

Readings in Arms Control, Nonproliferation, and Cooperative Security Policy

PUAF 798M
Fall 2016
Tuesday 9:15-11:45
VMH 1107

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Description

The central dilemma of the nuclear age has been how to obtain the benefits but avoid the risks of an extraordinarily powerful technology when no state can control its spread nor protect itself unilaterally against hostile or reckless misuse. PUAF 720 covered choices made about nuclear weapons during the Cold War and its immediate aftermath. PUAF 798M considers how powerful trends associated with globalization affect long-standing issues on the arms control and nonproliferation agenda. It also explores how they are creating new types of challenges, including biosecurity and cybersecurity, which cannot be addressed through purely unilateral means, but which also do not fit well with traditional forms of arms control and nonproliferation. Of particular interest is how the level of international cooperation that would be required to respond effectively to global warming affects the amount and type of cooperation needed to manage nuclear energy, prevent proliferation, and minimize risks from existing nuclear arsenals.

The class begins by examining different kinds of explanations for arms control and nonproliferation outcomes and debates about what, if any, need the United States and the rest of the international community for formal arms control now that the Cold War is over. We will use both the current debate about the best way to reduce risks from Iran's nuclear program and longstanding arguments over the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty as case studies of the interplay between substance and process during negotiation, ratification, and implementation. The course will then consider questions of central importance to security relations among the United States, Russia, and China, including missile defense, space security, and cybersecurity. It will then consider incremental and transformational proposals for addressing a range of global security challenges where technological advances, empowerment of non-state actors, economic interdependence, and climate change are making it increasingly difficult to achieve core security objectives either through unilateral action or through arms control and nonproliferation strategies developed during the Cold War.

Requirements

This course is designed to help students deepen their substantive knowledge, improve their oral and written communication skills, work collaboratively, and gain experience writing a research paper. Students are expected to prepare thoroughly, attend consistently, and participate actively in class discussions. Students will maintain the highest standards of professional behavior and will adhere to the University of Maryland's Code of Academic Integrity (www.shc.umd.edu) at all times. Please e-mail me in advance, if possible, if you must miss class for any reason. If you must miss class more than once during the semester, please check with me regarding make-up assignments. If you must miss more than twice for medical reasons, documentation from a health care professional may be required.

Students are expected to keep abreast of current events related to the subject matter of the course and are encouraged to attend relevant events sponsored by CISSM and other UMD and DC-based organizations. Some of the CISSM forums held during lunchtime on Thursdays will be of particular relevance to this class, and students are strongly encouraged to attend. If you are not on the CISSM forum mailing list already, you can subscribe at: www.cissm.umd.edu.

The class typically also includes a field trip downtown to meet with a senior government official working on arms control and nonproliferation policy. I will try to arrange this trip for a Tuesday morning, which may require some rearrangement of our class schedule. Given the difficulties of scheduling with senior officials, though, this trip may be held outside of the normal class meeting time. If so, I will try to avoid conflicts and expect class members to do so, too.

Throughout the semester, students will conduct a policy research project on a topic of their choosing, with the final paper (5,000–7,000 words) due one week after the last class session. Grading criteria will be similar to those for 720 policy memos, but substantial additional research and original analysis will be expected:

- 1) Does it have a clear, coherent, compelling, and creative central argument?
- 2) Is that central argument well supported?
- 3) Are counter-arguments and/or alternative points of view weighed?
- 4) Are important and interesting policy implications drawn from the analysis?
- 5) Is the memo professionally written — grammatically correct, appropriate tone, fact-checked, numbered pages, etc.?

Research questions should be approved before the fourth class session (Sept. 27th). An analytical outline is due by the ninth session (Oct. 25). Students will give rough drafts to me and a peer editor by the twelfth session (no later than Nov. 15), and receive feedback by the following week (NLT Nov. 22th). Students will also give class presentations during the final weeks of the semester. The final paper is due by noon one week after the last class (i.e. on Dec. 13th).

Participation	20%
Research paper analytical outline	10%
Research paper rough draft	20%
Constructive critiques	10%
Research paper presentation	15%
Final policy research paper	25%

Readings and Resources

One book is required reading for this course. Mohamed El Baradei, *The Age of Deception: Nuclear Diplomacy in Treacherous Times* is available at the University Bookstore.

