

International 8274: Spring 2018

Nonproliferation Organizations and Regimes

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Office Hours: by appointment.
Seminar Meeting: Wednesdays 12:30-3:20
4th Floor Holmes-Hunter Academic Building

In the past few decades many states have joined formal and informal international initiatives (treaties, conventions, regimes and arrangements) that seek to prevent weapons proliferation. These initiatives cover chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, and their means of delivery (missiles, conventional munitions, and CBW dissemination technologies).

In this course, we will examine the strengths and weaknesses of these institutional efforts, and how the growing trade in dual-use technologies is affecting them. We will also explore the role of non-state actors and transaction networks that might undermine these international nonproliferation efforts. Students will understand how the various components of the international nonproliferation regime operate, how they are related to each other, and gain an appreciation for the common as well as unique institutional challenges they face.

Class Participation (20%)

Each student is expected to complete the required readings and to be prepared to participate actively in discussions. All students will be scheduled to make periodic presentations (briefings) of the week's readings. The content and delivery of the oral briefings and written briefs will be evaluated as participation, in addition to participation in class discussions each week. Discussion will focus on the roles of specific initiatives and organizations, and their effectiveness (strengths and weaknesses), and explore possible practical solutions.

Research Paper (30%)

All students will be expected to develop a research paper of publication quality. It will address the effectiveness (strengths/weaknesses) or future evolution of one of the treaties, arrangements, or organizations covered in the syllabus, and recommend options for reform/update. Alternatively, students may choose to undertake a comparative study examining two or more institutions along with associated policy recommendations for strengthening these. Each student should identify a topic and provide a one-page outline for the research paper by Week 4 of the class. Students will be asked to present their research papers in class during the last 2-3 weeks of the semester, and will need to be prepared to answer questions.

Mid-term Test (20%)

This will test students' knowledge of the nonproliferation organizations and institutions covered in the course until that time. It will consist of a combination of multiple-choice, True-False and short answer questions.

Final Exam (30%)

The final exam will test students' ability to summarize information and the practical analyses covered in the previous weeks. Each student will prepare a 2-page briefing on one of the two nonproliferation issues that will be provided in class.

Readings

There is a list of readings for each week's topic. Many of the international institutions that we will cover have their own websites that should be reviewed prior to meeting. Students should obtain additional background information on the regimes and institutions under review from websites such as: Monterey Institute's Inventory of Nonproliferation Regimes and Organizations, the Arms Control Association, or the Nuclear Threat Initiative, and others as needed. Additional readings may be suggested or assigned. Most readings assigned are available through the UGA library or via the web. There is no specific assigned textbook for this course.

15 weeks:

WEEK 1 – January 10

PROLIFERATION THREATS AND ROLE OF REGIMES & INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN SECURITY & PROLIFERATION

Readings:

- J. F. Sopko, "Changing Proliferation Threats," *Foreign Policy*, Issue 105, 1996-97, at http://www.jstor.org/stable/1148970?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents
- Katherin Keating, "Why Nuclear Proliferation Poses an Ever-Increasing Threat," 20 April 2016 https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/jmaw8b/nuclear-safety-facing-the-reality-of-new-threats
- Stephan Haggard and Beth A. Simmons, "Theories of International Regimes," *International Organization* 41:3 (Summer 1987), 491-517.
- John Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19:3 (Winter 1994/1995), 5-49.
- William H. Tobey, "Squaring the Nonproliferation Circle," *Journal of International Security Affairs*, Spring/Summer 2014, pp. 47-53.

WEEK 2 – January 17

CONTROLLING NUKES: NPT, IAEA, TEST-BANS AND NWFZS

Readings:

- IAEA Statute [1957] at <https://www.iaea.org/about/statute>
- Antarctic Treaty [1961] at <https://www.state.gov/t/avc/trty/193967.htm>
- Outer Space Treaty [1967] at <https://www.state.gov/t/isn/5181.htm>
- NPT Treaty [1970] Text at <http://www.un.org/en/conf/npt/2005/npttreaty.html>
- Seabed Treaty [1972] at <https://www.state.gov/t/isn/5181.htm>
- Moon treaty [1984] at <http://disarmament.un.org/treaties/t/moon>
- CTBT Treaty [1996 – not yet in force] Text at <https://www.ctbto.org/the-treaty/>
- FMCT [Proposed] at <https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/fmct>
- Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones at <https://www.un.org/disarmament/wmd/nuclear/nwfz/>
- Ellen Tauscher, "The Case for the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty," 10 May 2011, Remarks by Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security, Arms Control Association Annual Meeting at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, transcript at <http://www.state.gov/t/us/162963.htm>
- Michaela Bendikova, "The Case Against the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty," Heritage Foundation, April 2, 2012, at <http://blog.heritage.org/2012/04/02/the-case-against-the-comprehensive-test-ban-treaty/>

