but also to Asia, Africa, Southern America. The countries which have been asministrated by dictators have had WMD through the super power's competition. Currently the main problem, WMD can not be controlled by the treaties or agreements. After the dissemination of Soviet Bloc, WMD has been captured by different forces which some of them non-state actors. Dictators can not be controlled by any force. Super powers has founded balance in Cold War. New era has indicated to world public opinion main contradiction has not been among West and East, in fact it is among North and South. Southern countries' people feel they are pressed by Northern countries. Islamic fundamentalism is accepted instead of Marxism by the Arabs for resistance to developed countries. Arabs do not trust to their dictators. Al Queda has emerged from these injury emotions, it has been based on global environment. Islamic fundemantalism facilitates to use WMD, to realize terror attacks. 9/11 events has shown us, asymetric war has been realized by terror organizations, they are also non-state actors and they have not regular forces. Pre-emptive or preventive strike concept has been resourced from these terror strikes. In US strategies WMD has been coded as Chemical Biologic Radiological Nuclear Explosive (CBRNE) weapons.

In this paper, WMD will be considered as tool of new world order and asymetric war era.

ÖZET

Soğuk Savaş sonrası özellikle Kitle İmha Silahları (KİS)'e sahip olmak, simetrik savaş algısı değiştiği için ciddi bir sorun haline geldi. Soğuk Savaş döneminde, silahlanma rekabeti NATO ve Varşova paktlarının arasında, iki blok temelinde oluşmuştu . Böylece Soğuk Savaş'ta silahlanma süreci kontrollü bir biçimde gerçekleşti . İki blok silahsızlanma kavramı üzerine antlaşmalar ve anlaşmalar imzaladılar. Konvansiyonel ve nükleer silahlar

temel tartışma konularıydı. Bu silahların yanısıra, biyolojik veya kimyasal silahlar Vietnam Savaşı sırasında yoğun olarak kullanıldı. İdeolojik rekabet süper güçlerle askeri dayanışmayı gerektirmiştir. ABD ve SSCB sadece Avrupa kıtasındaki müttefiklerine değil, aynı zamanda Asya, Afrika, Güney Amerika'daki müttefiklerine de silah sattılar. Diktatörler tarafından yönetilen ülkeler, süper güçlerin rekabeti sayesinde KİS'e sahip oldular. Şu anda asıl sorun, KİS'in anlaşmalar veya sözleşmeler aracılığıyla kontrol edilememesidir. Sovyet Bloku'nun dağılmasından sonra, KİS içinde devlet dışı aktörlerin de olduğu birtakım değişik güçler tarafından gasp edilmiştir. Diktatörler herhangi bir güç tarafından kontrol edilemez. Süper güçler Soğuk Savaş denge kurmuşlardı. Yeni dönemde dünya kamuoyunun işaret ettiği asıl çelişki Batı ve Doğu arasında değil, Kuzey ve Güney. Güney arasındadır. Güney ülkelerinin insanları Kuzey ülkeleri tarafından kendilerine baskı yapıldığını hissetmektedirler Marksizm yerine İslami köktendincilik, Araplar tarafından gelişmiş ülkelere karşı direnç olarak kabul edilir. Araplar kendi diktatörlerine güvenmemektedirler. El Kaide bu incinme duygularından, küresel ortamda ortaya çıkmıştır. İslam köktendincilik, terör saldırılarının gerçekleştirilmesinde kitle imha silahları kullanmayı kolaylaştırmaktadır. 11 Eylül olayları, asimetrik savaşın aynı zamanda devlet dışı aktör ve düzensiz kuvvet olan, terör örgütleri tarafından gerçekleştirildiğini bizlere göstermiştir. . Önleyici vuruş kavramı bu terör saldırılarından kaynaklanmıştır. KİS Kimyasal Biyolojik Radyolojik Nükleer Patlayıcı (CBRNE) silah olarak kodlanmıştır.

Bu yazıda, KİS yeni dünya düzeni ve asimetrik savaşta bir araç olarak ele alınacaktır.

