

Nuclear Politics Fall 2023

Instructor: Dr. Naomi Egel (negel@uga.edu)

Course Date/Time: Tuesdays and Thursdays 12:45-2:00pm

Course Location: Sanford Hall Room 312

Office Hours Date/Time: Tuesdays 2:30-4:30pm

Office Hours Location: 202 Herty Drive (International Affairs Building) Room 328

I. Course Overview

This course is an undergraduate seminar on nuclear politics. It is intended to provide students with a basic understanding of the theoretical issues surrounding nuclear weapons, their historical development, the impact they have on world politics and policy, and nuclear arms control and disarmament initiatives. The course is divided into roughly three sections. The first covers key concepts in nuclear politics, including deterrence, crises, proliferation, nonproliferation, and arms control. The second section applies these concepts to understanding the nuclear histories and policies of individual nuclear weapon states. The third section examines how nuclear politics intersect with other issues in international relations, including terrorism, domestic politics, environmental politics, gender, and emerging technologies.

By the end of this semester, you should be able to:

- Understand factors that affect the pursuit, threat, and control of nuclear weapons
- Understand the nuclear weapons policies of different nuclear weapon states
- Analyze how nuclear weapons intersect with other issues in international relations
- Critically evaluate contemporary policy debates related to nuclear weapons in foreign policy, nuclear security, nonproliferation, and disarmament.

Course Materials

Most readings for this course are available online through the UGA Library or are open access. Readings marked with a * are uploaded onto eLC. Students are not required to purchase any materials for this course. Reading must be completed before each class. Students are responsible for all assigned readings, even if the material is not explicitly discussed in class.

Assignments

1. In-class midterm (30% of grade)

The midterm will consist of short responses and an essay.

2. Final paper (30% of grade)

The final paper for this class is a policy analysis of between 2,000-3,000 words (approximately 8-12 double-spaced pages, 12-point font), regarding a topic or issue related to this class. For example, a paper might focus on “Next Steps in US-Russia Arms Control” or “Options for Preventing Iranian Nuclear Proliferation”. The analysis should provide 1) an overview of the policy issue, 2) the pros and cons of different courses of action, and 3) a recommendation. The

policy analysis should include citations in the form of footnotes (not included in the total word count). The policy analysis cannot be focused on the NPT Review Conference, given that this is the topic of the in-class simulation. You are encouraged to discuss your topic with the instructor in office hours. The final paper is due on December 8 at 11:59pm.

3. Simulation preparation, participation, and reflection (5% + 10% + 5% = 20% of grade)
 - a. We will conduct a simulation of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) Review Conference over two days. Students will work together in teams (2-3 students) to represent a country at the Review Conference. Additional background and instructions will be given in advance of the simulation.
 - b. Simulation preparation: Each team will submit a preparation document of approximately 2 pages (double-spaced, 12-point font) on your country's position and goals going into the NPT review conference. What will you advocate for? What will you oppose? What countries are your likely partners? This should be based on background research regarding your country's involvement in past NPT review conferences.
 - c. Simulation reflection: Each team will submit a reflection of approximately 2 pages (double-spaced, 12-point font) on the extent to which your country succeeded in achieving its goals in the simulation and why or why not. Finally, develop 2-3 recommendations for your country to pursue at the next NPT review conference.
4. Class participation (20% of grade)

As this is a seminar-style class, class participation is an important component of the course and of your grade. You will need to come to class having done the reading, ready to engage with the material, and prepared to share your thoughts. All students are expected to complete all the assigned readings before the class meetings, attend class, and participate constructively in each class. Attendance is a prerequisite for participation.

Key Dates

Midterm: October 5, 2023

Simulation preparation due: October 26, 2023

NPT simulation: November 2 and November 7, 2023

Simulation reflection due: November 14, 2023

Final paper due: December 8, 2023

Office Hours

I will hold regular office hours on Tuesdays from 2:30-4:30pm. Please come to discuss the material, things going on in the news, questions about assignments, or other topics related to this class. If my regular office hours do not work with your schedule, you can email me to set up a different time to meet.

II. Classroom Policies

These policies are borrowed and adapted from the Center for Teaching and Learning

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 found at www.uga.edu/ovpi. Plagiarism refers to the use of others’ ideas and/or material without citing the source of the ideas and/or material, whether intentional or unintentional. The use of Chat GPT or other generative AI tools in your written assignments is considered plagiarism. Any student who is cheating or plagiarizing will be referred to Judicial Affairs.

