

INTL 8276: INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

Fall 2016

Thursdays, 12:30-3:15PM, CITS 4th Floor Conference Room (Holmes/Hunter Academic Building)

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Holmes/Hunter Academic Building: Room 120B

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

This course examines the concept of global nuclear order/disorder from an international perspective through an analysis of nuclear weapon states' national nuclear doctrines over the years. It begins by introducing the concept of global nuclear order and disorder, paying specific attention to international and regional perspectives, reservations, and responses to the dichotomous paradigm. The most substantive part of the 15-week course will be a week-by-week overview of every nuclear weapon state's national nuclear doctrines throughout the years.

At the conclusion of this course, students should be able to:

- Understand the concept of global nuclear order and disorder
- Have a good understanding of international perspectives surrounding the dichotomous paradigm
- Be proficient in nuclear weapon states' national nuclear doctrines
- Be equipped to conduct independent research in these issues and debates.

TOPICAL OUTLINE FOR THE COURSE:

The course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary. A detailed course schedule and reading assignments can be found in the following pages, but a topical outline for the course includes lectures on the following:

1. Global nuclear order and disorder
2. New trends in the global nuclear order
3. International reservations towards the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT)
4. NPT NWS perspectives on NPT Article VI
5. International pressure on Article VI
6. National nuclear doctrines

REQUIRED READINGS:

This course is reading intensive, with approximately 75-100 pages of required readings per week. Students should aim to spend **around three hours reading for the class each week**, which is enough to read at least four chapters and articles. The one key textbook all students should read is **William Walker, *A Perpetual Menace: Nuclear Weapons and International Order* (London: Routledge, 2012), which can be viewed online through UGA Library.**

In addition, students will be expected to read supplemental materials listed for each class, as well as regularly browse online resources – all of which students can sign up for free e-alerts – such as: Early Warning: <http://www.ploughshares.org/issues-analysis/early-warning>), Proliferation News: <http://carnegieendowment.org/publications/pronews/>, Nuclear Policy News: <http://poniforum.csis.org/nuclear-news>, Arms Control Association: <https://www.armscontrol.org>, Federation of American Scientists: <http://www.fas.org>, and Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists: <http://thebulletin.org>.

Students are encouraged to keep up to date with current global affairs through the reading of international newspapers (e.g., The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Financial Times, The Guardian, etc.), magazines (e.g., The Economist, The New Yorker, Time, etc.), and relevant journals, including *Arms Control Today*, *Bulletin of The Atomic Scientists*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *International Security*, *The Nonproliferation Review*. Reading from these outlets will facilitate class discussion and enhance understanding of the topics covered in class.

Students are not required to read everything on the list, but are expected to have done some reading each week and come prepared to discuss the issues raised from what they have read with others in the class.

GRADING:

The course is assessed by:

1. Research Paper (45%)

Students will have a choice of **EITHER** answering the question below **OR** exploring a global nuclear order/disorder related issue that is of interest to them.

Research Paper Question:

“Although the novelty of nuclear weapons has worn off, the problem of order stemming from their existence remains as troubling today as it did nearly 70 years ago” (William Walker, 2013: 4). Discuss.

All students will be expected to write a policy research paper (MINIMUM 5,000 words; MAXIMUM 6,000 words). The paper should have a clear argument along with supporting evidence. Each student is expected to provide a general outline for the research paper, in class, on **October 20**. Outlines need to include: the title of the paper, research question, a 250-word introductory paragraph, structure of the paper, policy implications, conclusion, works (to be) cited. Outlines will be graded and counted towards the final grade of the research paper.

The actual research paper is due on **Monday, December 12 by 09:00AM (Eastern Time) and should be emailed to szk@uga.edu. Late submission of outlines and papers will result in a grade of zero for this assessment.**

2. Seminar Presentation (30%)

Presentations will be on one of the NWS' national nuclear doctrines. Students are expected to outline (1) to what extent nuclear weapons remain relevant to the NWS, (2) conflict between desire for elimination and plans to maintain, (3) what the NWS is doing vis-à-vis nuclear disarmament, and (4) to what extent the NWS nuclear posture contributes to the global nuclear order/disorder.

