

# WEAPONS PROLIFERATION AND NONPROLIFERATION

George Washington University, Elliott School of International Affairs  
Security Policy Studies, IAFF #290.33  
Spring Semester 2007

Thursdays, 6:10–8:00 p.m., 1957 E Street NW, room 309

**Objective:** This course focuses on weapons of mass destruction and their proliferation to state and non-state actors. It seeks to understand the changing nature of the weapons proliferation problem, its implications for national security and international stability, and policy responses in the areas of nonproliferation and counterproliferation. It links the proliferation issue to broader themes in security studies and thus covers a diverse set of military, technical, political, and economic topics.

**Structure:** The course is divided into two parts:

1. The first half of the semester explores the different elements of the proliferation problem. Each week we will take up some facet of the problem, including nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, and their delivery systems.
2. The second half of the semester explores the different elements of the policy response. Each week we will take up a different policy tool, whether political, military, or economic. In this discussion of policy responses, we will look also at questions of synergies, trade-offs, and grand strategy.

Each half of the course will begin with an overview lecture by the instructor (who will also lead discussion in the closing session). All other sessions will begin with student presentations.

**Requirements:** These are elaborated in detail on the following pages. In summary:

- (1) To participate in discussions and complete required reading in advance of each session
- (2) To make a seminar presentation and help to lead group discussion of the topic
- (3) To write 3 papers of 10-15 double-spaced pages.

## **Instructor:**

Dr. Brad Roberts

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1/9/07

## Course Syllabus Spring Term 2007

### PART ONE: DEFINING THE PROLIFERATION PROBLEM

- January 18: instructor overview and review of the proliferation problem
- agree to seminar assignments—students select topics from the illustrative bulleted subtopics below but may also propose other topics that relate to the main theme of the week.
- January 25: nuclear weapons
- Illustrative seminar topics—students may propose others:*
- the Waltz-Sagan debate on implications
  - the “tipping point” debate
- February 1: biological and chemical weapons
- topics for paper #1 will be handed out in class**
- February 8: missiles, conventional weapons, and related technologies
- Illustrative seminar topics:*
- ballistic missiles
  - cruise missiles
  - other delivery systems
  - the conventional arms trade, including small arms
  - technology diffusion
- paper #1 due**
- February 15: first hour: discussion of the first set of papers  
second hour: country case studies
- Iran and North Korea
- February 22: country case studies (continued)
- U.S. friends and allies (e.g., Israel, Japan, Taiwan, etc.)
  - “repentant,” potentially recidivist nuclear states (e.g., Ukraine, Libya)
  - Others such as Iraq, Syria, India, Pakistan
- March 1: terrorists and weapons of mass destruction
- Al Qaeda
  - Aum Shinrikyo and other past case studies
  - future prospects
- topics for paper #2 will be handed out**

## PART TWO: EVALUATING POLICY RESPONSES

- March 8: overview of the “policy tool kit” and the strategies that integrate those tools (instructor presentation)  
**paper #2 due**
- March 15: [no class—spring break]
- March 22: the nuclear nonproliferation regime
- March 29: non-nuclear global treaty regime
- e.g., Chemical Weapons Convention
  - Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention
  - UNSCOM/UNMOVIC
  - the utility of arms control generally
- April 5: the military component
- counterproliferation
  - ballistic missile defense
  - Nuclear Posture Review
  - Proliferation Security Initiative
  - interdiction
- April 12: threat reduction
- Cooperative Threat Reduction
  - Defense Threat Reduction
- April 19: strategies of technology denial
- export controls
  - coordinating mechanisms (e.g., MTCR, Australia Group, Wassenaar)
- topics for paper #3 will be handed out**
- April 26: antiproliferation and global security 2010 (instructor presentation)  
**paper #3 due**

## REQUIREMENTS

There will be no final exam. There are 3 basic requirements:

### **Requirement #1: classroom participation.**

Students are required to participate in discussions. They are required also to complete the assigned reading in advance of each session so that they are able to participate effectively. Course participation will account for 20% of the final grade. The highest grades will be given to those whose participate regularly in classroom discussion with thoughtful contributions reflecting good command of the assigned materials. Episodic participation or participation that does not convey informed reflection on the subject matter will not receive an A.

### **Requirement #2: seminar presentation.**

The presentation should last 10 minutes. Two or three such presentations will be made in each seminar session. Topic selections will be made in the first course session. *The subtopics listed on the previous pages are illustrative and students may choose from these or propose others that relate to the main topic of the week.* Students choosing to present in the first half of the semester should make presentations that describe the main characteristics of a specific proliferation problem or issue and identify key trends; they should not address the policy question of what to do about the problem. Students choosing to present in the second half of the semester should make presentations that review and assess the relevant policy issues; they should not address the proliferation problem per se. Whether choosing to address a part of “the problem” or “the solution,” the student’s responsibility is to give a sound overview and raise a few key issues for discussion. It is not to repeat everything in the reading. In preparation for their presentations, students are encouraged to make use of some of the recommended readings.

In the week prior to each student’s presentation, he or she will distribute to the class a one-page read-ahead memo. This should be written in the form of a memorandum to the head of the National Security Council. The instructor will provide detailed guidance for formulating the memo and presentation.

Performance of this requirement will account for 20% of the final grade. The highest grades will be given to those who provide:

- A read-ahead memo that is clear, concise, and informative—and only one page.
- An oral presentation that is focused and germane to the topic under review—and that is completed in the required 10 minutes.
- Continued leadership of the discussion even after the presentation is complete.

Overheads and hand-outs may be used but will not be the basis of grading.

### **Requirement #3: three papers.**

These papers should run between 10 and 15 double-spaced pages. They will be written on topics chosen from a short list provided by the instructor. Those topics will be handed out one week ahead of the date the paper is due. The papers will be graded and returned to students at the next class session along with a grade and some written comments (except for the final session, when papers will be returned by mail if the student so requests). Each paper will account for 20% of the final grade.

These papers are analytical exercises intended to strengthen the capacity of students to develop and support focused arguments on key issues. They are not a test of everything a student knows on a given subject; nor are they simply an exercise in opinion journalism. They must convey the analytical and scholarly skills expected of graduate students.

An A will be awarded to those papers that:

- Are structured in a way that presents a coherent and compelling argument.
- Convey a full understanding of the issues with some originality in analysis.
- Effectively use citations to support arguments.

A B will be awarded to those papers that:

- Offer a concise and explicit argument but do not develop it in compelling fashion.
- Convey a grasp of the main concepts and of some of the complexity of the issue.
- Use citations to demonstrate knowledge of relevant materials but not to help make an argument.

A C will be awarded to those papers that:

- Offer an argument in answer to the question (but do not develop it effectively).
- Convey some knowledge base of primary sources (but little grasp of the ideas).
- Include no significant errors of fact or analysis.

A C grade indicates performance below the suitable level expected of a graduate student.

Failure to meet proper scholarly standards in crafting these essays and supporting them with citations will count against the grade. Failure to meet the submission deadline will also count against the grade—in every instance discuss deadline difficulties with the instructor at the earliest possible time.

Students are also expected to uphold the university's Academic Integrity Code.

## Course Reading Materials

### Required readings available for purchase in the GWU bookstore:

Joseph Cirincione with Jon B. Wolfstahl and Miriam Rajkumar, *Deadly Arsenals: Tracking Weapons of Mass Destruction* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005). Second edition.

Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed* (New York: Norton and Co., 2003).

In addition to these books students will be required each week to read certain journal articles. These are NOT available in the bookstore as a compendium of photocopied materials; instead, students are responsible for tracking these down individually. Particularly difficult to find items will be posted on the electronic blackboard.

### Useful websites include:

Department of Defense official link: [www.defenselink.mil](http://www.defenselink.mil)

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: [www.ceip.org](http://www.ceip.org)

Henry L. Stimson Center: [www.stimson.org](http://www.stimson.org)

Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute: [www.cns.miis.edu](http://www.cns.miis.edu)

Heritage Foundation: [www.heritage.org](http://www.heritage.org)

Federation of American Scientists: [www.fas.org](http://www.fas.org)

Nuclear Threat Initiative: [www.nti.org](http://www.nti.org)

U.S. Air Force, Counterproliferation Center: [www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate](http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate)

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute: [www.sipri.org](http://www.sipri.org)

## *January 18: defining the proliferation problem*

### **required reading:**

W. Seth Carus, *Defining “Weapons of Mass Destruction,”* Center for the Study of Weapons of Mass Destruction, Occasional Paper No. 4 (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2006).

Joseph Cirincione with Jon B. Wolfstahl and Miriam Rajkumar, *Deadly Arsenal: Tracking Weapons of Mass Destruction* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005), chapters 1-3.

Harald Mueller, “Neither Hype Nor Complacency: WMD Proliferation After the Cold War,” *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Winter 1997), pp. 62-71.

Brad Roberts, “From Nonproliferation to Antiproliferation,” *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Summer 1993), pp. 139-173.

George Tenet, “Worldwide Threat 2004—Challenges in a Changing Global Context,” Statement of the Director of Central Intelligence to the Senate Armed Services Committee, March 9, 2004, available at: [www.cia.gov](http://www.cia.gov).

President’s State of the Union Address, January 29, 2002. Available at [www.whitehouse.gov](http://www.whitehouse.gov).

### **recommended reading:**

- Martin van Creveld, *Technology and War: From 2000 BC to the Present* (NY: Free Press, 1989). 342 pp.
- Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1970). 210 pp.
- Chapters 1-4 in Roberts, *Weapons Proliferation and World Order After the Cold War* (Boston, Mass.: Kluwer Law International, 1996), pp. 1-264.
- Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Proliferation: Threat and Response*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Washington, D.C.: GPO, January 2001), pp. 1-66. Available at [www.defenselink.mil/pubs](http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs) (in the “publications archive”).
- For those who would find a technical primer on WMD useful, review *Technology Underlying Weapons of Mass Destruction* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Technology Assessment, 1993). Available on the web at [www.wws.princeton.edu](http://www.wws.princeton.edu).

## *January 25: nuclear weapons*

### **required reading:**

Victor Cha, "North Korea's Weapons of Mass Destruction: Badges, Shields, Swords?" *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 117, No. 2 (Summer 2002).

Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed* (New York, N.Y.: W.W. Norton and Co., 2003). 185 pp.

John Mueller, "The Essential Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons: Stability in the Postwar World," *International Security*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Fall 1988), pp. 55-79.

### **recommended reading:**

- "Arms Races Reconsidered," a colloquium of four articles by Leon Fuerth, Keith Payne, Bruno Tertrais, and Leon Sloss, *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Autumn 2001), pp. 97-148.
- Richard K. Betts, "The New Threat of Mass Destruction," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 1 (January/February 1998), pp. 26-41.
- Bernard Brodie, *The Ultimate Weapon* (1946).
- George Bunn and Christopher F. Chyba, eds., *U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy: Confronting Today's Threats* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution and the Center for International Security and Cooperation, 2006).
- Richard L. Garwin and George Charpak, *Megawatts and Megatons: The Future of Nuclear Power and Nuclear Weapons* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002).
- Sumit Ganguly and Devin T. Hagerty, *Fearful Symmetry: India-Pakistan Crises in the Shadow of Nuclear Weapons* (University of Washington Press, 2005).
- Fred Charles Iklé, "The Second Coming of the Nuclear Age," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 1 (January/February 1996), pp. 119-128.
- Feroz Khan, "The Independence-Dependence Paradox," *Arms Control Today* (October 2003), pp. 15-19.
- Robert Powell, "Nuclear Deterrence Theory, Nuclear Proliferation, and National Missile Defense," *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Spring 2003), pp. 86-118.
- Scott D. Sagan, "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb," *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Winter 1996/97), pp. 54-86.
- Gerald M. Steinberg, "The Parameters of Stable Deterrence in a Proliferated Middle East," *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Fall-Winter 2000), pp. 43-60.
- Victor Utgoff, *The Coming Crisis: Nuclear Proliferation, U.S. Interests, and World Order* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000).



## *February 1: biological and chemical weapons*

### **required reading:**

Cirincione et al., *Deadly Arsenals*, chapter 4.

Gregory Koblentz, "Pathogens as Weapons: The International Security Implications of Biological Warfare," *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Winter 2003/2004), pp. 84-122.

Also one of the following:

- Ken Alibek with Stephen Handelman, *Biohazard* (New York: Random House, 1999).
- Judith Miller, Stephen Engleberg, and William Broad, *Germs: Biological Weapons and America's Secret War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001).
- Jeanne Guillemin, *Biological Weapons: From the Invention of State Sponsored Programs to Contemporary Bioterrorism* (NY: Columbia University Press, 2005).
- Mark Wheelis, Lajos Rozsa, and Malcolm Dando, *Deadly Cultures: Biological Weapons since 1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004).

### **recommended reading:**

- Steven M. Block, "Living Nightmares: Biological Threats Enabled by Molecular Biology," in Sidney Drell et al., eds., *The New Terror: Facing the Threat of Biological and Chemical Weapons* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1999), pp. 39-75.
- Jim Davis and Anna Johnson-Winegar, "The Anthrax Terror: DOD's Number One Biological Threat," *Aerospace Power*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (Winter 2000), pp. 15-29.
- Chandre Gould and Peter Folb, "The South African Chemical and Biological Warfare Program: An Overview," *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Fall-Winter 2000), pp. 10-23.
- Al Mauroni, *Chemical and Biological Warfare: A Reference Handbook* (ABC-CLIO, 2003).
- Richard Preston, *The Demon in the Freezer* (Fawcett, 2003).
- Brad Roberts, "Between Panic and Complacency: Calibrating the Chemical and Biological Warfare Problem," in Stuart E. Johnson, ed., *The Niche Threat: Deterring the Use of Chemical and Biological Weapons* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University, 1997), pp. 9-42.
- Edward M. Spiers, *Chemical and Biological Weapons: A Study of Proliferation* (London: Macmillan, 1994). 224 pp.
- Jonathan B. Tucker, "A Farewell to Germs: the U.S. Renunciation of Biological and Toxin Weapons, 1969-70," *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (June 2002), pp. 107-149."
- ---, *Scourge: The Once and Future Threat of Smallpox* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2001).

*February 8: missiles, conventional weapons, and technology*

**required reading:**

Cirincione et al., *Deadly Arsenals*, chapter 5.

Commission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States, Report, July 1998.  
Found at: <http://www.fas.org/irp/threat/bm-threat.htm>.

National Intelligence Council, *Foreign Missile Developments and the Ballistic Missile Threat Through 2015* available at [http://www.cia.gov/nic/special\\_missilethreat2001.html](http://www.cia.gov/nic/special_missilethreat2001.html) .

Dennis M. Gormley, “The Neglected Dimension: Controlling Cruise Missile Proliferation,” *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Summer 2002), pp. 21-29.

Peter D. Zimmerman, “Proliferation: Bronze Medal Technology Is Enough,” *Orbis*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Winter 1994), pp. 67-82.

Also review the CIA’s *Unclassified Report to Congress on the Acquisition of Technology Relating to Weapons of Mass Destruction and Advanced Conventional Munitions*, available at <http://www.cia.gov/cia/reports/index.html>

**recommended reading:**

- Richard A. Bitzinger, “The Globalization of the Arms Industry: The Next Proliferation Challenge,” *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Fall 1994), pp. 170-198.
- Brian Chow, *Emerging National Space Launch Programs: Economics and Safeguards* (Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand Corporation, April 1992).
- Dennis M. Gormley, *Dealing with the Threat of Cruise Missiles*, Adelphi Paper No. 339 (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2001).
- Michael Krepon, *Space Assurance or Space Dominance?* (Washington, D.C.: Stimson Center, 2003).
- Michael Moodie, “Beyond Proliferation: The Challenge of Technology Diffusion—A Research Survey,” in Brad Roberts, ed., *Weapons Proliferation in the 1990s* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995), pp. 71-90.
- Henry D. Sokolski, “Nonapocalyptic Proliferation: A New Strategic Threat?” in *ibid*, pp. 25-37.

**February 15: country case studies  
(North Korea and Iran)**

**required reading:**

Cirincione et al., *Deadly Arsenals*, chapters 6-10, 14-15.

Michael Eisenstadt, "Living With a Nuclear Iran?" *Survival* (Autumn 1999), pp. 124-148.

Mark Fitzpatrick, "Iran and North Korea: The Proliferation Nexus," *Survival*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (Spring 2006), pp. 61-80.

Robert Gallucci, "Nuclear Shockwaves: Ramifications of the North Korean Nuclear Test," *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 36, No. 9 (November 2006), pp. 6-8. See also associated articles on test.

Ralph C. Hassig and Kongdan Oh, "The Twin Peaks of Pyongyang," *Orbis* (Winter 2006), pp. 5-21.

Anthony Lake, "Confronting Backlash States," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 2 (March/April 1994), pp. 45-55.

C. Kenneth Quinones, "The View from Pyongyang," *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 34, No. 7 (September 2004), pp. 6-12.

Review also: *Comprehensive Report of the Special Advisor to the DCI on Iraq's WMD, September 30, 2004*, available at: [http://www.cia.gov/cia/reports/iraq\\_wmd\\_2004/index.html](http://www.cia.gov/cia/reports/iraq_wmd_2004/index.html)

**recommended reading:**

- Kurt M. Campbell, Robert J. Einhorn, and Mitchell B. Reiss, *The Nuclear Tipping Point: Why States Reconsider Their Nuclear Choices* (Washington, DC: Brookings Press, 2004).
- Shahram Chubin, *Iran's Nuclear Ambitions* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006).

*February 22: country case studies (others)*

**required reading:**

Cirincione et al., *Deadly Arsenals*, chapters 11-13, 16-21.

Kurt M. Campbell, "Nuclear Proliferation beyond Rogues," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Winter 2002-03), pp. 7-15.