Electronics Policy

Laptops are permitted in class for notetaking purposes only. Students may not audio or video record class sessions unless they have received written authorization from the UGA Disability Resource Center. If students have such an authorization, they:

- Understand that they may use the records only for personal academic use during the specific course.
- Understand that faculty members have copyright interest in their class lectures, and they agree not to infringe on this right in any way.
- Understand that the faculty member and students in the class have privacy rights and agree not to violate those rights by using recordings for any reason other than their own personal study.
- Will not release, digitally upload, broadcast, transcribe, or otherwise share all or any part of the recordings. They also agree that they will not profit financially and will not allow others to benefit personally or financially from lecture recordings or other course materials.
- Will erase/delete all recordings at the end of the semester.
- Understand that violation of these terms may subject them to discipline under the Student Code of Conduct or subject them to liability under copyright laws.

Accommodations

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

Inclusion

This class strives to promote a sense of community and a welcoming space for a diversity of ideas, perspectives, and experiences. All members of our classroom community should respect one another’s differences of identity, e.g., religion, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and gender. UGA’s educational platform provides a roster of legal student names for the instructor. Students are encouraged to reach out to the instructor early in the semester if they wish to be addressed by an alternate name or gender pronoun.

Absences

While in-person student participation is expected for the course, it is possible that health issues, including COVID-19, may affect your attendance. *Do not come to class if you are feeling sick.* Excused student absence from in-person participation include illness or a health emergency,

death of a family member, and documented disabilities. If you are requesting one of these exceptions, students must notify the instructor outlining the reason for the absence, and with accompanying documentation where relevant. When possible, students should notify the instructor in advance of class.

Appeals

I hope there will be no reason to contest a grade. If you strongly feel that your grade on an assignment does not reflect the quality of your work, you may appeal by writing a 1-2 page memo that explains, in as much detail as possible, why you think you should have received a different grade. Give the memo to the instructor, along with your graded assignment and a letter in which you formally request a re-grade. The instructor will re-evaluate your work and assign a grade, which may be higher, lower, or the same as the original grade.

Mental Health and Wellness Resources:

If you or someone you know needs assistance, you are encouraged to contact Student Care and Outreach in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-7774 or visit <https://sco.uga.edu/>. They will help you navigate any difficult circumstances you may be facing by connecting you with the appropriate resources or services. UGA has several resources for a student seeking mental health services (<https://caps.uga.edu/wellbeing-prevention-programs-mental-health/>) or crisis support (<https://healthcenter.uga.edu/emergencies/>). If you need help managing stress anxiety, relationships, etc., please visit BeWellUGA (<https://caps.uga.edu/well-being-prevention-programs-mental-health/>) for a list of free workshops, classes, mentoring, and health coaching led by licensed clinicians and health educators in the University Health Center. Additional resources can be accessed through the UGA App.

III. Detailed Course Schedule

* indicates reading on eLC

8/17 Session 1: Introduction

Read the syllabus

8/22 Session 2: Early Nuclear History

What was the legacy of World War II for Cold War nuclear strategy?

*Sherwin, Martin. 1987. *A World Destroyed: Hiroshima and the Origins of the Arms Race*. Introduction (pp. 3-9) and Chapter 9 (pp. 220-238).

Holloway, David. 1994. *Stalin and the Bomb: The Soviet Union and Atomic Energy, 1939-1956*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Conclusion (pp. 364-371).

8/24 Session 3: Deterrence

What is the logic of deterrence? How does it work?

Schelling, Thomas. 1966. *Arms and Influence*. New Haven: Yale University Press. pp. 35-91

Watch: Center for Strategic and International Studies. 2021. Deterrence 101 Module (29 minutes). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g1th_3vILd4

8/29 Session 4: Nuclear Crises

What role do nuclear weapons play in international crises?

Sechser, Todd and Matthew Fuhrmann. 2013. "Crisis Bargaining and Nuclear Blackmail." *International Organization* 67(1): 173-195. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43282156>

8/31 Session 5: The Nuclear Revolution Part I

Class will be held on Zoom

How have nuclear weapons changed international relations?

*Waltz, Kenneth and Scott Sagan. 2003. *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed*. WW Norton & Company. Chapters 1-2.