Presentations should be approximately 25-30 minutes long and should raise clear questions for debate and discussion. Effective presentations will end with questions for further discussion. **Powerpoint presentations should be emailed to me NO LATER THAN 09:00AM (Eastern Time) on the day of your presentation. Late submission will result in a grade of zero for this assessment.**

3. Policy Briefs (15%)

Students will prepare 2 x 3-page policy briefs that (1) outline the scope of the issue, (2) discuss policy options, (3) assess international implications, and (4) offer policy recommendations with justification. **Policy brief 1 (Assessment of the current status of the existing global nuclear order/disorder) is due in class on Thursday, September 1; Policy brief 2 (Assessment of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty's contribution to the global nuclear order/disorder paradigm) is due in class on Thursday, September 29. Late submission of papers will result in a grade of zero for this assessment.**

4. Class Participation (10%)

Active class participation is required. Students who are not presenting will be expected to keep up with the readings and to participate actively in the discussions. **All students will be required to come to class each week with one question to pose to the rest of the group about the week's topic. These questions will comprise part of the overall grade.**

DEADLINES:

These deadlines are absolute – **NO EXTENSIONS ARE GIVEN**. Failure to turn in the paper by the due date will result in a grade of zero for that paper. In order to avoid a penalty for late submission of a paper, you must have evidence of extenuating circumstances (e.g., a doctor's note for illness). This must be submitted to the course instructor prior to the time of the deadline.

Regular attendance is expected. 2 unexcused absences will be permitted, but the instructor must be notified of each absence ahead of class. ½ final letter grade penalty will incur for each additional unexcused absence. Valid excuses include illness (doctor's note required) and family emergencies.

Punctuality to class is a must. If you have a situation where you will be habitually late, please notify the instructor as soon as possible. Repeat latecomers will incur a ½ final letter grade penalty.

No computer use during class. You must silence, and put away, any and all wireless devices you bring to class.

I will use the 100-point grading system. Students will receive a letter grade for their final grade according to the following cutoffs:

A ≥ 93; A- ≥ 90; B+ ≥ 87; B ≥ 83; B- ≥ 80; C+ ≥ 76; C ≥ 70; C- ≥ 68; D ≥ 60; F < 60

OFFICE HOURS:

My office is 120B Holmes/Hunter Academic Building. Office hours are by appointment. Please e-mail me for an appointment at szk@uga.edu.

ACADEMIC HONESTY POLICY:

As a University of Georgia student, you have agreed to follow the University's academic honesty policy, "A Culture of Honesty," and the Student Honor Code. All academic work must meet the standards contained in "A Culture of Honesty" found at: <http://ovpi.uga.edu/academic-honesty/academic-honesty-policy>. Lack of knowledge of the academic honesty policy is not a

reasonable explanation for a violation. Questions related to course assignments and the academic honesty policy should be directed to the instructor.

RETURN OF GRADED POLICY BRIEFS

The aim is to return graded policy briefs within 2 weeks after the submission date. Papers will be returned to you with an indicative letter grade, ranging from A-F. **ONCE A GRADE IS AWARDED, UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCE WILL IT BE CHANGED.**

Course Schedule and Deadlines

| DATE | TOPIC | DEADLINES |
|--|--|--|
| August 11 | Introduction and class overview | |
| August 18 | An overview of the global nuclear order/disorder | |
| August 25 | New trends in the global nuclear order | |
| September 1 | Nuclear Debate: Are we in a state of global nuclear order or global nuclear disorder? | Policy brief #1 is due |
| September 8 | NPT NWS perspectives on Article VI | |
| September 15 | National nuclear doctrines: An Overview | |
| September 22 | Discuss your research paper topics | |
| September 29 | U.S. nuclear doctrine over the years | Policy brief #2 is due |
| October 6 | Russia nuclear doctrine over the years | |
| October 13 | UK/France nuclear doctrine over the years | |
| October 20 | China nuclear doctrine over the years | Topics and general outline for research paper due |
| October 27 | India nuclear doctrine over the years | |
| November 3 | Pakistan nuclear doctrine over the years | |
| November 10 | Israel nuclear doctrine over the years | |
| November 17 | Presentation of research paper topics | |
| THANKSGIVING HOLIDAYS: November 21-25 | | |
| December 1 | NO CLASS: Work on papers | |
| December 12 | NO CLASS | Final research paper is due by 9AM |

READING ASSIGNMENTS:

Week 1 (August 11): Introduction and Class Overview

- Please read the syllabus and come to week 1’s class with any questions you may have about the syllabus and/or the class. Also come prepared to say which side of the debate you’d like to be on in week 4 (September 1).