The course relies heavily on recent articles and reports, many of which are available on the internet, and links have been provided. The remainder of the assigned readings will be placed on reserve using the Canvas system. To access these readings, go to <https://elms.umd.edu> and enter your user name and password (the same ones that you use to access your University of Maryland email account), and then click on PUA 798M. Please let me know ASAP if you have problems accessing any course readings. Depending on class interests and developments in current policy debates, I may supplement or substitute readings as the semester progresses.

Schedule and Reading Assignments

(1) Introduction (August 30)

(2) Explaining Arms Control and Nonproliferation Outcomes (Sept 6)

Understanding how well-written articles are structured will make you a more efficient reader and better writer. Please read: “Writing for International Security,” at http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/156/writing_for_international_security.html

Then, apply the analytical reading summary technique I taught you to the following articles:

Kenneth Oye, “Explaining Cooperation under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies,” *World Politics* (October 1985), pp. 1-24.

Peter B. Evans, et al., eds, *Double Edged Diplomacy* (1993), “Integrating International and Domestic Theories of International Bargaining,” pp. 3-42.

Steven Miller, “Politics over Promise: Domestic Impediments to Arms Control,” *International Security* 8:4 (Spring 1984), pp. 67-90.

Emanuel Adler, "The Emergence of Cooperation: National Epistemic Communities and the International Evolution of the Idea of Nuclear Arms Control" *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 1, (Winter 1992), 101-145.

Nina Tannenwald, “Stigmatizing the Bomb: The Origins of the Nuclear Taboo,” *International Security*, (Spring 2005), pp. 5-49.

Matthew Fuhrman, “Spreading Temptation: Proliferation and Peaceful Nuclear Cooperation Agreements,” *International Security* (Summer 2009) – statistical analysis, technological opportunity + external security concerns explains outcomes.

Målfrid Braut-Hegghammer, “Revisiting Osirak,” *International Security* 36:1 (Summer 2011), pp. 101–32.

(3) Multi-stakeholder Governance (Sept. 13)

Mark Bevir and Ian Hall, “The Rise of Security Governance,” in *Interpreting Global Security*, ed. Mark Bevir, Oliver Daddow, and Ian Hall, New York: Routledge, 2014.

“Our Global Neighborhood,” The Report of the Commission on Global Governance (1995), <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/34565/docs/7th.pdf>

Michael N. Barnett and Martha Finnemore, "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations," *International Organizations* 53:4 (Autumn 1999), pp. 699-732.

Ann-Marie Slaughter, "The Real New World Order," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 1997)

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics," *International Social Science Journal* 51 (1999), pp. 89-101.

John Gerard Ruggie, "Global Governance and 'New Governance Theory:' Lessons from Business and Human Rights," *Global Governance* 20 (2014), pp. 5-17.

Laura DeNardis and Mark Raymond, "Thinking Clearly About Multistakeholder Internet Governance," Paper Presented at Eighth Annual GigaNet Symposium, Bali, Indonesia (October 21, 2013).

Robert Orr, "Climate Change Changed," University of Maryland (November 20, 2014).

(4) Cooperative Security in Principle and in Practice (Sept 20)

Ashton B. Carter, William J. Perry, and John D. Steinbruner, "A New Concept of Cooperative Security," Brookings Occasional Paper (1992)

Antonia Handler Chayes and Abram Chayes, "Regime Architecture: Elements and Principles," pp. 65–130 in Janne Nolan, ed., *Global Engagement* (Brookings, 1994)

Gregory Flynn and Henry Farrell, "Piecing Together the Democratic Peace: The CSCE, Norms, and the 'Construction' of Security in the Post-Cold War Europe," *International Organization* 53:3 (Summer 1999), pp. 505-535

Ashton B. Carter and William Perry, *Preventive Defense* (Brookings, 1999), Chap 1 and 2.

John Steinbruner and Nancy Gallagher, "Constructive Transformation: An Alternative Vision of Global Security," *Dædelus* (Summer 2004)

(5) Missile Defense – An Obstacle or Opportunity for Cooperation? (Sept 27)
Guest speaker: Jaganath Sankaran

**** Research Question Due****

Arms Control Association, "U.S. Missile Defense Programs at a Glance," Fact Sheet: <http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/usmissiledefense>.

Frank Rose, "The Role of Missile Defense in Homeland and Regional Security," Peter Huessy Lecture Series, The Capitol Hill Club, Washington, DC, July 24, 2015, at: <http://www.state.gov/t/avc/rls/2015/245251.htm>.

