Readings in Arms Control, Nonproliferation, and Cooperative Security Policy

PUAF 798M        Professor Nancy Gallagher
Fall 2016        4113 B Van Munching Hall
Tuesday 9:15-11:45        Office Hours: by apt
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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).

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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 PUAF 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)**

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:


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

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

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


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


(5)  **Missile Defense – An Obstacle or Opportunity for Cooperation? (Sept 27)**

*Guest speaker: Jaganath Sankaran*

** Research Question Due**


http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_briefs/RB9800/RB9858z2/RAND_RB9858z2.pdf


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

Lawrence Freedman, “Ukraine and the Art of Crisis Management,” (March 19, 2014)

Alexei Arbatov, “An Unnoticed Crisis: The End of History for Nuclear Arms Control?” Carnegie Moscow Center (June 2015), at:

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


(7) **CISSM-ISKRN Security Cooperation Workshop (Oct 11)**

Day-long workshop at UMD Inn and Conference Center

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


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


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](http://i.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/PPWT.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 **


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


Matthew Bunn, “How IAEA Safeguards Work,” July 8, 2009 Managing the Atom Project Presentation
Nonproliferation and Nuclear Security among States and Non-state Actors (Nov 8)


“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.


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

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

Required


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

[http://iranprimer.usip.org/frontpage](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.)


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


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

(15) **Human Security Challenges (Dec 6)**


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](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.pdf](https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field_publication_docs/INTA91_1_04_Garcia.pdf)