Week 2 (August 18): An overview of the global nuclear order/disorder

- Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, 2nd edition (London: MacMillan, 1977): Chapters 1, 2, 6, and 9.
- William Walker, *A Perpetual Menace: Nuclear Weapons and International Order*

(London: Routledge, 2012): 1-26. **(Note: this book can be viewed online through UGA Library)**

- William Walker, "Nuclear order and disorder," *International Affairs* 76: 4 (2000): 703-724.
- Nicola Horsburgh, *China and Global Nuclear Order: From Estrangement to Active Engagement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015): Chapter 1.
- Acheson-Lilienthal Report, April 1946:
<http://www.learnworld.com/ZNW/LWText.Acheson-Lilienthal.html>
- Baruch Plan, June 1946:
<http://www.atomicarchive.com/Docs/Deterrence/BaruchPlan.shtml>
- Gromyko Plan, June 1946: <http://fissilematerials.org/library/GromykoPlan1946.pdf>

Week 3 (August 25): New trends in the global nuclear order

- Heather Williams, Patricia Lewis, Sasan Aghlani "The Humanitarian Impacts of Nuclear Weapons Initiative: The 'Big Tent' in Disarmament," Chatham House, International Security, March 2015:
https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field_document/20150331nuclear.pdf
- Jenny Nielsen and Marianne Hanson, "The European Union and The Humanitarian Initiative in the 2015 Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Cycle," *EU Non-Proliferation Consortium Non-Proliferation Papers* No. 41, December 2014:
<http://www.nonproliferation.eu/web/documents/nonproliferationpapers/jennynielsenmariannehanson54856428912ca.pdf>
- Nicola Horsburgh, "Responsibility to Participate? China and Multilateral Arms Control in the Global Nuclear Order," Proceedings of the Inaugural British International Studies Association Global Nuclear Order Working Group Conference: New Perspectives on Global Nuclear Order, 19th September 2013: 23-28:
<http://bisaglobalnuclearorder.files.wordpress.com/2014/03/leicester-2013-conference-proceedings.pdf>
- William Walker, *A Perpetual Menace: Nuclear Weapons and International Order* (London: Routledge, 2012): 181-194. **(Note: this book can be viewed online through UGA Library)**

Week 4 (September 1): Nuclear Debate: Are we in a state of global nuclear order or global nuclear disorder?

- All the articles in the special issue of *International Affairs* in 2007 (83:3) are worth reading, in particular:
 - William Walker, "Nuclear enlightenment and counter-enlightenment," *International Affairs* 83:3 (2007): 431-453.
 - Brad Roberts, "'All the king's men?' Refashioning global nuclear order," *International Affairs* 83:3 (2007): 523-530.
 - Joachim Krause, "Enlightenment and nuclear order," *International Affairs* 83:3 (2007): 483-499.
 - Pierre Hassner, "Who killed nuclear enlightenment?" *International Affairs* 83:3 (2007): 455-467.
- David Vital, "Double-Talk or Double-Think? A Comment on the Draft Non-proliferation Treaty," *International Affairs* 44: 3 (1968): 419-433.

- Achille Albonetti, "The NPT Draft Under Scrutiny," *Survival* 9:7 (1967): 223-226.
- Graham Allison, "Nuclear Disorder: Surveying Atomic Threats," *Foreign Affairs* 89:1 (2010): 74-85.
- Graham Allison and Ernesto Zedillo, "The Fragility of the Global Nuclear Order," *The Boston Globe*, 1 October 2008.
- William Walker, *A Perpetual Menace: Nuclear Weapons and International Order* (London: Routledge, 2012): 158-180. (Note: this book can be viewed online through UGA Library)