9/5 Session 6: The Nuclear Revolution Part II

*Jervis, Robert. 1989. *The meaning of the nuclear revolution: Statecraft and the prospect of Armageddon*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapter 1 (pp. 1-45).

9/7 Session 7: Nuclear Accidents

How can nuclear accidents be avoided? Are nuclear accidents avoidable?

*Sagan, Scott 1993. *The Limits of Safety: Organizations, Accidents, and Nuclear Weapons*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Introduction (pp. 3-10) and Chapter 6 (pp. 250-280)

9/12 Session 8: Proliferation Part 1

Why and how do states pursue nuclear weapons?

Debs, Alexandre and Nuno Monteiro. 2017. "Conflict and Cooperation on Nuclear Nonproliferation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20: 331-349. <https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev-polisci-051215-022839>

Sagan, Scott. 1996-1997. "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb," *International Security* 21(3): 54-86. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2539273>

9/14 Session 9: Proliferation Part II

Narang, Vipin. 2016. "Strategies of Nuclear Proliferation." *International Security* 41(3): 110-150. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26777792>

9/19 Session 10: Nonproliferation Part I

How can countries prevent proliferation?

Gibbons, Rebecca. 2022. *The Hegemon's Toolkit: US Leadership and the Politics of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapters 1 and 2 (pp.1-35).

9/21 Session 11: Nonproliferation Part II

National Nuclear Security Administration. 2017. "Introduction to International Safeguards." https://www.energy.gov/sites/default/files/2017/10/f37/Introduction%2520to%2520International%2520Safeguards%5B1%5D_0.pdf

Roehrllich, Elisabeth. 2022. *Inspectors for Peace: A History of the International Atomic Energy Agency*. Chapter 9 (pp. 203-232).

9/26 Sessions 12: Arms Control

Why and how have countries attempted to limit or prohibit nuclear weapons?

*Schelling, Thomas and Morton Halperin. 1961. *Strategy and Arms Control*. New York: Twentieth Century Fund. Chapter 1.

Egel, Naomi and Jane Vaynman. 2021. "Reconsidering Arms Control Orthodoxy." *War on the Rocks*. March 26. <https://warontherocks.com/2021/03/reconsidering-arms-control-orthodoxy/>

9/28 Session 13: Disarmament

Gibbons, Rebecca. 2018. "The Humanitarian Turn in Nuclear Disarmament and the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons." *The Nonproliferation Review* 25(1-2): 11-36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700.2018.1486960>

Schelling, Thomas. 2009. "A World Without Nuclear Weapons?" *Daedalus* 138(4): 124-129. <https://www.amacad.org/publication/world-without-nuclear-weapons>

10/3 Session 14: Nuclear Norms

What are the existing norms regarding nuclear weapons?

Tannenwald, Nina. 1999. "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use." *International Organization* 53(3): 433-468. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2601286>

Sagan, Sagan and Benjamin Valentino. 2017. "Revisiting Hiroshima in Iran: What Americans Really Think about Using Nuclear Weapons and Killing Noncombatants." *International Security* 42(1): 41-79. https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00284

10/5 Session 15: Midterm

10/10 Session 16: United States

What is distinctive about individual nuclear weapon states? What do they share in common?

2022 US Nuclear Posture Review.

<https://s3.amazonaws.com/uploads.fas.org/2022/10/27113658/2022-Nuclear-Posture-Review.pdf>

Congressional Research Service. 2023. “2022 Nuclear Posture Review: Selected Programmatic Issues.” <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF12357>

10/12 Session 17: Russia

Loukianova, Anya and Olga Olikier. 2020. “Russia’s Nuclear Weapons in a Multipolar World: Guarantors of Sovereignty, Great Power Status, and More.” *Daedalus* 49(2): 37-55.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/48591311>

Adamsky, Dmitry. 2023. “Russia’s New Nuclear Normal.” *Foreign Affairs*
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/russian-federation/russias-new-nuclear-normal>

10/17 Session 18: China

Cunningham, Fiona and Taylor Fravel. 2019. “Dangerous Confidence? Chinese Views on Nuclear Escalation.” *International Security* 44(2): 61-109. https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00359

10/19 NO CLASS: INSTRUCTOR TRAVEL

Use this time to work on your paper!