Key Words: Weapon, Mass, Destruction, International, Politics

Anahtar Sözcükler: Silah, Kitle, İmha, Uluslararası, Siyaset

U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY AGAINST WMD

According to U.S. National Security Strategy to combat WMD includes:

- **“Proactive counterproliferation efforts.**
- **Strengthened nonproliferation efforts**
- **Effective consequence management to respond to the effects of WMD** U.S. National Security Strategy, (2002: nss 5)

U.S National Security Strategy has described WMD as the new threat. There is an interesting word in the paper. *“We cannot let our enemies strike first.”* It is the source of pre-emptive strike or war. We face a new approach which does not exist in international law documents. So it determines new world order and international relations. U.S. National Security paper defends itself with these words: *“ For centuries, international law recognized that nations need not suffer an attack before they can lawfully take action to defend themselves against forces that present an imminent danger of attack. Legal scholars and international jurists often conditioned the legitimacy of preemption on the existence of an imminent threat—most often a visible mobilization of armies, navies, and air forces preparing to attack.We must adapt the concept of imminent threat to the capabilities and objectives of today’s adversaries. Rogue states and terrorists do*

not seek to attack us using conventional means. They know such attacks would fail. Instead, they rely on acts of terror and, potentially, the use of weapons of mass destruction—weapons that can be easily concealed, delivered covertly, and used without warning. The United States has long maintained the option of preemptive actions to counter a sufficient threat to our national security. The greater the threat, the greater is the risk of inaction—and the more compelling the case for taking anticipatory action to defend ourselves, even if uncertainty remains as to the time and place of the enemy’s attack. To forestall or prevent such hostile acts by our adversaries, the United States will, if necessary, act preemptively. The purpose of our actions will always be to eliminate a specific threat to the United States or our allies and friends. The reasons for our actions will be clear, the force measured, and the cause just.”

In order to analyze these comments, some concepts can help us. For instance ‘new threat’, ‘imminent threat’, ‘uncertainty’, ‘specific threat’, ‘pre-emptive strike’, ‘allies and friends’ etc. U.S. has categorized states as rogue states, allies, friends and there is a new category which has been named as non-state actors or terrorist organizations. U.S. approach includes that “*WMD threat is related with non-state organizations and rogue states.*” There are two kinds of application. Homeland security departments are not only in U.S. but they are also in European countries. They are named the departments of fighting with terrorism. It is about domestic politics. But U.S. and E.U behave in the concept of ‘combat to terrorism’ in NATO frame or European Defence Agency especially in 2006. Domestic structures are connected with global network. NATO has founded three excellence centers in her body. Norway has one of them which is missioned for training in defence against terrorism and for winter operations. Germany has it about air power competence. Turkey has founded excellence center as ‘The Defence Against Terrorism Center’ in Ankara. It has advanced courses on a wide-range of terrorism related topics, such as protection against hostage taking, defense against suicide bombing and countering cyber terrorism. NATO official web site, (2005: e714b)

Agreement about these centers has been signed on 14 July at the Command’s Headquarters in Norfolk, Virginia, United States. In the other hand, fighting with global terrorism involves to prevent ‘rogue states’ or ‘non-state actors’ in the ‘out of area’. We consider about ‘out of area’ why it has been commented in U.S., NATO, and E.U documents. ‘Out of area’ means the world except U.S. and E.U and both of them’s allies and friends. So using of WMD by non-state actors and rogue states can be prevented in ‘out of area’. But there is a serious problem. ‘Rogue states’ concept does not exist in international law procedure. Catching the terrorist organizations is like ‘ghost hunter’s position. Where are the terrorist or their organizations? Globalism process is also globalized terrorist organizations. For instance we can consider about Al Queda. It has not a hierarchical organization schema. These organization has cells and they are connected with global network. U.S. has invaded Afghanistan to destroy Al Queda. And also she has invaded Iraq why Iraq has been accused about proliferation of WMD. These invasions bring to human’s minds, ‘new Roman empire’ or ‘imperial sovereignty’ allegations. Are

there two sides. Is 'imperial power versus global terrorism 'evaluation realistic? The interesting point, WMD has been sold to third world countries especially by USA and former Soviet Union. Especially "after the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, Russia and the other newly independent states of the former Soviet Union experienced significant political instability, social upheaval, and economic decline. Many policy makers and analysts feared the prospect of a huge number of CRBNE weapons scientists in Russia illicitly selling their expertise to state those weapons." Sam Nunn, (1996:4-7)