Week 5 (September 8): NPT NWS Perspectives on Article VI

- Scott D. Sagan, "Shared Responsibilities for Nuclear Disarmament: A Global Debate," American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2010 (read the responses too): <http://carnegieendowment.org/files/saganInside.pdf>
- George P. Schultz, William J. Perry, Henry A. Kissinger and Sam Nunn, "A World Free of Nuclear Weapons," *The Wall Street Journal*, January 4, 2007.
- Li Bin, "China's Potential to Contribute to Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament," *Arms Control Today* March 2011: http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2011_03/LiBin
- "Chinese President offers five-point proposal for safer world," *People's Daily Online*, 25 September 2009. Full text of his proposal: <http://ph.china-embassy.org/eng/xwdt/t606613.htm>
- Margaret Beckett, "A World Free of Nuclear Weapons?" Keynote speech at The Carnegie International Nonproliferation Conference, Washington, D.C., June 25, 2007: <http://carnegieendowment.org/files/keynote.pdf>
- George Perkovich, "Abolishing Nuclear Weapons: Why the United States Should Lead," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, October 2008: http://carnegieendowment.org/files/abolishing_nuclear_weapons.pdf

Week 6 (September 15): National nuclear doctrines

- Robert S. Norris and Hans M. Kristensen, "Global Nuclear Weapons Inventories, 1945-2013," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 69:5 (2013): 75-81.
- International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance 2015* (London: IISS, 2015): Read the Relevant sections.
- Erik Gartzke and Matthew Kroenig, "Nuclear Posture, Nonproliferation Policy, and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58:3 (2014): 395-401.

Week 7 (September 22): Discuss your research paper topics

- No reading assignment

Week 8 (September 29): U.S. nuclear doctrine over the years

- Nuclear Posture Review Report, April 2010: http://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/features/defenseReviews/NPR/2010_Nuclear_Posture_Review_Report.pdf
- National Security Strategy, May 2010: http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf
- Nuclear Posture Review [Excerpts], January 2002: <http://www.stanford.edu/class/polisci211z/2.6/NPR2001leaked.pdf>

- William C. Potter, "Trends in U.S. Nuclear Policy," IFRI Proliferation Papers, Spring 2005: <http://www.iaea.org/inis/collection/NCLCollectionStore/Public/37/066/37066477.pdf>
- Hans M. Kristensen and Robert S. Norris, "US nuclear forces, 2014," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 70:1 (2014): 85-93.
- Stephen Young and Lisbeth Gronlund, "A Review of the 2002 US Nuclear Posture Review," Union of Concerned Scientists Working Paper, May 14, 2002: http://www.ucsusa.org/assets/documents/nwgs/npr_review.pdf
- Christopher A. Ford, "A New Paradigm: Shattering Obsolete Thinking on Arms Control and Nonproliferation," *Arms Control Today* (November 2008): <http://armscontrol.org/print/3408>
- Arms Control and Proliferation Profile: the United States: <http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/unitedstatesprofile>

Week 9 (October 6): Russia nuclear doctrine over the years

- Russia: National Security Strategy to 2020, May 2009: <http://rustrans.wikidot.com/russia-s-national-security-strategy-to-2020>
- National Security Concept of the Russian Federation, January 2000: <http://www.mid.ru/bdomp/ns-osndoc.nsf/1e5f0de28fe77fdcc32575d900298676/36aba64ac09f737fc32575d9002bbf31!OpenDocument>
- The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, June 2000: <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/econcept.htm>
- Arms Control and Proliferation Profile: Russia: <http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/russiaprofile>
- Sophia Dimitrakopoulou and Andrew Liaropoulos, "Russia's National Security Strategy to 2020: A Great Power in the Making?" *Caucasian Review of International Affairs* 4:1 (Winter 2010): 35-42: http://www.cria-online.org/10_4.html

Week 10 (October 13): UK and France nuclear doctrine over the years

UK:

- The Strategic Defence and Security Review, October 2010: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/62482/strategic-defence-security-review.pdf
- The National Security Strategy of the United Kingdom, October 2010: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/61936/national-security-strategy.pdf
- The Future of the UK's Nuclear Deterrent, December 2006: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/27378/DefenceWhitePaper2006_Cm6994.pdf
- Arms Control and Proliferation Profile: UK: <http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/ukprofile>
- Sir Lawrence Freedman, "British Perspectives on Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear Disarmament," in *France and the United Kingdom*, Blechman, Barry (ed.) (Washington: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2009): http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/Nuclear_Security_FINAL_Complete_UK_France.pdf

France:

