

HOW VIOLENT NON- STATE ACTORS LEARNED TO STOP WORRYING AND SIMPLY BUY THE BOMB

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Violent non-state actors (VNSA) continue to weaponize Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear materials (CBRN). Rising to infamy with al-Qaeda, the development of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) is a significant objective for VNSA. Al-Qaeda looked to achieve this capability through state sponsorship, due to inability to advance unassisted. Similarly, the Aum Shinrikyo group was able to develop CBRN capabilities with assistance. WMD once again emerged as a primary concern during the Syrian Civil War. According to available information, VNSA have been unable to produce a deliverable CBRN weapon on their own. Currently, neither UN nor White House's policies address developing gaps in WMD acquisition prevention. This paper will address growing concerns about the United States' ability to counter the acquisition of WMD by VNSA while offering several options for policy makers. In accordance with current policy, deterrence techniques targeting state to state sales of WMD are vague and no concrete options are given for state to VNSA transactions. It is the recommendation of this paper to adopt a three-fold approach to policy which would destroy available WMD, increase the capacity to secure WMD, and reestablish deterrence using military and diplomatic action. Introducing Foreign Internal Defense (FID) to at-risk nations would increase institutional security capacity. In the event of a failure to secure WMD, diplomatic sanctions, as well as kinetic action, would be available options acting upon states which export WMD equipment. The acquisition of CBRN WMD by VNSA is a significant concern to national security and should be addressed by future policies.

KEY WORDS

- **Foreign Internal Defense (FID)**

Integration of civilian agencies and military forces of a government into actions and programs to secure its society from “subversion, lawlessness, insurgency, terrorism, and other threats to its security.”¹

- **Violent Non-State Actor (VNSA)**

Non-state organizations which use collective violence against non-combatants to achieve political goals.

- **Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)**

Defined by U.S. law² as:

- A destructive device, such as an explosive or incendiary bomb, rocket, or grenade.
- A weapon that is designed to cause death or serious injury through toxic or poisonous chemicals.
- A weapon that is designed to release dangerous levels of radiation or radioactivity.

¹ Joint Publication, *Foreign Internal Defense*, JP 3-22 (Washington, DC: Joint Chiefs Staff, 2018), https://www.jcs.mil/Portals/36/Documents/Doctrine/pubs/jp3_22.pdf?ver=2018-10-10-112450-103

² *Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction, U.S. Code § 2332a* (1998).

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The world is facing an increased threat perpetuated by the attempts of VNSA to acquire WMDs. VNSA are understood to be non-state organizations which use violence against non-combatants to achieve political goals.³ These organizations have worked to obtain the assistance of third-party states to help in the acquisition of WMD. Today, the possibility of a VNSA acquiring the knowledge to employ a WMD is increasingly more likely to be achieved through a sale or through the capture of another state's WMD stockpiles. While this threat is commonly accepted as significant, as VNSA capabilities to acquire WMD increase, the current gap in the United States' policy to counter acquisition grows.

How is the acquisition of WMDs by VNSA preventable?

BRIEF BACKGROUND

In 1994, Osama Bin Laden and other members of al-Qaeda expressed heightened interest in the acquisition of WMDs. According to testimony given by Jamal Ahmad al-Fadl during *United States of America v Usama Bin Laden*, early attempts at acquiring this ability were supported by both the National Islamic Front and the Sudanese Military.⁴ Al-Qaeda's increased interest in developing CBRN-style WMDs was compounded by ongoing cooperation with the Sudanese government. In 1998, President Clinton ordered a missile strike on the Al-Shifra pharmaceutical factory in Sudan,⁵ a location suspected of producing WMD for both al-Qaeda and the Sudanese government. Although this strike proved to be controversial due to negligible

³ Thomas, Troy S., Stephen D. Kiser, and William D. Casebeer. 2005. *Warlords Rising: Confronting Violent Non-State Actors*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

⁴ Salama, Sammy. "Does Intent Equal Capability? Al-Qaeda and Weapons of Mass Destruction." *Nonproliferation Review* Vol. 12, No 3 (2005). Pp. 625.