1. PSI AS A NEW NETWORK FOR NONPROLIFERATION OF WMD

Beside the indicated discussions, a new network was founded against proliferation of WMD. New network's name is Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI). It is also related with December 2002 National Strategy to Combat WMD. This strategy highlighted traditional "nonproliferation measures such as diplomacy, arms control, threat reduction assistance and export controls should be enhanced, the strategy places increasing emphasis on counterproliferation and consequence management of WMD use." Sharon Squassoni, Congressional Research Service, "***Proliferation Security Initiative***", Order Code RS21 According to Bolton, "U.S. and key allies have always been alert to danger of illicit WMD-trafficking of WMD-related goods gained more prominence under the 2002 strategy as a counterproliferation tool. It became U.S. policy of our military, intelligence, technical and law enforcement communities to prevent the movement of WMD materials, technology and expertise to hostile states and terrorist organizations." Bolton, (2004)

PSI was announced by U.S. President Bush in Krakow Poland in 2003. Currently 60 countries support PSI. Argentina, Iraq and Georgia are the partnership's newest members. PSI's founding members are: U.S.A, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Turkey, U.K., Australia, Japan, and Singapore. (Source: U.S. Department of State) PSI has 4 main headlines. 1- Domestic law enforcement 2- Border Security 3- Ship-boarding Agreements 4- Conducting Interdiction Exercises. PSI participants especially have trained for 'maritime interdiction in the Mediterranean, Arabian Sea and Western Pacific Ocean. Bolton says that, WMD interdiction would target shipments to rogue states and terrorists that pose the most imminent threat. "***The Proliferation Security Initiative: An Interview with John Bolton***", Arms Control Today,(December 2003). We can remember 'imminent threat' concept from U.S. National Security Strategy. It can legitimate pre-emptive strike or war approach. He has added 'greater cooperation not just among intelligence and military services but in law enforcement as well." Bolton,(March 30, 2004), "***2004 HIRC Testimony***" In this context, PSI has the competence about 'shutting down facilities, seizing materials, and freezing assets.' (See, [<http://www.whitehouse.gov/response/index.html>] for the text of President's speech and a fact sheet.)

A new international order is emerging with the threaten of WMD. These competences can be realized on overborders. Border security concept does not only exist in U.S. documents, E.U also gets attention to same issue. U.S. is consulting with two dozen countries on ship-boarding agreements. She has signed ship-boarding agreements with Liberia, Marshall Islands and Panama. Burk has indicated that the greatest threat to peace today is the spread of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. Susan Burk, (2004: 32899)

In this approach involves 'global, flexible and forward-looking' efforts. Burks added , "Strong diplomacy, the developments of new partnerships, international treaties and regimes, multilateral export control regimes, arms control efforts, and export control and border security cooperative programs." (ibid) We must accept that, PSI is the plus of U.N why it has flexibility to prevent imminent threats. Ironically PSI's domestic law enforcement policies is commented with the U.N Security Council's Resolution 1540. But the key word about PSI is 'deterrent'.

Last year U.S., Japan, Australia and France has realized interdiction exercise in Japan. The exercise has been named as 'Team Samurai 2004'. In 2006, Turkey will be prior for new exercise in Eastern Meditarnaen especially with Israel, Egypt, Jordan and other regional countries. Turkey is full member of NATO, ally of USA, also has the perspective of full membership to E.U. The other countries are in NATO Meditarnaen Dialogue, E.U. Neighborhood Policy related with E.U. Barcelona Process. Nonproliferation of WMD has indicated new categorizations in international politics area. Before analyzing of new era, we can consider about CRBNE.