Charles L. Glaser and Steve Fetter, "National Missile Defense and the Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy," *International Security* 26:1 (Summer 2001), pp. 40-92.

Vladimir Dvorkin, "Postcrisis Perspectives: The Prospects for Cooperation among the United States, NATO, and Russia on Ballistic Missile Defense," pp. 121–136 in Kelleher and Dombrowsky.

Office of the Secretary of Defense, Department of Defense, *Military and Security Developments Involving the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Annual Report to Congress* (Washington DC: Department of Defense, 2015), pp. 13-14.

"Chinese Attacks on Air Bases in Asia: An Assessment of Relative Capabilities, 1996-2017," (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2015),
http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_briefs/RB9800/RB9858z2/RAND_RB9858z2.pdf

Erik Eckholm, "The World: Missile Wars; What America Calls a Defense China Calls an Offense," *The New York Times*, July 2, 2000.

Kingston Reif, "New Missile Defense Concepts Advance," *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (April 2016), p. 30.

Bunn, Elaine M. 2004. Deploying Missile Defense: Major Operational Challenges. *Strategic Forum* 209. August.
<http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a426514.pdf>

George N. Lewis, "Technical Controversy: Can Missile Defense Work?" pp. 63–83 in Catherine McArdle Kelleher and Peter Dombrowski, eds., *Regional Missile Defense from a Global Perspective* (Stanford University Press 2015).

(6) Rethinking Security Cooperation with Russia (Oct 4)

Lawrence Freedman, "Ukraine and the Art of Crisis Management," (March 19, 2014)
<http://warontherocks.com/2014/03/ukraine-and-the-art-of-crisis-management/#>

Alexei Arbatov, "An Unnoticed Crisis: The End of History for Nuclear Arms Control?" Carnegie Moscow Center (June 2015), at:
http://carnegieendowment.org/files/CP_Arbatov2015_n_web_Eng.pdf.

Nickolas Roth, "U.S.–Russian Nuclear Security Cooperation: Rebuilding Equality, Mutual Benefit, and Respect," *Deep Cuts Issue Brief* #4 (June 2015), at:
http://deepcuts.org/files/pdf/Deep_Cuts_Issue_Brief4_US-Russian_Nuclear_Security_Cooperation1.pdf.

Kathryn Stoner and Michael McFaul, "Who Lost Russia (This Time)? Vladimir Putin," *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2015)

Robert Einhorn, "Ukraine, Security Assurances, and Nonproliferation," *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2015).

The Deep Cuts Commission, "Back from the Brink: Toward Restraint and Dialogue between Russia and the West," Third Report (June 2016) at: http://deepcuts.org/images/PDF/Third_Report_of_the_Deep_Cuts_Commission_English.pdf.

Nancy Gallagher, "Re-Thinking the Unthinkable: Arms Control in the Twenty-first Century," *The Nonproliferation Review* 22:3-4 (2015), pp. 469-498.

(7) CISSM-ISKRAN Security Cooperation Workshop (Oct 11)

Day-long workshop at UMD Inn and Conference Center

(8) Space Security (Oct 18) Guest Speaker: Theresa Hitchens

David Wright, Laura Grego, and Lisbeth Gronlund, *The Physics of Space Security*, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, (2005), pp. 1-18, at: http://www.amacad.org/publications/Physics_of_Space_Security.pdf.

Nancy Gallagher and John D. Steinbruner, *Reconsidering the Rules for Space Security*, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, (2008), at: http://www.amacad.org/publications/space_security.pdf.

U.S. National Space Policy, August 31, 2006, unclassified summary.

U.S. National Space Policy, June 28, 2010, at: http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/national_space_policy_6-28-10.pdf.

Draft Treaty on the Prevention of the Placement of Weapons in Outer Space, the Threat or Use of Force against Space Objects (Russian and Chinese PAROS proposal, 2-13-08, <http://i.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/PPWT.pdf>

Bruce MacDonald, "China, Space Weapons, and U.S. Security," CFR report 38 (September 2008), pp. 1-38 at: http://www.cfr.org/publication/16707/china_space_weapons_and_us_security.html.

"Draft International Code of Conduct for Outer Space Activities," European Union External Action Service, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/non-proliferation-and-disarmament/pdf/space_code_conduct_draft_vers_31-march-2014_en.pdf.

Theresa Hitchens and Joan Johnson-Freese, "Toward a New National Security Space Strategy: Time for a Strategic Rebalancing?" Atlantic Council Strategy Paper (June 2016), http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/images/publications/AC_StrategyPapers_No5_Space_WEB_1.pdf.

Question: Should the next U.S. President pursue any cooperative accords that could constrain its freedom of action in space? If so, what type of agreement(s) should it seek?

(9) Cybersecurity (Oct 25) Guest Speaker: Charlie Harry ** Analytical Outlines Due **

David Clark, Thomas Berson, and Herbert S. Lin, eds., *At the Nexus of Cybersecurity and Public Policy: Some Basic Concepts and Issues*, (National Academies of Sciences, 2014).

Charles Harry, "A Framework for Categorizing Disruptive Cyber Activity and Assessing its Impacts," (2015 manuscript)

Andrew Futter, "War Games Redux? Cyber Threats, U.S.-Russian Strategic Stability, and Future Nuclear Reductions," Deep Cuts Issue Brief # 6 (September 2015), at: http://deepcuts.org/files/pdf/Deep_Cuts_Issue_Brief6_War_Games_Redux.pdf.

Jon R. Lindsay, "The Impact of China on Cybersecurity," *International Security* 39:3 (Winter 2014/15), pp. 7-47.

Michael Vatis, "The Council of Europe Convention on Cybercrime," in *Proceedings of a Workshop on Detering Cyberattacks*, National Research Council, 2010, pp. 207-23.

John Steinbruner, "Prospects for Global Restraints on Cyberattack," *Arms Control Today* (December 2011), at: https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2011_12/Prospects_for_Global_Restraints_on_Cyberattack.

Report of Group of Governmental Experts on Developments in the Field of Information and Telecommunications in the Context of International Security, UNGA A/70/14 (July 22, 21015), at: http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/70/174

Question: What role should international cooperation play in cybersecurity strategy?

(10) Mohamed ElBaradei, *The Age of Deception: Nuclear Diplomacy in Treacherous Times* (November 1 – class will not meet; we will discuss book next week)

Background Documents

World Nuclear Association, "The Nuclear Fuel Cycle," (June 2011): <http://www.world-nuclear.org/info/inf03.html>

Matthew Bunn, "How IAEA Safeguards Work," July 8, 2009 Managing the Atom Project Presentation

Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) (1968):
<http://www.state.gov/www/global/arms/treaties/npt1.html>

(11) Nonproliferation and Nuclear Security among States and Non-state Actors (Nov 8)

A useful reference that provides a very broad overview and assessment of global nuclear governance efforts is: Gareth Evans, Tanya Ogilvie-White, and Ramesh Thakur, *Nuclear Weapons: The State of Play 2015* (Australian National University: Centre for Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament), at:
<https://cnnd.crawford.anu.edu.au/publication/cnnd/5328/nuclear-weapons-state-play-2015>.

Rebecca Johnson, “Assessing the 2010 NPT Review Conference,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (July/Aug 2010), at:
http://www.acronym.org.uk/npt/2010_NPT_REJ_Bulletin_07.10.pdf.

Christopher Ford, “Assessing the NPT Debates so Far,” *New Paradigms Forum*, May 24, 2010, at: <http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?p=254>.

“Spanning the NPT Divide” — perspectives from Jayantha Dhanapala, Sergio Duarte, Henk Cor van der Kwast, Andrey Baklitskiy, and Beatrice Fihn, *Arms Control Today* (July/August 2015), pp. 8–22.

Matthew Bunn, et al., “Advancing Nuclear Security,” *Harvard Project on Managing the Atom* (March 2014) at:
<http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/advancingnuclearsecurity.pdf>

Alexander Kupatadze, “Organized Crime and the Trafficking of Radiological Materials: The Case of Georgia,” *The Nonproliferation Review* 17:2 (July 2010), pp. 219–234.

Brian Finlay, ed., *Southern Flows: WMD Nonproliferation in the Developing World*, The Stanley Foundation and Stimson, 2014), read introduction and regional case of your choice: <http://www.stanleyfoundation.org/publications/other/SouthernFlows314.pdf>.

Question: Is the world doing enough of the right things to prevent proliferation and nuclear terrorism?

(12) Implementing the Nuclear Deal with Iran (Nov 15) ** Rough Drafts Due **

Required

Shahram Chubin, “Is Iran a Military Threat?” *Survival* 56:2 (April-May 2014), pp. 65-88.