⁵ James Risen. "Question of Evidence: A Special Report; To Bomb Sudan Plant, or Not: A Year Later, Debates Rankle." *The New York Times*. October 27, 1999. (Accessed February 8, 2020).

intelligence prior to the strike, such action indicates the US Government was acutely aware of al-Qaeda's state-aided WMD production interests. Early on, it became clear that al-Qaeda was interested in pursuing the development of WMDs, but that the support of a third-party state was needed.

From 1990-1995 the Aum Shinrikyo group conducted a series of attacks throughout Tokyo utilizing chemical and biological agents. Following several failed attempts to gain political influence in the Japanese electoral process, the organization turned to violence. During this migration of strategy, the organization built several factories purposed to produce CBRN WMDs. From the outset, scientists were recruited to help in the development of these weapons,⁶ indicative of an initial inability to produce these weapons with their current knowledge. In addition to creating a grass-roots CBRN program, Aum Shinrikyo tried to acquire CBRN technology through overseas purchases; including a factitious medical mission to Zaire with the objective of acquiring samples of Ebola.⁷ The organization's interest and relative success in developing a CBRN weapon's program was perpetuated due to foreign acquisition and the recruitment of subject matter experts. The actions taken by this organization have served as a template for Al-Qaeda and ISIS in their quest to acquire WMD.

Nearly two decades later, CBRN WMDs have continued to evolve the landscape of battlefields around the world, most notably in the Syrian Civil War. Early on it became evident that CBRN WMDs would play a prominent role in this conflict. In 2012, President Obama announced the infamous "red line,"⁸ wherein the mobilization or utilization of chemical weapons by the Assad regime would provoke a response from the US Government. Shortly thereafter, the first use of chemical

⁶ Gunaratna, Rohan. "Aum Shinrikyo's Rise, Fall, and Revival." *Counter Terrorism Trends and Analyses* Vol. 10, No. 8 (2018).

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ "Remarks by the President to the White House Press Corps." Whitehouse.gov. Last modified August 20, 2012.

weapons during the Syrian Civil War occurred on December 23, 2012⁹ in Homs, Syria, carried out by the Assad regime. Throughout the conflict, a variety of chemical weapons have been used to conduct strikes against targets. For nearly two and a half years, chemical weapons were used exclusively by the Assad regime, mostly comprised of Sarin and Chlorine gas. Beginning in 2015¹⁰ ISIS began to implement the use of Sulfur Mustard gas into their operations. This transition in strategy is believed to signify the culmination of 20 years of WMD experimentation by Sunni Jihadi groups.¹¹ The significant waiting period before retaliatory chemical attacks is believed to be caused by a variety of factors; most prominently, it was a result of ISIS's inability to develop these weapons into a deliverable form.¹² In 2014, as ISIS occupied Mosul following a retreating Iraqi Army, resources and experts at Mosul University and a secondary location at Tal Afar¹³ were exploited in order to expand the organization's CBRN capabilities. Although ISIS succeeded in weaponizing small amounts of Sulfur Mustard gas during this time, more concerning is the knowledge which was gained. Following ISIS's collapse, it is estimated that thousands of former ISIS combatants returned to their native countries.¹⁴

Although ISIS was only able to produce their limited amounts of WMD, a secondary plan was in development. ISIS's magazine *Dabiq* has claimed that the organization has expressed interest in the purchase of "a nuclear weapon through Pakistan."¹⁵ According to these claims, the

⁹ Schneider, Tobias. "Nowhere to Hide: The Logic of Chemical Weapons Use in Syria." Global Public Policy Institute, February 2019. Pp. 39.

¹⁰ Ibid. Pp 44.

¹¹ Strack, Columb. "The Evolution of the Islamic State's Chemical Weapons Effort." *CTC Sentinel* Vol. 10 No. 9 (2017).

¹² Rathore, Shahzeb. "Is the Threat of ISIS Using CBRN Real?" *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analysis* Vol. 8. No. 2 (2016). Pp. 7.

¹³ Hoffman, Bruce. "CBRN Terrorism." Counter-Terrorism Issues and Challenges to Homeland Security: Psycho-Strategic Aspects. Class lecture at the Inter-Disciplinary Center, Herzliya, Israel, August 2, 2020.

¹⁴ Hoffman. "CBRN Terrorism." August 2, 2020.

¹⁵ Hummel, Stephan. "The Islamic State and WMD: Assessing the Future Threat." *CTC Sentinel* Vol. 9. No. 1 (2016). Pp. 18.

weapon would be taken “to Nigeria, and then smuggle[d] it into the United States through Mexico”.¹⁶ While highly unlikely, this is reflective of continued WMD aspirations.

CURRENT POLICIES REGARDING THE ISSUE

In 2004, the United Nations (UN) adopted UNSC Resolution 1540 which addresses issues associated with the distribution of support towards non-state actors¹⁷ pertaining to chemical or biological weapons and their means of delivery. Additionally, the resolution implores states to establish controls to prevent the illicit trafficking of materials associated with the development of WMD. Then, in 2016, UNSC Resolution 2325 was adopted, urging all states to strengthen their non-proliferation efforts, in continued support of UNSCR 1540.¹⁸ In conjunction with 2325 it was noted that gaps in this policy will continue to open in this “rapidly evolving global security environment.”¹⁹ Due to the specific language used in both UNSCR 1540 and UNSCR 2325, there is difficulty in the unanimous enforcement of the resolutions in all cases. In April 2020, it was announced that a “Comprehensive Review”²⁰ of UNSCR 1540 is underway prior to its renewal in April 2021. Specifically, the review will focus on the implementation of the resolution; it has previously been criticized for growing gaps in enforcement capabilities.

¹⁶ Acharya, Arabinda. “ISIS’ Chemical Weapons.” *Foreign Affairs*. *Foreign Affairs Magazine*, March 2, 2016.

¹⁷ UN Security Council, *Security Council Resolution 1540 (2004)*, 28 April 2004, S/RES/1540 (2004)

¹⁸ “Security Council Adopts Resolution 2325 (2016), Calling for Framework to Keep Terrorists, Other Non-State Actors from Acquiring Weapons of Mass Destruction | Meetings Coverage and Press Releases.” United Nations.

¹⁹ United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs. *Fact Sheet: UN Security Council Resolution 1540 (2004)*. (New York, NY: UN, 2019).

²⁰ United Nations. “1540 Committee Chair Briefs Security Council on 2021 Comprehensive Review of Implementation Status of Resolution 1540 (2004).” News release, April 30, 2020. <https://www.un.org/press/en/2020/sc14177.doc.htm>.

The UN's intention to eliminate the threat of Syrian chemical weapons was reflected in the approval of UNSC Resolution 2118 in 2013. Following UNSCR 2118's ratification, Russia became legally bound as guarantor. This bill called for the immediate transition of chemical weapons from the Syrian Arab Republic to international control and adherence to the destruction timetable established by the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW); with an expected completion date in 2014.

Five years later, in January 2018, then- U.S. Secretary of State Tillerson stated that Russia has breached its obligations as the guarantor in UNSCR 2118. In February, the U.S. disarmament ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament, Robert Wood, reiterated these comments, stating that "Russia has violated its commitments."²¹ As recent as April 2018, chemical attacks have been documented in Syria.²² Shockingly, the largest spike in the use of chemical weapons came between March-June 2015, after the 2014 deadline (see Appendix A). These continued attacks are illustrative of the failed control of Syria's WMDs, the failure of a single-scope diplomacy approach, and the inability of UN Policy to control a deteriorating situation.

The 2018 *National Strategy for Countering WMD* is characterized by "deny, detect, and defeat." Active denial of materials necessary in the production of WMD to VNSAs is prioritized. It is the explicit goal of the White House to place supplies for WMD "beyond the reach of terrorists"²³ and to subsequently reduce residual global quantities. This desire of the US Government facilitated its support of UNSCR Resolution 2118 as well as the signing of the *Framework for Elimination of Syrian Chemical Weapons* (FESCW) in unification with the Syrian and Russian governments. Publicly, the US has yet to release specific

²¹ "U.S. Says Russia Violating Duty to Rein in Syria's Use of Chemical Weapons." Reuters. Thomas Reuters, February 28, 2018.

²² "Fact Sheets & Briefs." Timeline of Syrian Chemical Weapons Activity, 2012-2019 | Arms Control Association.

²³ White House, *National Strategy for Countering Weapons of Mass Destruction Terrorism*. (Washington, DC: White House, 2018).

policies to prevent the denial portion of their strategy, rather focusing on a framework, which is open to interpretation.

Based on pre-9/11 and Al-Qaeda specific concerns, a significant portion of US CBRN policy is single-scoped. While chemical threats are definitionally included in CBRN policy, a large amount of US policy is focused on the prevention of the acquisition of strategic nuclear material. Among the stated objectives of the *Office of Weapons of Mass Destruction Terrorism* (WMDT) at the United States Department of State is to: develop and implement “bilateral joint action plans with at-risk foreign partners.”²⁴ Among the six priorities intended to advance the mission of WMDT, three specifically mention either nuclear or atomic weapons, yet none specifically reference chemical or biological threats.

Since 1997, the United States has ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC). At the time, this convention set a historical precedent; serving as the first disarmament agreement providing the elimination of an entire category of WMDs, aiming to be accomplished in a specified period. In support of this mission, the United States has continued to fund the OPCW in accordance with their annual membership dues. Although there are 193 states which have ratified this convention,²⁵ member countries include Syria, a country who has actively used chemical weapons since its ratification of the CWC. The United States’ continued ratification of the CWC is reflective of the stated objective to eliminate chemical weapons stockpiles, yet only effectively accomplishes this among responsible nations.

In accordance with the United States’ support of Russian efforts to eliminate chemical weapons in conjunction with UNSCR 2118, American military support was used to destroy portions of Syria’s chemical weapons. In 2013, the United States’ *Defense Threat Reduction*

²⁴ “Key Topics – Office of Weapons of Mass Destruction Terrorism - United States Department of State.” U.S. Department of State. U.S. Department of State, May 2, 2019. <https://www.state.gov/key-topics-office-of-weapons-of-mass-destruction-terrorism/>.

²⁵ “Member States.” OPCW, 2020. <https://www.opcw.org/about-us/member-states>.

Agency (DTRA) employed a Field Deployable Hydrolysis System on the MV Cape Ray.²⁶ The United States has continued to support worldwide initiatives to destroy chemical weapon stockpiles, yet these have been reactionary actions rather than proactive.

Current policies address a single scoped focus in the prevention of the acquisition of WMDs, either by states which do not currently possess the capabilities or by VNSA who are attempting gain these capabilities. Policy currently prioritizes the destruction of chemical weapon stockpiles, but not the prevention of the sale of technology or weaponized material. To exemplify this gap in policy, North Korea's sale of a nuclear reactor to Syria²⁷ has been identified as a contemporary example of this action. This sale of WMD from state-state has occurred periodically in recent history, but the sale of WMDs from any state entity to a VNSA has yet to be seen. In a rapidly evolving world, there is necessity to address these issues with specific policies. A potential sale, coupled with ISIS's newfound ability to manufacture chemical weapons dispersed among its diaspora of fighters, creates a serious dilemma and further defines the evolving gap which exists in current policy.

With this potential gap in policy, several questions must be addressed: What can provide incentive for nations to refrain from the sale of WMD to a VNSA? What policies would allow for the securing of WMD abandoned by a failed or failing state?

POLICY OPTIONS (For Visual Analysis See Appendix B)

Option A: Introduction of significant American ground forces to secure vulnerable WMD. This is the least diplomatic of the policy options which are currently at the disposal of the US Government, it advocates for the introduction of American ground forces to the areas where WMD stockpiles are at risk. Should a nation's WMD stockpile be

²⁶ "United States." Nuclear Threat Initiative - Ten Years of Building a Safer World, 2016. <https://www.nti.org/learn/countries/united-states/chemical/>.

²⁷ Bechtol, Bruce E. "North Korea's Illegal Weapons Trade." Foreign Affairs. Foreign Affairs Magazine, August 14, 2019.

identified as at risk of being acquired by a VNSA, military assets could be introduced to deliver an additional layer of security at the site which has been compromised. This action could be taken in conjunction with current UN and US policy in relation to the disarmament of chemical weapon stockpiles. Similar to action taken by the United States in the destruction of portions of Syria's chemical weapon surplus, security could be provided while further dismantling occurs. The disadvantages incurred with this option include the possibility of American casualties, the violation of a nation's sovereignty, and the potential escalation of the situation. Conversely, this option's largest benefit is the direct observation of the security and destruction of WMD by American forces.

Option B: Implement a strategy of retaliatory bombings focused on the suppression of willingness to use chemical weapons. Within the Syrian Civil War, a combination of diplomatic and kinetic threats have been made against the perpetrators of chemical weapon usage. It has been hypothesized that retaliatory bombardments and credible threats have been responsible for several lulls in the use of chemical weapons by the Syrian government²⁸. While this is a reactionary option, this policy choice would allow for coalition governments to decide on the level of retaliation that would satisfy the retaliation's intention. These targeting bombings would have the potential to attack significant military locations or chemical production sites as well as individuals who are perceived to be integral to the implementation of WMD. The primary benefit of this option is the application of a specific punishment to a specific crime, allowing for a direct reaction in response to chemical attacks. Additionally, this option has already been proven to be effective in small amounts when implemented during the Syrian Civil War. Conversely, this option is not a preventative against the use of chemical weapon, rather it is reactionary. Additionally, retaliatory bombardments would rely heavily on the accuracy of friendly intelligence, identifying both critical infrastructure and the chain of command responsible for attacks.

²⁸ De Bruijne, Kars, and Sico Van Der Meer. Report. Clingendael Institute, 2018. Accessed August 8, 2020. doi:10.2307/resrep21305.

Option C: Initiate a campaign of purchasing surplus chemical weapons to prevent the acquisition by VNSA. In the immediate aftermath of the capitulation of Saddam Hussein’s government in 2003, the United States became increasingly aware of the threat posed by surplus chemical weapons. Specifically, the occupation force was concerned that Saddam’s surplus Sarin gas, which had been stockpiled during the Iran-Iraq war, could be used against American forces. In an effort to eliminate this threat, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) initiated Operation Avarice, intent on the acquisition and destruction of surplus chemical weapons.²⁹ Over the course of two years, purchases were made from an unnamed Iraqi dealer who sold the weapons for an undisclosed fee. At the conclusion of this still-classified operation, the action was deemed a “non-proliferation success”³⁰ by the American military. With Operation Avarice as a successful precedent, a policy option resolved to purchase chemical WMDs to prevent the acquisition by VNSA is credible. If successfully implemented this option would allow for the removal of chemical WMDs from the battlefield without kinetic intervention. The application of this option would be limited based on the willingness of local suppliers to acquire surplus chemical munitions for resale. Additionally, this program leaves the potential consequence of funding organizations which could be viewed as adversarial to the objectives of the United States. Lastly, there is no telling how expensive a program like this could cost the United States.

Option D: Focus on the denial of the violent delivery of chemical weapons. This is a refocus towards the prevention of the delivery of WMD once proficiency has been reached. Throughout the Syrian Civil War, chemical weapons have commonly been delivered via helicopters or rockets. The targeting of the Syrian helicopter fleet as well as locations which are associated with the arming of chemical delivery systems has been discussed. It has been hypothesized that targeting Syria’s helicopter fleet would create a significant disruption in the

²⁹ Chivers, C. J., and Eric Schmitt. “C.I.A. Is Said to Have Bought and Destroyed Iraqi Chemical Weapons.” *The New York Times*. The New York Times, February 16, 2015. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/16/world/cia-is-said-to-have-bought-and-destroyed-iraqi-chemical-weapons.html>.

³⁰ Chivers. “C.I.A. Is Said to Have Bought.”

ability of Assad's government to conduct chemical weapon attacks.³¹ In 2014, over the course of 3 months, Syrian helicopters launched 43 chlorine attacks in a relatively austere location; an attack which would have been significantly less likely without access to these air frames. While this specific case suggests the targeting of helicopter delivery systems, this option suggests the targeting of the specific delivery system which is being used to conduct attacks. The application of this strategy is relevant to countering VNSA as well. This option advocates for the targeting of CBRN sites as well as chemical delivery systems, resulting in minimized damage to noncombatants as well as lower collateral damage. Conversely, this option drastically increases the indispensability of intelligence. Without accurate intelligence, the effectiveness of this option is greatly degraded. This option is more likely to effectively counter state usage of WMD, as opposed to VSNA, due to methods of implementation.

Option E: Administer a multi-level policy focusing on the deterrence of future sales of WMD from states to VNSA. While the previous four policy options served as reactionary measures, this fourth option is proactive. Coinciding with “deterrence by denial”³² theory, the primary objective is to prevent VNSA from acquiring WMD material and knowledge. When it has been assessed by the appropriate US government agency, most likely the Office of Weapons of Mass Destruction Terrorism (WMDT), that a nation's WMD storage security has been compromised, Foreign Internal Defense (FID) operations will be the primary course of action. Firstly, FID Operations will attempt to strengthen a host-nation's capacity to store WMD and prevent the acquisition of these strategically necessary materials by VNSA. In this context, the implementation of FID will be attentive to increasing the security of these weapons along with increasing the “interoperability, integration, and interdependence”³³ of a nation's security forces. If it is

³¹ Schneider, Tobias. “Nowhere to Hide: The Logic of Chemical Weapons Use in Syria.” Global Public Policy Institute. February 2019.

³² Mazarr, Michael. “Understanding Deterrence.” RAND Corporation, 2018. https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/perspectives/PE200/PE295/RAND_PE295.pdf

³³ Ibid.

evaluated that it is not a plausible course of action to secure these materials in place, the secondary plan of action by FID will be the destruction of these stockpiles. This secondary plan of action is similar to the course which was taken by the Defense Threat Reduction Agency (DTRA) in 2013.

If the safeguarding of a host-nation's WMD fails and a sale occurs, the execution of a kinetic strike against the purchasing organization becomes a priority. This strike must be limited to a direct response against the sale of WMD, i.e. the targeting of CBRN industry. As shown in recent history, retaliatory bombings have been relatively successful in the short-term prevention of chemical weapon attacks; in this example it is applied to the prevention of sales. In conjunction with the use of a kinetic strike, diplomatic action should be taken against the state which acted as the seller in the purchase. Similar to The Iran Freedom Support Act³⁴, sanctions would be taken against states which have exported CBRN weapons or technology with the intention to be delivered to a VNSA. Sanctions can include the blocking of financial transactions between banks originating in the accused country and the US.