- The French White Paper on Defence and National Security, 2008: http://www.ambafrance-ca.org/IMG/pdf/Livre_blan_Press_kit_english_version.pdf
- David S. Yost, "France's Evolving Nuclear Strategy," *Survival* 47:3 (Autumn 2005): 117-146.
- Pascal Boniface, "French Nuclear Weapons Policy after the Cold War," The Atlantic Council of the United States Occasional Paper, August 1998: https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/43863/1998_08_French_Nuclear_Weapons_Policy_after_the_Cold_War.pdf
- Bruno Tertrais, "Nuclear Policy: France Stands Alone," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 60:4 (July/August 2004): 48-55.
- Arms Control and Proliferation Profile: France: <http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/franceprofile>
- Bruno Tertrais, "French Perspectives on Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear Disarmament," in *France and the United Kingdom*, Blechman, Barry (ed.) (Washington: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2009): http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/Nuclear_Security_FINAL_Complete_UK_France.pdf

Week 11 (October 20): China nuclear doctrine over the years

- Nicola Horsburgh, *China and Global Nuclear Order: From Estrangement to Active Engagement*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)
- M. Taylor Fravel and Evan S. Medeiros, "China's Search for Assured Retaliation", *International Security* 35: 2 (Fall 2010): 48-87.
- John W. Lewis and Xue Litai, "Making China's Nuclear War Plan," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 68:5 (2012): 45-65.
- Arms Control and Proliferation Profile: China: <http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/chinaprofile>
- White Paper on China's Non-proliferation Policy and Measures, December 2003: <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/china/doctrine/wpnp1203.html>
- Shen Dingli, "Toward a Nuclear Weapons Free World: A Chinese Perspective," Lowy Institute, November 2009: http://www.loyyinstitute.org/files/pubfiles/Shen_Toward_a_nuclear_weapons_free_world.pdf
- Lawrence E. Grinter, "Chinese Nuclear Doctrine, Weapons and Policies," *Pacific Focus* XXVIII:1 (April 2013): 1-16.

Week 12 (October 27): India nuclear doctrine over the years

- Draft Report of National Security Advisory Board on Indian Nuclear Doctrine, August 1999: https://www.armscontrol.org/act/1999_07-08/ffja99
- Arms Control and Proliferation Profile: India: <http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/indiaprofile>
- "India's Nuclear Doctrine: An Alternative Blueprint," Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, 2012: http://www.nuclearsecurityproject.org/uploads/publications/Indias_Nuclear_Doctrine.pdf
- "India's Emerging Nuclear Posture," *RAND Research Brief* (RB-63: 2001): http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB63/index1.html

- Rahul Roy-Chaudhury, "Nuclear Doctrine, Declaratory Policy, and Escalation Control," *Henry L. Stimson Center* (no date): <http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/ESCCONTROLCHAPTER5.pdf>

Week 13 (November 3): Pakistan nuclear doctrine over the years

- Michael Krepon, "Pakistan's Nuclear Strategy and Deterrence Stability," *Henry L. Stimson Center*, May 2012: <http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/Krepon - Pakistan Nuclear Strategy and Deterrence Stability.pdf>
- Arms Control and Proliferation Profile: Pakistan: <http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/pakistanprofile>
- Scott D. Sagan, "The Evolution of Indian and Pakistani Nuclear Doctrine," May 7, 2008: http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/uploads/Sagan_MTA_Talk_050708.pdf
- Marie Izuyama and Shinichi Ogawa, "The Nuclear Policy of India and Pakistan," *NIDS Security Reports*: 4 (March 2003): 59-89: http://www.nids.go.jp/english/publication/kiyo/pdf/bulletin_e2002_3.pdf

Week 14 (November 10): Israel nuclear doctrine over the years

- Zeev Maoz, "The Mixed Blessing of Israel's Nuclear Policy," *International Security* 28:2 (Fall 2003): 44-77.
- Magnus Normark et al., "Israel and WMD: Incentives and Capabilities," December 2005: p.31-34: <http://www.foi.se/en/Search/Abstract/?rNo=FOI-R--1734--SE>
- Arms Control and Proliferation Profile: Israel: <http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/israelprofile>
- Avner Cohen and Marvin Miller, "Bringing Israel's Bomb Out of the Basement," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2010)
- Avner Cohen, *The Worst-Kept Secret: Israel's Bargain with the Bomb* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012)

Week 15 (November 17): Presentation of research paper topics

*****THANKSGIVING BREAK November 21-25*****

*****FINAL PAPER DUE MONDAY, DECEMBER 12 BY 9AM*****

Monday, December 12 by 09:00AM