2. *WHAT IS CBRNE?*

In this paper, we would not touch technical infrastructure of WMD. But firstly, WMD must be evaluated with some indicators. USA has classified WMD with the code of CBRNE. CBRNE means that Chemical Biological Radiologic or Nuclear Explosives. "Chemical incidents are characterized by the rapid onset of medical symptoms (minutes or hours) and easily observed signatures (colored residue, dead foliage, pungent odor, and dead insect and animal life). In the case of a biological incident, the onset of symptoms requires days to weeks and there tygically will be no characteristic signatures. Because of the delayed onset symptoms in a biological incident, the area affected may be greater due to the migration of infected individuals. In the case of radiological (nuclear) incident, the onset of symptoms requires days to weeks and there typically will be no characteristic signatures. Radiological materials are not recognizable by the senses, and are colorless and odorless. Specialized equipment is required to determine the size of effected area and if the level of radioactivity presents an immediate or long-term health hazard. Because of the delayed onset of symptoms in a radiological incident, the affected area may be greater due to the migration of contaminated individuals." *Chemical/Biological/Radiological Incident Handbook (1998)*

As we see, there is a great risk for the human existence about WMD. Critical questions about WMD, there must be a common approach against terrorism. But it is not enough. Countries should behave with the cooperation against WMD and terrorism. We will consider about Turkish approach to terrorism and after, will present the proposals about the combatting to global terrorism and using of WMD.

3. TURKISH APPROACH TO TERRORISM AND WMD

Currently, according to US, failed states or rogue states threaten world peace and stabilization. But quasi states are more dangerous for the stabilization why in the sample of Iraq, there is no authority in the separated regions, quasi states can not be accused. For instance, there are 75 thousand insurgencies -who are called by Kurdish Regional Government as pashmarga- in Northern Iraq. Iraq Kurdistan Democrats Party's leader Barzani says, "we will not destroy pashmargas after founding of the regular Iraq armed forces. What will be Pashmarga's situation, in the federal or unitar Iraq government. It is not the symmetric counterpart of Turkey. If there would be some attacks from these forces, who would be accused? Iraq or auotonom Kurdish region. Furthermore, there will be chaos in the region. Quasi states will be supported by Western countries against to nation-states. So, quasi-states' structures would facilitate terrorism. After 9/11 NATO has decided, prior threat perception has been terrorism, and fighting with terrorism has been essential. But the new forms of the states, or quasi states are real barriers to struggle with terrorism. We must not comment only PKK's situation would be stronger in quasi state form. Hizballah is also organized mostly in Kurdish fundamentalist masses. Like PKK, Hizballah would gain new mobilization channels in Northern Iraq and it affects Southeastern of Turkey. A probabl independent Kurdish state means Kurdish Hizballah's mobilization just like in Lebanon and Palestine. Soner Çağaptay concerned the Kurdish Hizballah's situation in Washington Institute. Regional stabilization can be gained with nation-states and regular orders. Quasi states are the real barriers for the stabilization. Northern Iraq is the real sample of the quasi states, just like Southern Iraq or Central Iraq. Kurdish authorities behave on the irresponsible base. There is a real suspicious question, if Kurdish card will be used to regional countries. U.S' behaviour to Iran and Syria is known. But Turkey is in the same context. Kurdish card is the atomization factor of the region. However, Turkey has been missioned in Greater Middle East and Northern Africa Project in G-8 summit in June 2004. She is also missioned in NATO's summit on the same month, and İstanbul Cooperation Iniatative has been founded. As we have underlined, EU's progress report has indicated same project about Turkey.

Why we have commented especially about Northern Iraq's situation because it has become source of terrorism and transport way of WMD. Currently, there is no real authority in the region. First of all, if US has invaded Iraq because of WMD, she must control the area and ignore PKK. Recently in Turkish press, Turkish National Security Paper is discussed and there are some allegations that asymmetric threaten will be accepted as national security perception. Turkey

internalized global threaten as national threaten. So, Turkey'e enemies are globalized. Naturally, Turkey expects that, her national threaten especially PKK, must be globalized. If Turkey's ally US does not behave against PKK, how can Turkey get initiative to global terror or WMD why PKK also uses WMD. We must create realistic standarts. As it has been indicated in U.S. Counterintelligence Strategy, "terrorist groups often act like intelligence organizations by conducting pre-operational planning, compartmented operations, cover communications, and training. The global war on terrorism requires an effective counterintelligence strategy to help counter these hostile activities." *We Will Extend the Safeguards of Strategic Counterintelligence to the Global War on Terrorism*", (March 2005) The National Counterintelligence Strategy of the United States, Office of National Counterintelligence Executive, p.3.

If PKK has been perceptioned differently, therefore there is a great dilemma for U.S. and her allies. And Turkey, is ally of U.S.A. It also brings strategic crisis between both of the allies for each other. A probabl quasi state in Northern Iraq means to deny global war on terrorism and WMD. We must add that, Turkey was targeted in November 15-20 2003 attacks related with Al Queda groups. But never forget, terrorist attacks can not be classified with their objectives. Some Western countries do not accept PKK as a terrorist organization. If Turkey plans to stop terrorist attacks from Northern Iraq and realize operations to there, will the case be evaluated as a strike about global war on terrorism or attack to an independent state. Naturally, Turkey keeps her rights about legal defense. Can Turkey use pre-emptive strike to Northern Iraq? It is also valid for Southern Cyprus. In 1997 S-300 missiles deployment has been planned by Cyprus Greek Authority and those missiles could be reached to Turkey's capital Ankara. Turkey has pressed about that development to Cyprus Greek Authority to give up deployment. After the event, Greece has deployed missiles to Cretan island. If Cyprus Greek Authority has not given up, could Turkey use pre-emptive strike why those missiles are WMD.

These questions are critical and must be responded honestly. If allies has equal rights against terrorism, everything can be discussed clearly.

4. CONCLUSION

WMD has become the essential determiner in international politics why it has been illicitly captured or making progress on proliferation by non-state actors and some of the states. In Cold War era, there has been a balance between two blocks. So, conventional and nuclear arms can have been controlled by international treaties and agreements. International public opinion has been effective about the issue. After the collapse of Soviet Union and her allies, Cold War ended. Eveybody expects new century would bring peace and stability. But new era's new problem, some of the states can not be controlled why international competititon and treaties can not affect them. U.S. has become only super power. Micro-nationalism and regional conflicts feeds new armament process. But in the new era, armament process does not realize between blocks, it realizes on regional components. Economic depression effects former Soviet Union's scientists.

Especially illicit WMD production and proliferation methods has been started to use by dictatorships. Beside these developments, in Cold War era and after, U.S. has sold WMD or its raw material to her allies or friends. Friends generally are positioned in third world geography.

9/11 attacks has been a starting point of global war on terrorism. But currently, there is an environment which includes smaller countries, regional conflicts and absolutely quasi states feeds illicitly WMD traffic. Northern Iraq is the tangible sample of quasi states. We underline Northern Iraq why it is not considered in the discussions and also indicator of the antiterroristic approach. Greater Middle East and Northern Africa Project facilitates quasi states. These regions has not regular state authority and has become center of terrorism and WMD traffic.

There must be a common approach against WMD and terrorism. PSI is the new era's initiative for preventing WMD's transport, proliferation and production. It can be commented as plus of U.N why it has enforcement facilitates. U.S., NATO and EU has progressed common policies against WMD. PSI generally includes NATO's and EU's members, plus Russia. If regional conflicts and emerging of quasi states can be prevented, and invasions can be stopped, humanity would catch optimum point to escape from WMD and its results.

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