10/24 Session 19: India and Pakistan

Sethi, Manpreet. 2022. Understanding the Nuclear Landscape in Southern Asia: Complexities and Possibilities.” *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament* 5(2): 224-242. <http://doi.org/10.1080/25751654.2022.2156253>

Joshi, Yogesh. 2019. Angles and Dangles: Arihant and the Dilemma of India’s Undersea Nuclear Weapons. *War on the Rocks* <https://warontherocks.com/2019/01/angles-and-dangles-arihant-and-the-dilemma-of-indias-undersea-nuclear-weapons/>

10/26 Session 20: North Korea and Iran Simulation preparation due

Mount, Adam and Mira Rapp-Hooper. 2020. “Nuclear Stability on the Korean Peninsula.” *Survival* 62(1): 39-46. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2020.1715063>

Congressional Research Service. 2023. “Iran’s Nuclear Program: Tehran’s Compliance with International Obligations.” <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/nuke/R40094.pdf>

10/31 Session 21: Past and Potential Nuclear Aspirants

Braut-Hegghammer, Mälfrid. 2016. *Unclear Physics: Why Iraq and Libya Failed to Build Nuclear Weapons*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Conclusion (pp. 218-230).

Brewer, Eric, Toby Dalton, and Kylie Jones. 2023. "Mind the Gaps: Reading South Korea's Emergent Proliferation Strategy." *The Washington Quarterly* 46(2): 141-160.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2023.2226529>

11/2 and 11/7 Sessions 22 and 23: NPT Simulation

NPT background readings (to be assigned)

11/9: Session 24: Nuclear Terrorism

How big a threat is nuclear terrorism?

Bunn, Matthew. 2009. "Reducing the Greatest Risks of Nuclear Theft and Terrorism." *Daedalus* 138(4): 112-123. <https://www.amacad.org/publication/reducing-greatest-risks-nuclear-theft-terrorism>

Lieber, Kier and Daryl Press. 2013. "Why States Won't Give Nuclear Weapons to Terrorists," *International Security* 38(1): 80-104.
https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/files/publication/IS3801_pp080-104.pdf

11/14 Session 25: Nuclear Weapons and Domestic Politics

Simulation reflection due

How do domestic politics affect issues related to nuclear weapons?

Saunders, Elizabeth. 2019. "The Domestic Politics of Nuclear Choices – A Review Essay," *International Security* 44(2): 146-184. https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00361

11/16 Session 26: Nuclear Weapons and Emerging Technologies

To what extent do emerging technologies create new nuclear dangers?

Chyba, Christopher. 2020. "New Technologies & Strategic Stability." *Daedalus* 149(2): 150-170. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48591318>

Vaynman, Jane. 2021. "Better Monitoring and Better Spying: The Implications of Emerging Technology for Arms Control." *Texas National Security Review* 4(4): 33-56.
<https://tnsr.org/2021/09/better-monitoring-and-better-spying-the-implications-of-emerging-technology-for-arms-control/>

11/21 Session 27: Intersection With Other Issues, Part I

How do issues not traditionally associated with nuclear weapons affect nuclear weapons policies?

Adamsky, Dmitry. 2019. *Russian Nuclear Orthodoxy: Religion, Politics, and Strategy*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. Chapter 11 and Epilogue (pp. 233-255).

Kwong, Jamie. 2023. "How Climate Change Challenges the U.S. Nuclear Deterrent." Report. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2023/07/10/how-climate-change-challenges-u.s.-nuclear-deterrent-pub-90130>

11/23 THANKSGIVING: NO CLASS

11/28 Session 28: Intersection With Other Issues, Part II

Cohn, Carol. 1987. "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals." *Signs* 12(4): 687–718. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3174209>.

Intondi, Vincent. 2015. *African Americans Against the Bomb: Nuclear Weapons, Colonialism, and the Black Freedom Movement*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. Chapter 4 (pp. 63-85).

11/30 Session 29: The Future of Nuclear Weapons

Narang, Vipin and Scott Sagan. 2022. *The Fragile Balance of Terror: Deterrence in the New Nuclear Age*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Introduction and Conclusion (pp. 1-10; 230-250). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctv310vm0j>

Kühn, Ulrich and Heather Williams. 2023. "A New Approach to Arms Control." *Foreign Affairs* <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/new-approach-arms-control>

The course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary.