

INTL 4460: Arms Control and Disarmament

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Class Hours: MWF 9:10-10am

Office Hours: Candler 318, Mondays, 2-4pm
Location: Caldwell 107

Course Description

Over the course of modern history, the international community has dealt with the issue of how to prevent, stop, and reverse the spread of military weapons and material. Some of those efforts would aim at quantities of weapons, while some others would aim at specific kinds of weapons (such as nuclear or biological weapons) considered to be off-limits or too destabilizing. How successful those efforts have been? In this course, we will look into the history of arms control and disarmament arrangements, how well they usually fare in achieving their goals, and what is the current state of this agenda in international affairs.

Course Objectives

1. Understand the history of arms control and disarmament institutions. That includes institutions dealing with nuclear, chemical, biological and conventional weapons, as well as missiles, outer space, the cyber space, and emerging technologies;
2. Understand how international institutions work to constrain arms proliferation and what makes states comply with those arrangements;
3. Understand why states want more or different weapons;
4. Understand how efficient arms control institutions have been in their stated goals;

Prerequisite

INTL 3200 or INTL 3200E or INTL 3300

Required Materials

There are no required materials. Readings are available online through UGA Libraries. Readings from a book will be available in the course's academic reserve, also through UGA Libraries.

Course Structure

Class Structure

We'll meet 3 times a week. At each day, there will be a short lecture, followed by discussion of the day's readings. As much as possible, active participation is expected from students, which will count towards part of your final grade.

Grading

Your grade will be determined by:

- 15%: participation in class;
- 20%: discussion leaders (details TBD);
- 20%: paper presentations (details TBD);
- 45%: final paper;

Grading Scale

A (93-100)	C+ (77-79.9)
A-(90-92.9)	C (73-76.9)
B+ (87-89.9)	C- (70-72.9)
B (83-86.69)	D (60-69.9)
B-(80-82.9)	FAIL (0-59.9)

Attendance and participation in class

Participation in class will account for 15% of your final grade. You are expected to read the assigned material before class and participate actively with comments and questions. Attendance will not be taken, but keep in mind that too many absences will naturally affect your participation grade.

Discussion Leaders

For most or all classes, we will have one or two discussion leaders, who are in charge of starting discussion of the day's readings after my introductory lecture. For this you are required to provide a summary of the assigned reading, as well proposing some questions and/or comments. No slides are required. Each student is expected to be a discussion leader at least twice. Specifics will be determined later depending on the number of students enrolled.

Final Paper

For the final paper, you will have the option of write either a) a research paper; or b) a policy brief. Research papers have the goal of advancing knowledge of some phenomenon in the field, not necessarily with big concerns about how useful that knowledge could be in policymaking. Their focus is on the analysis, which should be methodologically sound and careful. Policy briefs have the goal of providing an assessment of some topic that is of direct relevance to a current policy issue. Although there is analysis involved in policy briefs as well, their focus is on analyzing specific scenarios, as well providing a synthesis of knowledge and evaluation of prospects for the future, all in a way that is relevant and actionable for policymakers.

You can choose any topic covered directly in class, or something adjacent to it. For research papers, that means a specific research question that you are trying to answer in the paper. The analysis here can be a case study, a comparative study, or a large-N statistical study, if you have the basic skills for it (of course, I'm expecting no more than an undergraduate-level paper!). For policy briefs, that means a currently relevant policy issue for which you will provide an assessment. One suggestion is for you to come and tell me about your proposed topic, so I can tell you whether that is enough for a final paper.

For this final paper, you will be able to work by yourself or in pairs. I'm saving the last two weeks of class for discussions of your final papers. The specific format of those discussions is TBD depending on how many papers we will have.

Final papers should be written in a proper font and double-spaced. Formatting, proper citations, and grammar are part of the grading. You should turn in the paper in PDF format through eLc. **DUE DATE MAY 6**

Course Policies

Academic Integrity and Honesty

The UGA Student Honor Code states: "I will be academically honest in all of my academic work and will not tolerate academic dishonesty of others." A Culture of Honesty, the University's policies and procedures for handling cases of suspected dishonesty, can be assessed here: honesty.uga.edu. Any student caught cheating or plagiarizing will be referred to Judicial Affairs, as required by university policy.