WEEK 3 – January 24

NPT CHALLENGES & OPTIONS

Readings:

- Jacqueline C. Reich, “Achieving the Vision of the NPT, Can We Get There Step by Step,” *The Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 18, Issue 2, 2011.
- Norm Wulf, “Misinterpreting the NPT,” *Arms Control Today (ACT)*, September 2011, at http://www.armscontrol.org/2011_09/Misinterpreting_the_NPT.
- Paul Meyer, “The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty: Fin de Regime?” *ACT* April 2017, at <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2017-04/features/nuclear-nonproliferation-treaty-fin-de-regime>
- Charles Park, “NPT’s failure, our failure with NK,” *Korea Times*, 15 June 2017 at http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/opinion/2017/06/197_231328.html#
- “To Deter North Korea, Japan and South Korea Should Go Nuclear,” *The Washington Post*, at https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldpost/wp/2017/10/10/to-deter-north-korea-japan-and-south-korea-should-go-nuclear/?utm_term=.79ef8aee410c
- Simon Tisdall, “How the nuclear-armed nations brought the North Korea crisis on themselves,” *The Guardian* (UK), 5 Sept 2017 at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/05/nuclear-armed-nations-brought-the-north-korea-crisis-on-themselves>

WEEK 4 – January 31

IAEA CHALLENGES & OPTIONS

Readings:

- IAEA Website at <https://www.iaea.org/node/16963>
- Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material [1987] Text at <https://www.iaea.org/publications/documents/infocircs/convention-physical-protection-nuclear-material>
- Code of Conduct on the Safety and Security of Radioactive Sources [2003 edition] Text at http://www-pub.iaea.org/MTCD/publications/PDF/Code-2004_web.pdf
- Supplementary Guidance on the Import and Export of Radioactive Sources [2012 edition] text at http://www-pub.iaea.org/MTCD/Publications/PDF/8901_web.pdf
- Trevor Findlay, “Unleashing the Nuclear Watchdog: Strengthening and the Reform of the IAEA,” Belfer Center Report, June 2012 at <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/unleashing-nuclear-watchdog-strengthening-and-reform-iaea-0>
- S. Samuel C. Rajiv, “JCPOA and the IAEA: Challenges Ahead,” IDSA Issue Brief, 7 Aug 2015 at https://idsa.in/issuebrief/JCPOAandtheIAEAChallengesAhead_sscrajiv_070815
- David Albright and Andrea Stricker, “Analysis of the IAEA’s Seventh Iran Nuclear Deal Report: Still Little Detail and Potential Verification Problems,” ISIS Report, 1 Sept 2017 at <http://isis-online.org/isis-reports/detail/analysis-of-the-iaeas-seventh-iran-nuclear-deal-report>

WEEK 5 – February 7

TOWARDS N-ZERO & BANNING NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Readings:

- Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons [September 2017] at NTI <http://www.nti.org/learn/treaties-and-regimes/treaty-on-the-prohibition-of-nuclear-weapons/>
- “50 signatories ink U.N. nuclear ban treaty opposed by major powers,” Japan Times, 21 Sept 2017 at <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/09/21/world/50-nations-ink-u-n-nuclear-ban-treaty-opposed-major-powers/#.WjqRnFQ-fkg>
- Andrea Berger, “Understanding the New Nuclear Weapons Ban,” NTI Analysis, 2 Oct 2017 at <http://www.nti.org/analysis/articles/understanding-new-nuclear-weapons-ban/>
- Michael O’Hanlon, “Is a World Without Nuclear Weapons Really Possible?” 4 May 2010 at <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/is-a-world-without-nuclear-weapons-really-possible/>
- David Cortright & Raimo Väyrynen, Nuclear Zero & Beyond,” The Adelphi Papers Vol. 49, Iss. 410, 2009 at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/19445571.2009.485469>

WEEK 6 – February 14

BANNING BIOWEAPONS: Geneva Protocol and BTWC

Readings:

- Geneva protocol [1928] Text at https://unoda-web.s3-accelerate.amazonaws.com/wp-content/uploads/assets/WMD/Bio/pdf/Status_Protocol.pdf
- BWC Treaty [1975] Text at <http://disarmament.un.org/treaties/t/bwc/text>
- ISU Website at <https://www.un.org/disarmament/geneva/bwc/implementation-support-unit/>
- Jonathan B. Tucker, “The convergence of biology and chemistry: Implications for arms control verification,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Nov 2010, Vol. 66 Issue 6 at <http://eds.a.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=7&sid=87185955-534d-4e14-bc45-c0fc1f9ee261%40sessionmgr4009>
- Daniel M. Gerstein, “How genetic editing became a national security threat,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 25 Apr 2016 at <https://thebulletin.org/how-genetic-editing-became-national-security-threat9362>
- James Revill, “Compliance Revisited: An Incremental Approach to Compliance in the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention,” *CNS Occasional Paper#31*, Aug2017 at <http://eds.a.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=12&sid=87185955-534d-4e14-bc45-c0fc1f9ee261%40sessionmgr4009>
- Gabrielle Tarini, “Keeping the Biological Weapons Convention Relevant,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 1 Nov 2016 at <https://thebulletin.org/keeping-biological-weapons-convention-relevant10093>

WEEK 7 – February 21: MID-TERM EXAM

WEEK 8 – February 28

BANNING CHEMICAL WEAPONS: CWC

Readings:

- CWC Treaty [1997] Text at <https://www.opcw.org/chemical-weapons-convention/download-the-cwc/>
- OPCW Website at <https://www.opcw.org/about-opcw/>
- Amy E. Smithson, “Chemical weapons in Syria: Will there be justice for a serial offender?,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Sep 2016, at <https://thebulletin.org/chemical-weapons-syria-will-there-be-justice-serial-offender9940>
- “Chemical Weapons Challenges Ahead: The Past and the Future of the OPCW,” *Clingendael Report*, Oct 2017, at https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdf/Clingendael_Report_Chemical_Weapons_Challenges_Ahead_2017.pdf

WEEK 9 – March 7

RESPONSIBLE TRADE IN CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS: ATT

Readings:

- Small Arms & Light Weapons at <https://www.un.org/disarmament/convarms/salw/programme-of-action/>
- UN Register of Conventional Arms at <https://www.un.org/disarmament/convarms/register/>
- ATT Treaty Text at <https://www.un.org/disarmament/convarms/att/>
- UN Report on Military Expenditures at <http://www.un-arm.org/Milex/home.aspx>
- “The Truth About Arms Trade Treaty,” *Oxfam Report*, Feb 2013, at <https://www.oxfamamerica.org/static/media/files/the-truth-about-the-arms-trade-treaty.pdf>
- Rachel Stohl, “No Further Excuses: Report from Arms Trade Treaty Conference,” *Arms Control Association*, 30 Aug 2016, at <https://www.armscontrol.org/blog/ArmsControlNow/2016-08-30/No-Further-Excuses-Report-from-Arms-Trade-Treaty-Conference>
- Ben Knight, “UN's Arms Trade Treaty 'too weak to make a difference',” *DW*, 11 Sept 2017, at <http://www.dw.com/en/uns-arms-trade-treaty-too-weak-to-make-a-difference/a-40452550>

WEEK 10 – March 14: SPRING BREAK

WEEK 11 – March 21

SUPPLY-SIDE CONTROLS: FOUR MULTILATERAL EXPORT CONTROL REGIMES

Readings:

- NSG Website at <http://www.nuclearsuppliersgroup.org/en/>
- AG Website at <http://www.australiagroup.net/en/>
- MTCR Website at <http://mtrc.info/>

- WA Website <http://www.wassenaar.org/>
- Michael Beck and Seema Gahlaut, "Creating a New Multilateral Export Control Regime," *CITS Report*, April 2013, at <https://www.armscontrol.org/print/1234>
- Seema Gahlaut, "Multilateral export control regimes: operations, successes, failures and the challenges ahead," in Daniel Joyner (ed.) *Nonproliferation Export Controls: Origins, Challenges and Proposals for Strengthening* [Ashgate, 2006]; available in the Main Library 2nd Floor, Call No. KZ5675 .N66 2006
- Seema Gahlaut, "Increasing the effectiveness & acceptance of dual use export controls: Asian Perspectives," in Oliver Meier (ed.) *Technology transfers and non-proliferation: between control and cooperation* [Routledge, 2014]; available for photocopy/scan with the instructor.