John Kerry, “Remarks on Nuclear Agreement with Iran,” Philadelphia, September 2, 2015, at: <http://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2015/09/246574.htm>

Steven Kull and Nancy Gallagher, “Assessing the Iran Nuclear Deal,” *CISSM and VOP*, (September 2015), at: <http://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2015/09/246574.htm>

National Intelligence Estimate: “Iran: Nuclear Intentions and Capabilities,” (November 2007), http://graphics8.nytimes.com/packages/pdf/international/20071203_release.pdf

Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, Vienna, July 14, 2015 (158 pp)
<http://www.state.gov/e/eb/tfs/spi/iran/jcpoa/>.

Optional Readings: (based on questions and suggestions from class members)

<http://iranprimer.usip.org/frontpage> (This has a huge amount of useful information about decision-making in Iran, Iran’s relations with other countries in the region, etc.)

Meghan O’Sullivan, “Iran and the Great Sanctions Debate,” *The Washington Quarterly* (October 2010), at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/0163660X.2010.516638>.

Suzanne Maloney, “Un-Sanctioning Iran: What the Deal Means for the Future of Sanctions,” Brookings post, August 3, 2015
<http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2015/08/03-iran-sanctions-future-nuclear-deal-maloney>.

Gareth Porter, “When the Ayatollah Said No to Nukes,” *Foreign Policy* (October 2014):
http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/10/16/when_the_ayatollah_said_no_to_nukes_iran_khomeini

Paul Pillar, et al., “Nuclear Negotiations with Iran,” in response to James K. Sebenius and Michael K. Singh, “Is A Nuclear Deal with Iran Possible?” *International Security* (Winter 2012/13 and Summer 2013).

(13) Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Ratification – worth the cost for the next administration? (Nov 22)

The Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (September 10, 1996)
<http://www.state.gov/t/avc/trty/16411.htm> (skim).

Jaap Ramaker, “The Negotiating Process, 1194–1996: a View from the Chair,” pp. 58–74 in Mordechai Melamud, et al., eds, *Banning the Bang or the Bomb?* (Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Rebecca Johnson, *Unfinished Business: The Negotiation of the CTBT and the End of Nuclear Testing*, UNIDIR (2009), chapters 3 and 8, at:
<http://www.unidir.org/files/publications/pdfs/unfinished-business-the-negotiation-of-the-ctbt-and-the-end-of-nuclear-testing-346.pdf>.

Michael Krepon, “Conclusions,” in *The Politics of Treaty Ratification* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1991).

Amb. Stephen Ledogar, “Opening Statement for Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearing on the CTBT,” October 7, 1999.

Gen. Shalikashvili, *Findings and Recommendations Concerning the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty*, Report to the President and Secretary of State, January 2001.

National Research Council Committee, *The Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty—Technical Issues for the United States*, (2012), Executive Summary.

Kathleen Bailey and Robert Barker, “Why the United States Should Unsign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and Resume Nuclear Testing,” *Comparative Strategy* 22 (2003), pp. 131-38.

Remarks of Vice President Biden at National Defense University, February 19, 2010, at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-vice-president-biden-national-defense-university>

(14) Field Trip to State Department (Nov 29 or TBD)

(15) Human Security Challenges (Dec 6)

Roland Parris, “Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?” *International Security*, 26:2, (Fall 2001) pp. 87-102.

<http://aix1.uottawa.ca/~rparis/Paris.2001.IS.Human%20Security.pdf><http://aix1.uottawa.ca/~rparis/Paris.2001.IS.Human%20Security.pdf>

Amitav Acharya, “Human Security” (chapter 28) from John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. This is not the most recent version of the chapter, but it’s free! <http://www.amitavacharya.com/?q=content/human-security>

Denise Garcia, “Humanitarian Security Regimes”
https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field_publication_docs/INTA91_1_04_Garcia.pdfhttps://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field_publication_docs/INTA91_1_04_Garcia.pdf

Arms Trade Treaty, as adopted by the United Nations General Assembly:
[http://www.un.org/disarmament/ATT/docs/ATT_text_\(As_adopted_by_the_GA\)-E.pdf](http://www.un.org/disarmament/ATT/docs/ATT_text_(As_adopted_by_the_GA)-E.pdf)

“Presidential Policy Directive -- United States Conventional Arms Transfer Policy”
January 15, 2014:
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/01/15/presidential-policy-directive-united-states-conventional-arms-transfer-p>