Special Accommodations

- Students with disabilities that require accommodation should register with UGA's Disability Resource Center: drc.uga.edu, as well as warn me about those accommodations in the beginning of the semester.
- Students who need accommodation for religious or cultural reasons should check with me as soon as possible.

Student Resources

- The Office of Student Care & Outreach can provide assistance to students experiencing hardship- 706-542-7774 or by email sco@uga.edu
- Counseling and Psychiatric Services- 706-542-2273
- After Hour Mental Health Crisis: 706-542-2200. Connects you to UGA Police- ask to speak to the CAPS on-call clinician.
- Sexual Violence Prevention- 706-542-SAFE

Please note that faculty and staff are obligated to report any knowledge of sexual assault or relationship violence to UGA's Equal Opportunity Office.

Course schedule

You should complete the assigned readings by the day indicated on the schedule. This schedule is subject to change over the course of the semester.

Week 1, 01/10 - 01/14: Introduction

Monday (1/12): Syllabus

Wednesday (1/12): Intro

- Thomas Schelling, "Strategy and Arms Control", Chapter 1 (in academic reserve via eLC, check there for password)

Friday (1/14) : Intro

- Thomas Schelling, "Strategy and Arms Control", Chapter 1, continued

Week 2, 01/17 - 01/21: Arms Races

Monday (1/17): **Martin Luther King Jr. Day, No class**

Wednesday (1/19): Theory

- James D. Fearon. "Cooperation, Conflict, and the Costs of Anarchy". In: *International Organization* 72.3 (2018), pp. 523–559. ISSN: 0020-8183, 1531-5088. DOI: [10.1017/S0020818318000115](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818318000115)

Friday (1/21): Empirics

- Richard J. Stoll. *To Arms, To Arms: What Do We Know About Arms Races?* <https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/9780190228637-e-350>. Sept. 2017. DOI: [10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.350](https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.350)

Week 3, 01/24 - 01/28: Institutions and Compliance

Monday (1/24): Theory

- George W. Downs, David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom. "Is the Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation?" In: *International Organization* 50.3 (1996), pp. 379–406. ISSN: 0020-8183

Wednesday (1/26): Empirics

- Beth Simmons. "Treaty Compliance and Violation". In: *Annual Review of Political Science* 13.1 (2010), pp. 273–296. DOI: [10.1146/annurev.polisci.12.040907.132713](https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.12.040907.132713)

Friday (1/28): Arms Control arrangements

- Andrew J. Coe and Jane Vaynman. "Why Arms Control Is So Rare". In: *American Political Science Review* 114.2 (2020), pp. 342–355. ISSN: 0003-0554

Week 4, 01/31 - 02/04: Nuclear Proliferation

Monday (1/31): Theory

- Scott D. Sagan. "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb". In: *International Security* 21.3 (Jan. 1997), pp. 54–86. ISSN: 0162-2889. DOI: [10.1162/isec.21.3.54](https://doi.org/10.1162/isec.21.3.54)
- William Epstein. "Why States Go—And Don't Go—Nuclear". In: *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 430.1 (Mar. 1977), pp. 16–28. ISSN: 0002-7162. DOI: [10.1177/000271627743000104](https://doi.org/10.1177/000271627743000104)
- Nuno P. Monteiro and Alexandre Debs. "The Strategic Logic of Nuclear Proliferation". In: *International Security* 39.2 (Oct. 2014), pp. 7–51. ISSN: 0162-2889, 1531-4804. DOI: [10.1162/ISEC_a_00177](https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00177)

Wednesday (2/2): Empirics

- Sonali Singh and Christopher R. Way. "The Correlates of Nuclear Proliferation: A Quantitative Test". In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48.6 (Dec. 2004), pp. 859–885. ISSN: 0022-0027. DOI: [10.1177/0022002704269655](https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002704269655)
- Dong-Joon Jo and Erik Gartzke. "Determinants of Nuclear Weapons Proliferation". In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51.1 (Feb. 2007), pp. 167–194. ISSN: 0022-0027. DOI: [10.1177/0022002706296158](https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002706296158)

Friday (2/4): Case study

- Rupal N. Mehta and Rachel Elizabeth Whitlark. "Unpacking the Iranian Nuclear Deal: Nuclear Latency and U.S. Foreign Policy". In: *The Washington Quarterly* 39.4 (Oct. 2016), pp. 45–61. ISSN: 0163-660X, 1530-9177. DOI: [10.1080/0163660X.2016.1261567](https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2016.1261567)

Week 5, 02/07 - 02/11: Nuclear Arms Control

Monday (2/7): The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)

- Jacqueline C. Reich. "ACHIEVING THE VISION OF THE NPT: Can We Get There Step By Step?" In: *The Nonproliferation Review* 18.2 (July 2011), pp. 369–387. ISSN: 1073-6700, 1746-1766. DOI: [10.1080/10736700.2011.583118](https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700.2011.583118)

Wednesday (2/9): NPT 2

- Matthew Fuhrmann and Yonatan Lupu. "Do Arms Control Treaties Work? Assessing the Effectiveness of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty". In: *International Studies Quarterly* 60.3 (2016), pp. 530–539. ISSN: 1468-2478

Friday (2/11): The Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)

- M. Asada. "CTBT: Legal Questions Arising from Its Non-Entry-Into-Force". In: *Journal of Conflict and Security Law* 7.1 (Apr. 2002), pp. 85–122. ISSN: 1467-7954, 1467-7962. DOI: [10.1093/jcsl/7.1.85](https://doi.org/10.1093/jcsl/7.1.85)

Week 6, 02/14 - 02/18: Localized Nuclear Arms Control

Monday (2/14): Arms Control among Major Powers

- Shahryar Pasandideh. "The End of the "INF Treaty" and the US-China Military Balance". In: *The Nonproliferation Review* 26.3-4 (May 2019), pp. 267–287. ISSN: 1073-6700, 1746-1766. DOI: [10.1080/10736700.2019.1646466](https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700.2019.1646466)

Wednesday (2/16): Regional Nuclear Weapons Free Zones

- William Epstein. "The Making of the Treaty of Tlatelolco". In: *Journal of the History of International Law* 3 (2001), p. 153

Friday (2/18): Regional Arms Control case study

- Mariana Oliveira do Nascimento Plum and Carlos Augusto Rollemberg de Resende. "The ABACC Experience: Continuity and Credibility in the Nuclear Programs of Brazil and Argentina". In: *The Nonproliferation Review* 23.5-6 (Nov. 2016), pp. 575–593. ISSN: 1073-6700, 1746-1766. DOI: [10.1080/10736700.2017.1339402](https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700.2017.1339402)

Week 7, 02/21 - 02/25: More Nuclear Arms Control

Monday (2/21): The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

- Theodore Hirsch. "The IAEA Additional Protocol: What It Is and Why It Matters". In: *The Nonproliferation Review* 11.3 (Sept. 2004), pp. 140–166. ISSN: 1073-6700, 1746-1766. DOI: [10.1080/10736700408436983](https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700408436983)

Wednesday (2/23): IAEA 2

- Elisabeth Roehrich. "The Cold War, the Developing World, and the Creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), 1953–1957". In: *Cold War History* 16.2 (Apr. 2016), pp. 195–212. ISSN: 1468-2745, 1743-7962. DOI: [10.1080/14682745.2015.1129607](https://doi.org/10.1080/14682745.2015.1129607)
- Robert Green. "A Fast Track to Zero Nuclear Weapons: The Middle Powers Initiative and the New Agenda Coalition". In: *Medicine, Conflict and Survival* 16.1 (Jan. 2000), pp. 24–36. ISSN: 1362-3699, 1743-9396. DOI: [10.1080/13623690008409493](https://doi.org/10.1080/13623690008409493)

Friday (2/25): The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons

- Rebecca Davis Gibbons. "The Humanitarian Turn in Nuclear Disarmament and the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons". In: *The Nonproliferation Review* 25.1-2 (Jan. 2018), pp. 11–36. ISSN: 1073-6700, 1746-1766. DOI: [10.1080/10736700.2018.1486960](https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700.2018.1486960)

Week 8, 02/28 - 03/04: Biological and Chemical Weapons

Monday (2/28): Intro

- Michael C. Horowitz and Neil Narang. "Poor Man's Atomic Bomb? Exploring the Relationship between "Weapons of Mass Destruction"". In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58.3 (Apr. 2014), pp. 509–535. ISSN: 0022-0027. DOI: [10.1177/0022002713509049](https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002713509049)
- Neil Narang. "All Together Now? Questioning WMDs as a Useful Analytical Unit for Understanding Chemical and Biological Weapons Proliferation". In: *The Nonproliferation Review* 22.3-4 (Oct. 2015), pp. 457–468. ISSN: 1073-6700. DOI: [10.1080/10736700.2016.1153184](https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700.2016.1153184)

Wednesday (3/2): Chemical Weapons

- Tatsuya Abe. "Challenge Inspections under the Chemical Weapons Convention: Between Ideal and Reality". In: *The Nonproliferation Review* 24.1-2 (Jan. 2017), pp. 167–184. ISSN: 1073-6700. DOI: [10.1080/10736700.2017.1380429](https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700.2017.1380429)

Friday (3/4): Biological Weapons

- Jean Pascal Zanders and Amy E. Smithson. "Ensuring the Future of the Biological Weapons Convention". In: *The Nonproliferation Review* 18.3 (Nov. 2011), pp. 479–487. ISSN: 1073-6700. DOI: [10.1080/10736700.2011.618614](https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700.2011.618614)
- Jonathan B. Tucker. "The Convergence of Biology and Chemistry: Implications for Arms Control Verification". In: *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 66.6 (Nov. 2010), pp. 56–66. ISSN: 0096-3402. DOI: [10.1177/0096340210387050](https://doi.org/10.1177/0096340210387050)

Week 9, 03/07 - 03/11:

SPRING BREAK

Week 10, 03/14 - 03/18: Missiles and Conventional Weapons

Monday (3/14): Missiles

- Joshua Pollack. "Ballistic Trajectory". In: *The Nonproliferation Review* 18.2 (July 2011), pp. 411–429. ISSN: 1073-6700. DOI: [10.1080/10736700.2011.583120](https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700.2011.583120)
- Joshua H. Pollack and Minji Kim. "South Korea's Missile Forces and the Emergence of Triangular Strategic (in)Stability". In: *The Nonproliferation Review* 0.0 (Sept. 2020), pp. 1–16. ISSN: 1073-6700. DOI: [10.1080/10736700.2020.1809156](https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700.2020.1809156)

Wednesday (3/16): Conventional Arms

- Mark Bromley, Neil Cooper, and Paul Holtom. "The UN Arms Trade Treaty: Arms Export Controls, the Human Security Agenda and the Lessons of History". In: *International Affairs* 88.5 (Sept. 2012), pp. 1029–1048. ISSN: 00205850. DOI: [10.1111/j.1468-2346.2012.01117.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2012.01117.x)

Friday (3/18): Cluster Munitions

- Elvira Rosert. "Norm Emergence as Agenda Diffusion: Failure and Success in the Regulation of Cluster Munitions". In: *European Journal of International Relations* 25.4 (Dec. 2019), pp. 1103–1131. ISSN: 1354-0661. DOI: [10.1177/1354066119842644](https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066119842644)

Week 11, 03/21 - 03/25: Strategic Trade Controls and the Political Economy of Arms Control

Monday (3/21): IPE approaches

- Sungyeol Choi and Il Soon Hwang. "Effects of Nuclear Technology Export Competition on Nuclear Nonproliferation". In: *The Nonproliferation Review* 22.3-4 (Oct. 2015), pp. 341–359. ISSN: 1073-6700, 1746-1766. DOI: [10.1080/10736700.2016.1154267](https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700.2016.1154267)

Wednesday (3/23): Export Controls

- Paul Levine and Ron Smith. "Arms Export Controls and Proliferation". In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44.6 (Dec. 2000), pp. 885–895. ISSN: 0022-0027. DOI: [10.1177/0022002700044006011](https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002700044006011)

Friday (3/25): Export Controls 2

- Ron Smith and Bernard Udis. "New Challenges to Arms Export Control: Whither Wassenaar?" In: *The Nonproliferation Review* 8.2 (June 2001), pp. 81–92. ISSN: 1073-6700, 1746-1766. DOI: [10.1080/10736700108436852](https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700108436852)

Week 12, 03/28 - 04/01: Travel to Conference, no classes**Week 13, 04/04 - 04/08:** Non-State Actors

Monday (4/4): Arms Control for Non-State Actors: The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1540

- Peter Crail. "IMPLEMENTING UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1540: A Risk-Based Approach". In: *The Nonproliferation Review* 13.2 (July 2006), pp. 355–399. ISSN: 1073-6700, 1746-1766. DOI: [10.1080/10736700601012193](https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700601012193)
- Monika Heupel. "Surmounting the Obstacles to Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1540". In: *The Nonproliferation Review* 15.1 (Mar. 2008), pp. 95–102. ISSN: 1073-6700, 1746-1766. DOI: [10.1080/10736700701852936](https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700701852936)

Wednesday (4/6): UNSC 2

- Heupel, "Surmounting the Obstacles to Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1540"
- Johan Bergenäs. "THE SLIPPERY SLOPE OF RATIONAL INACTION: Resolution 1540 and the Tragedy of the Commons". In: *The Nonproliferation Review* 15.2 (July 2008), pp. 373–380. ISSN: 1073-6700, 1746-1766. DOI: [10.1080/10736700802117387](https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700802117387)

Friday (4/8): Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

- Kai Oppermann and Dagmar Röttsches. "NGOs as Catalysts for International Arms Control? The Ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in the United States". In: *Journal of International Relations and Development* 13.3 (Sept. 2010), pp. 239–267. ISSN: 14086980. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/jird.2010.8>

Week 14, 04/11 - 04/15: Space, Cyber, and Emerging Technologies

Monday (4/11): Outer Space

- Brian G. Chow. "Space Arms Control: A Hybrid Approach". In: *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 12.2 (2018), pp. 107–132. ISSN: 1936-1815

Wednesday (4/13): Cyberwarfare

- Erin D. Dumbacher. "Limiting Cyberwarfare: Applying Arms-Control Models to an Emerging Technology". In: *The Nonproliferation Review* 25.3-4 (May 2018), pp. 203–222. ISSN: 1073-6700, 1746-1766. DOI: [10.1080/10736700.2018.1515152](https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700.2018.1515152)

Friday (4/15): Emerging Technologies

- Justin Haner and Denise Garcia. "The Artificial Intelligence Arms Race: Trends and World Leaders in Autonomous Weapons Development". In: *Global Policy* 10.3 (2019), pp. 331–337. ISSN: 1758-5899. DOI: [10.1111/1758-5899.12713](https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.12713)
- Michael T. Klare. "The Challenges of Emerging Technologies". In: *Arms Control Today* 48.10 (2018), pp. 10–16. ISSN: 0196-125X
- Qijia Zhou. "The Subatomic Arms Race: Mutually Assured Development". In: *Harvard International Review* 42.2 (2021), pp. 15–19. ISSN: 07391854

Week 15, 04/18 - 04/22: Presentations

Week 16, 04/25 - 04/29: Presentations

Week 17, 05/02 - 05/06: Presentations