The potential risks incurred by the execution of this option include the inherent risk of increasing tension among nations, as well as failing to reestablish CBRN deterrence in the region. An accurate multi-tiered intelligence network is critical to the success of this option. Firstly, intelligence must accurately locate WMD which have been unreported to OPCW, or has been produced criminally. Secondly, intelligence assets must assess the risk of the sale of these weapons, or knowledge, to a VNSA. If FID is successful from the outset, then it will likely be unnecessary to execute either a kinetic strike or diplomatic action against a state. As with similar types of deterrence, the threat of an American kinetic and diplomatic response must be commonly understood by states which could potentially enter an illicit sale. Reestablishing deterrence within the region would eliminate the threat of the sale of either CBRN knowledge or weapons to a VNSA.

³⁴ U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service, *Iran Sanctions*. RS20871. 2020.

CONCLUSION

While several policy options exist to minimize the threat posed by CBRN WMD acquisition, there is no infallible solution. Previous policies have focused exclusively on reactionary measures to WMD; primarily focused on action taken after capabilities have been reached. The primary recommendation of this policy paper is Option E: focus on the restoration of CBRN deterrence in the region using a “deterrence by denial” strategy in conjunction with FID efforts. Providing host nations with training and support, prioritizing the stabilization of their WMD arsenal, could prevent the future acquisition of weapons by VNSA. FID operations would provide both indirect support, such as the training of security forces, and direct support, such as intelligence cooperation, unified action, or management support. This presents a hybrid option which introduces the specification of both kinetic action and diplomatic sanctions against states which sell WMD to VNSA, while also reinforcing a state’s ability to secure their stockpiles while limiting risk to American service members. If FID measures are unsuccessful, kinetic action and diplomatic sanctions would be directed at nations which have willingly provided WMD or WMD equipment to VNSA. The purpose of this course of action is three-fold: to destroy the WMD, deter future sales of WMD, and secure WMD stockpiles. Together, deterrence and the targeting of weapons sales will result in a declining likelihood of the use of CBRN WMD by VNSA.

APPENDIX A. CHEMICAL ATTACK DATA

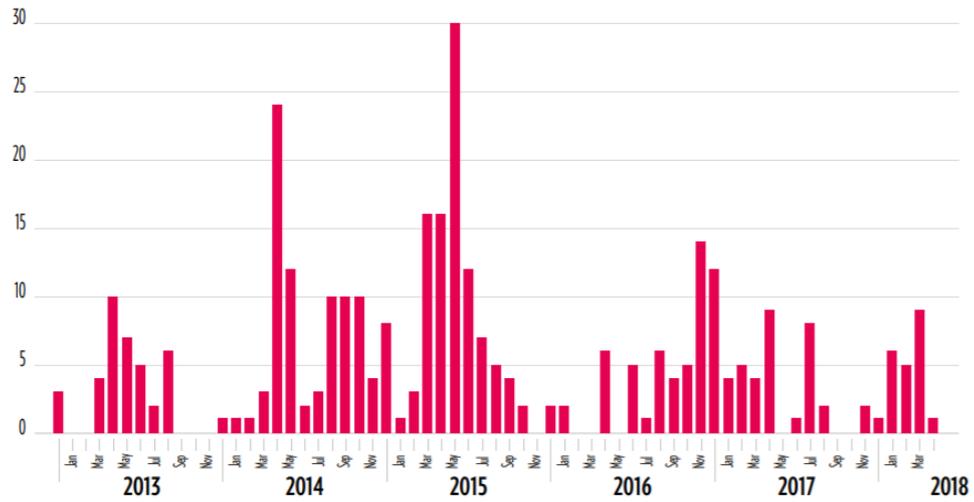


Figure 1. Confirmed Incidents of Chemical Weapons Use in Syria Over Time (Graph by Global Public Policy Institute. In *Nowhere to Hide: The Logic of Chemical Weapons Use in Syria*. Tobias Schneider. February 2019).

APPENDIX B. VISUAL POLICY COMPARISON

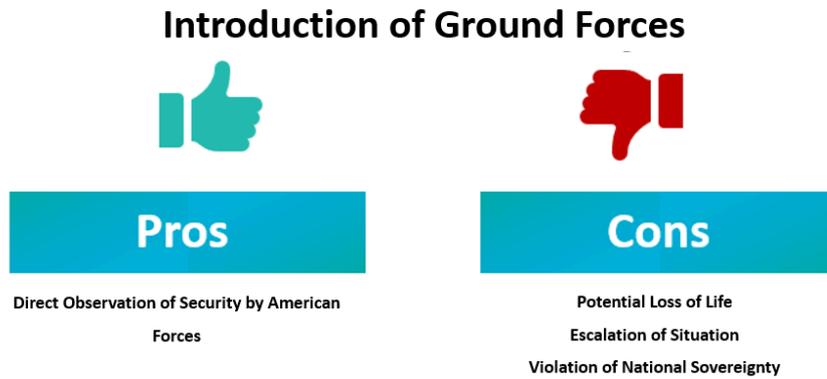


Figure 1. Costs and Benefits of the “Introduction of Ground Forces” or Option A.

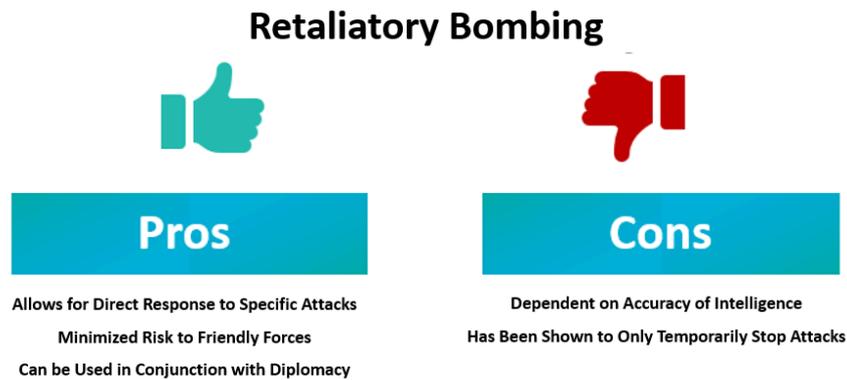


Figure 2. Costs and Benefits of the “Retaliatory Bombing” or Option B.

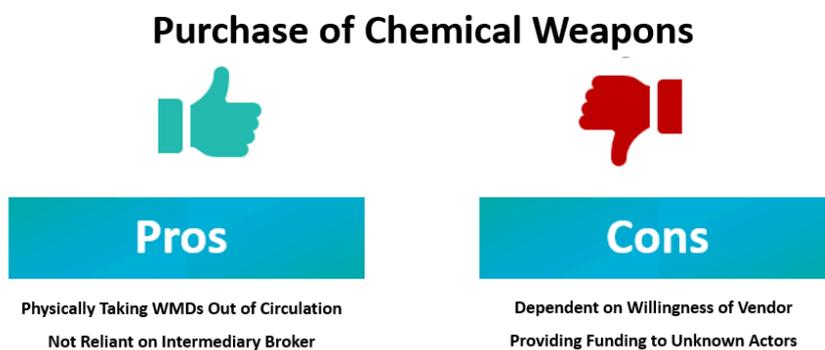


Figure 3. Costs and Benefits of the “Purchase of Chemical Weapons” or Option C.

Prevention of the Delivery of WMD



Pros

Minimized Collateral Damage
Reduced Risk to Non-Combatants

Cons

Effectiveness Dependent on Accurate Intelligence

Figure 4. Costs and Benefits of the “Prevention of the Delivery of WMD” or Option D.

Deterrence by Denial



Pros

Minimized Collateral Damage
Ground Intervention is not Necessary
Reestablishment of Deterrence

Cons

Effectiveness Dependent on Accurate Intelligence
Potential Violation of Sovereignty

Figure 5. Costs and Benefits of the “Deterrence by Denial” or Option E.

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