

INTL 4460: Arms Control and Disarmament

Spring 2024

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

Course Date/Time: Tuesdays and Thursdays 2:20-3:35pm

Course Location: Sanford Hall Room 209

Office Hours Date/Time: Wednesdays 3:00-5:00pm

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

I. Overview

In a time when many existing arms control treaties have collapsed and tensions between nuclear-armed states have increased, understanding the dynamics of arms control and disarmament is of heightened importance for reducing the dangers of nuclear war. This course introduces students to a variety of topics including why states pursue arms control and disarmament, how they have done so at different points in time, and why different initiatives have succeeded or failed. In addition, it examines the dynamics of arms control and disarmament for different types of weapons, beyond solely nuclear weapons. In doing so, this course also provides students with the conceptual toolkit to think through prospects for arms control regarding emerging technologies.

By the end of this course students will be able to:

- *Understand* the variety of forms that arms control and disarmament initiatives have taken.
- *Analyze* the conditions under which arms control and disarmament efforts are likely to succeed.
- *Evaluate* challenges facing arms control and disarmament efforts.
- *Develop* recommendations for arms control and disarmament initiatives regarding a variety of weapons and technologies.

Course Requirements

Your grade will be based on four components. All page lengths refer to 12-point font, double spaced pages.

1. Three reading responses: Three times during the semester, you will write a 2-3 page response to a reading on the syllabus. Each reading response should 1) briefly summarize the question the author is asking and their core argument and 2) give your analysis of the reading. The summary should be no more than 1 page, and most of the response should be your analysis of the reading's strengths and weakness, additional implications and/or connections to other concepts and readings, and 1-2 questions the reading raised for you. Reading responses are due on ELC by 7pm the day before class. Each reading response must be done for a different class day, even if there are multiple readings for a given day. 30% of grade: each memo = 10% of grade.

2. Midterm: The midterm will take place on Thursday, February 28. It will consist of short responses and an essay and will cover all content before that date. 25% of grade.
3. Final paper: The final paper will be a research paper analyzing prospects for arms control of a specific emerging technology. I will provide a list of contemporary emerging technologies to choose from; however, students may choose another technology with my approval. The paper should be 2,500-3,500 words (approximately 10-14 pages). It should provide a detailed overview of the technology's anticipated military/security implications and develop 2-3 specific suggestions for what arms control of that technology could plausibly involve. The paper should also discuss potential challenges in arms control for that specific technology. You are expected to draw on readings and concepts from this course but also to use sources outside of this course. You may use any citation format you prefer (Chicago, APA, MLA) but you must cite your sources consistently. The final paper is due Friday, May 3 at 11:59pm. I encourage all students to consult with the UGA Writing Center as they work on their final paper for this course (<https://write.uga.edu/programs/writing-center/>). 25% of grade.
4. Active and thoughtful class participation: You are expected to come to class having read the week's assigned readings, and ready to discuss. I expect (within reason) all students to contribute to the discussion of every class. To ensure a constructive and respectful learning environment for everyone, all discussion should be relevant to the subject matter, respectful towards all section participants, and inclusive. Students should avoid *ad hominem* criticism (aimed at the speaker rather than the ideas/arguments presented), disrespectful language, interrupting other speakers, off-topic conversations, and monopolizing speaking time. Attendance is a prerequisite for participation and unexcused absences will negatively affect your participation grade. 20% of grade.

Course Materials

Most readings for this course are available online through the UGA Library or are open access. To access readings that are not open access, search the title through the UGA library website. 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.

Office Hours

I will hold regular office hours on Wednesdays from 3:00-5:00pm. 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. If you have questions about how to correctly cite sources, please ask.

Electronics Policy

Laptops are permitted in class for notetaking purposes only. If students are using laptops for other purposes during class, this policy may be revoked.

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 a certain name or gender pronoun not listed in Athena.

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. In such a case, you should send me an email requesting a re-grade and attach the memo along with your graded assignment. I 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. Weekly Schedule

Week 1: Key concepts (1/9; 1/11)

Tuesday:

1. Congressional Research Service (2023). *Arms Control and Nonproliferation: A Catalog of Treaties and Agreements*. Pages 1-23; 39-70. <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/nuke/RL33865.pdf>

Thursday:

1. Perkovich, George (2020). “The Logic of Nuclear Disarmament.” United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research. <https://doi.org/10.37559/WMD/20/DDAC/02>

Week 2: Purpose(s) of arms control (1/16; 1/18)

Tuesday:

1. *Schelling, Thomas and Morton Halperin (1961). *Strategy and Arms Control*. New York: Twentieth Century Fund. Introduction (pages 1-6), Chapters 8, 9, and 10 (pages 77-106).
2. Bull, Hedley (1976). “Arms Control and World Order.” *International Security* 1(1): 3-16. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2538573>

Thursday:

1. Maurer, John (2018). “The Purposes of Arms Control.” *Texas National Security Review* 2(1): 8-27. <https://tnsr.org/2018/11/the-purposes-of-arms-control/>
2. Crawford, Timothy and Khang Vu (2020). “Arms Control and Great-Power Politics.” *War on the Rocks* <https://warontherocks.com/2020/11/arms-control-and-great-power-politics/>

Week 3: Challenges in arms control (1/23; 1/25)

Tuesday:

1. Tuesday: Coe, Andrew and Jane Vaynman (2020). “Why Arms Control Is So Rare”. In: *American Political Science Review* 114(2): 342–355. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S000305541900073X>
Note: skim the model
2. Glaser, Charles (1998). “The flawed case for nuclear disarmament.” *Survival* 40(1): 112-128. doi: [10.1080/00396338.1998.9688523](https://doi.org/10.1080/00396338.1998.9688523)

Thursday:

1. Bell, Alexandra. 2023. “The Future of Arms Control.” <https://www.state.gov/the-future-of-arms-control/>

Week 4: Cold War nuclear arms control and disarmament (1/30; 2/1)

Tuesday:

1. United States of America. 1953. Address by Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States of America, to the 470th Plenary Meeting of the United Nations General Assembly. <https://www.iaea.org/about/history/atoms-for-peace-speech>

Thursday:

1. Cameron, James (2017). *The Double Game: The Demise of America's First Missile Defense System and the Rise of Strategic Arms Limitation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Introduction (pages 1-11)
2. Cameron, James (2020). "What History Can Teach." *Daedalus* 149(2): 116–132. https://doi.org/10.1162/daed_a_01793

Week 5: Post-Cold War nuclear disarmament (2/6; 2/8)

Tuesday:

1. Arms Control Association, 2022. "When Ukraine Traded Nuclear Weapons for Security Assurances: An Interview with Mariana Budjeryn." *Arms Control Today*. <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2022-04/interviews/when-ukraine-traded-nuclear-weapons-security-assurances-interview-mariana>
2. Putz, Catherine. 2022. "How Did Kazakhstan Give Up the Bomb?" *The Diplomat*. <https://thediplomat.com/2022/02/how-did-kazakhstan-give-up-the-bomb/>

Thursday:

1. Müller, Harald and Carmen Wunderlich (2020). "Nuclear Disarmament without the Nuclear-Weapon States: The Nuclear Weapon Ban Treaty." *Daedalus* 149(2): 171–189. https://doi.org/10.1162/daed_a_01796

Week 6: Post-Cold War nuclear arms control (2/13; 2/15)

Tuesday:

1. Koch, Susan. 2012. The Presidential Nuclear Initiatives of 1991-1992. Center for the Study of Weapons of Mass Destruction, National Defense University. Pages 1-38. https://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/casestudies/CSWMD_CaseStudy-5.pdf
2. Gottemoller, Rose (2021). *Negotiating the New START Treaty*. Cambria Press. Chapter 1 (pages 1-11), Chapter 5 (pages 47-56), Chapter 10 (pages 119-131), and Chapter 13 (155-169).

Thursday:

1. Kühn, Ulrich (2021). "The crisis of nuclear arms control." *Zeitschrift für Friedens und Konfliktforschung* 10: 319–344. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42597-022-00069-5>
2. Brooks, Linton (2020). "The End of Arms Control?" *Daedalus* 149(2): 84–100. https://doi.org/10.1162/daed_a_01791

Week 7: Domestic politics (2/20; 2/22)

Tuesday:

1. Miller, Steve (1984). "Politics over Promise: Domestic Impediments to Arms Control." *International Security* 8(4): 67–90. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2538563>
2. Kreps, Sarah, Elizabeth Saunders, and Kenneth Schultz (2018) "The Ratification Premium: Hawks, Doves, and Arms Control." *World Politics* 70(4): 479–514. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/world-politics/article/ratification-premium/82D4AA2C7BE903F590ECED6E514FBC15>

Note: skim the model

Thursday:

1. Ratz, Leon (2013). "Organizing for Arms Control: The Security Implications of the Loss of an Independent Arms Control Agency." Belfer Center Project on Managing the Atom. Pages 1-31.
<https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/legacy/files/Organizing%20for%20Arms%20Control%20-%20Web%203.pdf>.

Week 8 (2/27; 2/29): Nuclear weapon free zones

Tuesday:

1. Hamel-Green, Michael (2011). "Peeling the orange: regional paths to a nuclear-weapon-free world." *Disarmament Forum* 2: 3-14.
<https://undir.org/files/publication/pdfs/nuclear-weapon-free-zones-en-314.pdf>
2. Bino, Tomisha and Karim Haggag (2023). "Examining Modalities for Nuclear Disarmament in the Middle East WMD-Free Zone Treaty." United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research. https://undir.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/UNIDIR_Examining_Modalities_for_Nuclear_disarmament_in_the_Middle_East_Zone_treaty.pdf

Thursday: Midterm

March 2-8: Spring break (no class)

Week 9: NGOs and peace movements (3/12; 3/14)

Tuesday:

1. Wittner, Lawrence (2009). *Confronting the Bomb: A Short History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. Chapters 7 and 8 (pages 141-205).

Thursday:

1. Carpenter, R. Charli (2011). "Vetting The Advocacy Agenda: Network Centrality And The Paradox Of Weapons Norms." *International Organization* 65(1): 69-102.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/23016104>
2. Price, Richard (1998). "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines." *International Organization* 52(3): 613-644.
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/7ACAF0A45AA111CF3F6829ACA4CBBEBB/S0020818398440475a.pdf/div-class-title-reversing-the-gun-sights-transnational-civil-society-targets-land-mines-div.pdf>

Week 10: Conventional arms control part 1 (3/19; 3/21)

Tuesday:

1. Bower, Adam (2015). "Norms Without the Great Powers: International Law, Nested Social Structures and the Ban on Antipersonnel Mines." *International Studies Review* 17(3): 347-373. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24758619>

2. Fazal, Tanisha and Margarita Konaev (2019). "Homelands versus Minelands: Why Do Armed Groups Commit to the Laws of War?" *Journal of Global Security Studies* 4(2): 149-168. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jogss/ogz005>

Thursday:

1. Taheran, Shervin (2017). "The Arms Trade Treaty at a Glance." Arms Control Association. https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/arms_trade_treaty
2. Vestner, Tobias (2020). "The New Geopolitics of the Arms Trade Treaty." *Arms Control Today* 50(10): 14-20. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26975487>

Week 11: Conventional arms control Part 2 (3/26; 3/28)

Tuesday:

1. Bell, Alexandra and Anthony Wier (2019). "Open Skies Treaty: A Quiet Legacy Under Threat." *Arms Control Today* 49(1), 13–19. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26566737>
2. Nelson, Amy and Adam Twardowski (2022). "How the demise of an arms control treaty foreshadowed Russia's aggression against Ukraine." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. February 1. <https://thebulletin.org/2022/02/how-the-demise-of-an-arms-control-treaty-foreshadowed-russias-aggression-against-ukraine/#post-heading>

Thursday:

Guest Speaker: Dr. Alexander Graef, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg

1. Hernández, Gabriela Iveliz Rosa and Alexander Graef (2023). "The CFE Treaty's Demise and the OSCE: Time to Think Anew?" *Just Security*. December 13. <https://www.justsecurity.org/90612/the-cfe-treatys-demise-and-the-osce-time-to-think-anew/>

Week 12: **No class: instructor conference 4/2 and 4/4**

Start working on your paper!

Week 13: Chemical and biological weapons (4/9; 4/11)

Tuesday:

1. Price, Richard (1995). "A Genealogy of the Chemical Weapons Taboo." *International Organization* 49(1): 73-103. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706867>

Thursday:

1. Fields, Matt (2023). "Can a 1975 bioweapons ban handle today's biothreats?" *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. <https://thebulletin.org/2023/03/biological-weapons-convention/>
2. Chevrier, Marie Isabelle (2020). "Compliance mechanisms and their implementation: the contrast between the Biological and Chemical Weapons Conventions." *The Nonproliferation Review* 27(4-6): 475-486, doi: [10.1080/10736700.2020.1878666](https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700.2020.1878666)

Week 14: Intersection with other issues (4/16; 4/18)

Tuesday:

1. Acheson, Ray (2021). *Banning the Bomb, Smashing the Patriarchy*. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Chapter 1 (pages 9-43)

2. Intondi, Vincent J. *Saving the World from Nuclear War: The June 12, 1982, Disarmament Rally and Beyond*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapters 2 and 3 (pages 13-69).

Thursday:

1. Krause, Keith and Andrew Latham (1998). "Constructing Non-Proliferation and Arms Control: The Norms of Western Practice." *Contemporary Security Policy* 19(1): 23-54. doi: [10.1080/13523269808404178](https://doi.org/10.1080/13523269808404178)
2. Horschig, Doreen and Güneş Murat Tezcür (2021). "Chemical Weapons and the Hierarchy of Victims." *War on the Rocks*. February 26. <https://warontherocks.com/2021/02/chemical-weapons-and-the-hierarchy-of-victims/>

Week 15: Emerging technologies (4/23; 4/25)

Tuesday:

1. Chyba, Christopher (2020). "New Technologies & Strategic Stability." *Daedalus* 149(2): 150-170. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48591318>
2. Vaynman, Jane and Tristan Volpe (2023). "Dual Use Deception: How Technology Shapes Cooperation in International Relations," *International Organization*, 77(3): 599–632. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-organization/article/dual-use-deception-how-technology-shapes-cooperation-in-international-relations/C3BC65F4B54B509440632BD62D074031>

Thursday:

1. 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/>