

# INTL 4460: Arms Control and Disarmament

Spring 2025

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

Course Date/Time: Tuesdays and Thursdays 11:10-12:25

Course Location: Baldwin Hall Room 102

Office Hours Date/Time: Tuesdays 1:00-3:00pm

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 future arms control, including arms control of 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 five components. All page lengths refer to 12-point font, double spaced pages. All assignments should be submitted via eLC unless otherwise noted.

1. Midterm (25% of grade): The midterm will take place on Tuesday, March 11. It will consist of short responses and an essay and may cover all content before that date. You will need to purchase a bluebook or greenbook from the student store for the midterm.
2. Final paper (25% of grade): The final paper will be a research paper analyzing prospects for arms control of a specific emerging technology. I will provide a list of emerging technologies to choose from but students may choose another technology with my approval. The paper should be 2,500-3,500 words (approximately 10-15 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, with either footnotes or in-text citations. The final paper is due Friday, May 2 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/>).

3. Public communication piece (10% of grade)

Choose one existing (not past) arms control or disarmament agreement from this course and write a short piece (850-1,000 words) to educate the public about it. This can take the form of an op-ed, explainer, or letter to the editor. Your piece should address the following questions: What should people who don't follow international issues know about this international agreement? Why should they care about it? What actions can they or their elected representatives take to strengthen it?

Remember that this assignment is to communicate to a public, not specialist, audience. Although you are not required to do so, it can be helpful to share your draft with friends outside of SPIA. If they can easily understand it, you are communicating at the right level!

For this assignment, you should cite your sources with hyperlinks, rather than in-text citations or footnotes. This assignment can be completed at any point during the semester but is due no later than 11:59pm on April 22.

4. Reading responses (20% of grade)

Four times during the semester, you will write a response of 2-3 pages to a reading on the syllabus. Each reading response should briefly summarize the question the author is asking and their core argument and give your analysis of the reading. The summary should be less than 1 page, and most of the response should be a) your analysis of the reading's strengths and weakness, b) additional implications and/or connections to other concepts and readings, and c) 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. You do not need to include citations in the reading responses. Each reading response = 5% of final grade.

5. Active and thoughtful class participation (20% of grade): You are expected to come to class having read the week's assigned readings, and ready to discuss. I expect 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. When we have guest speakers, you are expected to engage with their presentation by asking questions. Attendance is a prerequisite for participation in this course and unexcused absences will negatively affect your participation grade.

## **Course Materials**

Most readings for this course are open access or are available online through the UGA Library (tip: when searching the UGA Library website for a book, the ebook version is often the second result). 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. If you encounter difficulties accessing any of the readings, please contact me. 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 Tuesdays from 1:00-3:00pm. Please come to discuss class material, questions about assignments, careers in national security, 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 <https://honesty.uga.edu/Academic-Honesty-Policy/>. 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](http://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. Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with differences of race, culture, religion, politics, sexual orientation, gender, gender variance, and nationalities. Class rosters are provided to instructors with students' legal name. I would like to address you by your preferred name and/or gender pronoun. Please advise me of this preference early in the semester so that I may make appropriate changes to my records.

## **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 me outlining the reason for the absence, and with accompanying documentation where relevant. When possible, students should notify the instructor in advance of class.

## **Appeals**

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://well-being.uga.edu/communityresources/>) 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 Schedule

\* indicates reading on eLC

Session 1 (1/7): Key concepts

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>

Session 2 (1/9): Classic purposes of arms control

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>

Session 3 (1/14): Other purposes of arms control

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/>

Session 4 (1/16): Challenges in arms control

1. Tuesday: Coe, Andrew and Jane Vaynman (2020). "Why Arms Control Is So Rare". In: *American Political Science Review* 114(2): 342-355. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S000305541900073X>

Note: skim the model

Session 5 (1/21): Challenges in disarmament

1. 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)

Session 6 (1/23): Cold War nuclear arms control and disarmament

1. Cameron, James (2020). "What History Can Teach." *Daedalus* 149(2): 116-132. [https://doi.org/10.1162/daed\\_a\\_01793](https://doi.org/10.1162/daed_a_01793)

Session 7 (1/28): Post-Cold War nuclear arms control

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](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).

Session 8 (1/30): Post-Cold War nuclear disarmament

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/>

Session 9 (2/4): Different approaches to nuclear disarmament

**Guest speaker: Allie Maloney, Federation of American Scientists**

1. Mendenhall, Elizabeth (2020). Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones and Contemporary Arms Control. *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 14(4): 122-151. [https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/Portals/10/SSQ/documents/Volume-14\\_Issue-4/Mendenhall.pdf](https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/Portals/10/SSQ/documents/Volume-14_Issue-4/Mendenhall.pdf)

Session 10 (2/6): Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons

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](https://doi.org/10.1162/daed_a_01796)

2/11: No class (Dr. Egel speaking at off-campus event)

Session 11 (2/13): Contemporary nuclear arms control

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. Perkovich, George. 2024. “No Losers: Making Arms Control Work.” American Academy of Arts & Sciences. <https://www.amacad.org/publication/future-nuclear-arms-control-and-impact-russia-ukraine-war/section/3>

Session 12 (2/18): NGOs and peace movements

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).

2/20: No class (Dr. Egel at conference)

Session 14 (2/25): Domestic politics

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

Session 15 (2/27): Domestic politics, part 2

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>.

**March 3-7: Spring break (no class)**

Session 16 (3/11): Midterm

Session 17 (3/13): Export controls and arms control

**Guest speaker: Lydia McCoy, US Department of State**

1. Casey, Christopher. 2023. "Export Controls—International Coordination: Issues for Congress." Congressional Research Service <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R47684>

Session 18 (3/18): Landmines and cluster munitions

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>

Session 19 (3/20): Civil society and conventional weapons disarmament

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>

Session 20 (3/25): Conventional arms control

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/>
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>

Session 21 (3/27): Conventional arms control, part 2

1. Taheran, Shervin (2017). “The Arms Trade Treaty at a Glance.” Arms Control Association. [https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/arms\\_trade\\_treaty](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>

Session 22 (4/1): Chemical weapons

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

Session 23 (4/3): Biological weapons

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)

Session 24 (4/8): Intersections with other issues

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).

Session 25 (4/10): Intersections with other issues, part 2

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/>



Session 26 (4/15): Emerging technologies

1. 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>

Session 27 (4/17): Emerging technologies, part 2

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/>

Session 28 (4/22): The future of arms control and disarmament

**Guest speaker: to be announced**

**Readings: to be assigned**

Session 29 (4/24): Final class

No readings!