WEEK 12 – March 28

COUNTER-PROLIFERATION: PSI, CSI, WCO-STCE

Readings:

- PSI Website at <http://www.psi-online.info/>
- CSI at <https://www.cbp.gov/border-security/ports-entry/cargo-security/csi/csi-brief>
- WCO STCE at <http://www.wcoomd.org/en/topics/enforcement-and-compliance/activities-and-programmes/security-programme/stce-project.aspx>
- Jacek Durkalec, "PSI: Evolution and Future Prospects," EU Nonproliferation Paper #16, June 2012, at <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/143916/jacekdukalec4fcc7fd95cfff.pdf>
- "Progress and Challenges in Implementing Maritime Cargo Security Programs," *Testimony, US GAO*, 7 July 2016, at <https://www.gao.gov/assets/680/678249.pdf>

WEEK 13 – April 4

UNSC EFFORTS: RESOLUTION 1540 & SANCTIONS

Readings:

- 1540 Website at <http://www.un.org/en/sc/1540/>
- UN Sanctions Against DPRK at <https://www.un.org/sc/suborg/en/sanctions/1718>
- UN Sanctions Against ISIL & Al Quaida at <https://www.un.org/sc/suborg/en/sanctions/1267>
- Douglas M. Stinnett, Bryan R. Early, Cale Horne, Johannes Karreth, "Complying by Denying: Explaining Why States Develop Nonproliferation Export Controls," *International Studies Perspectives*, August 2011, available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1528-3585.2011.00436.x/full>
- Scott Jones, "Resolution 1540: Universalizing Export Control Standards?," *Arms Control Today*, May 2005, at https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2006_05/1540
- Richard T. Cupitt, "Nearly at the Brink: The Tasks and Capacity of the 1540 Committee," *Arms Control Today*, September 2012, at https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2012_09/Nearly-at-the-Brink-The-Tasks-and-Capacity-Of-the-1540-Committee
- Enrico Carisch, "The Failures of North Korea Sanctions: Self Inflicted Wounds," October 2017 <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2017/10/failures-north-korea-sanctions-self-inflicted-wounds/>

- Assessment of UN's Efforts Against Terrorism at <https://cpr.unu.edu/assessing-the-uns-efforts-to-counter-terrorism.html>

WEEK 14 – April 11

IS THE NONPROLIFERATION REGIME GETTING OUT-PACED BY REAL-LIFE EVENTS AND TRENDS?

- Malcolm Dando, “Arms Control in the 21st Century: A Holistic Approach,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, May 2016, at <https://thebulletin.org/2016/may/arms-control-21st-century-holistic-approach9412>
- Sonia Ben Ouagrham-Gormley, “Potemkin or real? North Korea’s biological weapons program,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 18 July 2017, at <HTTPS://THEBULLETIN.ORG/POTEMKIN-OR-REAL-NORTH-KOREA%E2%80%99S-BIOLOGICAL-WEAPONS-PROGRAM10957>
- Sonia Ben Ouagrham-Gormley and Kathleen M. Vogel, “Gene drives: The good, the bad, and the hype,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 14 Oct 2016 at <https://thebulletin.org/gene-drives-good-bad-and-hype10027>
- Jonathan Brewer, “Study of Typologies of Financing of WMD Proliferation: Final Report,” *Project Alpha*, 13 Oct 2017, at <https://projectalpha.eu/wp-content/uploads/sites/21/2017/10/FoP-13-October-2017-Final.pdf>
- Marco Fey, “The Increasing Salience of 3D Printing for Nuclear Non-Proliferation,” *CSS Blog*, 3 July 2017, at <https://isnblog.ethz.ch/security/the-increasing-salience-of-3d-printing-for-nuclear-non-proliferation>
- Margaret E. Kosal, “Anticipating the Biological Proliferation Threat of Nanotechnology: Challenges for International Arms Control Regimes,” in *New Technologies and the Law of Armed Conflict* [Springer 2014], at https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/978-90-6704-933-7_10.pdf

WEEK 15 – April 18

RESEARCH PAPER PRESENTATIONS

WEEK 16 – April 25: LAST CLASS

RESEARCH PAPER PRESENTATIONS

MAY 2: FINAL EXAM