Michael Eisenstadt, "Understanding Saddam," *National Interest* (Fall 2005), pp. 117-121.

Bruce W. Jentleson and Christopher A. Whytock, "Who 'Won' Libya?" The Force-Diplomacy Debate and Its implications for Theory and Policy," *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Winter 2005/2006), pp. 47-86.

Matake Kamiya, "Nuclear Japan: Oxymoron or Coming Soon?," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Winter 2002-03), pp. 63-76.

Fred McGoldrick et al., "The U.S.-India Nuclear Deal: Taking Stock," *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 35, No. 8 (October 2005), pp. 6-12.

Leonard S. Spector, "Repentant Nuclear Proliferants," *Foreign Policy*, No. 88 (Fall 1992), pp. 3-20.

**recommended reading:**

- Wyn Q. Bowen, *Libya and Nuclear Proliferation: Stepping Back from the Brink*, Adelphi Paper No. 380 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2006).
- John C. Hopkins and Weising Hu, editors, *Strategic Views from the Second Tier: The Nuclear Weapons Policies of France, Britain, and China* (La Jolla, Calif.: University of California, 1994).
- Ariel E. Levite, "Never Say Never Again: Nuclear Reversal Revisited," *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Winter 2002/03), pp. 59-88.
- Zeev Maoz, "The Mixed Blessing of Israel's Nuclear Policy," *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Fall 2003), pp. 44-77.
- Waldo Stumpf, "South Africa's Nuclear Weapons Program: From Deterrence to Dismantlement," *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 25, No. 10 (December 1995/January 1996), pp. 3-8.
- Farah Zahra, "Pakistan's Road to a Minimum Nuclear Deterrent," *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 29, No. 5 (July/August 1999), pp. 9-13.

## *March 1: terrorists and weapons of mass destruction*

### **required reading:**

*Patterns of Global Terrorism*, Annual Report, U.S. Department of State. Found at: [www.state.gov/www/global/terrorism](http://www.state.gov/www/global/terrorism). (Or review the similar report produced by the CIA.)

David Albright and Corey Hinderstein, "Unraveling the A.Q. Khan and Future Proliferation Networks," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Spring 2005), pp. 111-128.

Stephen E. Flynn, "The Neglected Home Front," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 5 (September/October 2004), pp. 20-33.

Fred C. Iklé, "The Next Lenin: On the Cusp of Truly Revolutionary Warfare," *National Interest* 47 (Spring 1997), pp. 9-19.

John Parachini, "Putting WMD Terrorism in Perspective," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Autumn 2003), pp. 37-50.

### **recommended reading:**

- Graham Allison, *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe* (NY: Times Books, 2004).
- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).
- David E. Kaplan and Andrew Marshall, *The Cult at the End of the World* (NY: Crown Publishers, 1996).
- Walter Laqueur, "Postmodern Terrorism," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 5 (September 1996), pp. 24-36.
- Robert Jay Lifton, *Destroying the World to Save It: Aum Shinrikyo, Apocalyptic Violence, and the New Global Terrorism* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1999).
- William C. Potter and Charles D. Ferguson, *The Four Faces of Nuclear Terrorism* (Monterey, Calif.: Routledge for Monterey Institute, 2005).
- Brad Roberts, *Hype or Reality: the "New Terrorism" and Mass Casualty Attacks* (Alexandria, Va.: Chemical and Biological Arms Control Institute, 1999).
- Jessica Stern, *The Ultimate Terrorists* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).
- Jonathan B. Tucker, ed., *Toxic Terror: Assessing Terrorist Use of Chemical and Biological Weapons* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000).
- *Wild Atom: Nuclear Terrorism*, Report of the CSIS Task Force on Global Organized Crime (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1998).
- Peter Zimmerman and Cheryl Loeb, "Dirty Bombs: The Threat Revisited," *Defense Horizons* No. 38 (Washington, D.C.: National Center University's Center for Technology and National Security Policy).

## *March 8: strategies for responding to proliferation*

### **required reading**

From [www.whitehouse.gov](http://www.whitehouse.gov):

- *National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction, December 2002.*
- *National Security Strategy of the United States, September 2002.*
- Remarks by the President at 2002 Graduation Exercise of the United States Military Academy, West Point, June 1, 2002.
- Remarks by the President to the United Nations General Assembly, September 12, 2002
- Remarks by the President from the USS Abraham Lincoln announcing the end of Major Combat Operations in Iraq, May 1, 2003.
- Remarks by the President on WMD Proliferation to National Defense University, February 11, 2004.
- Remarks by the Vice President to the Heritage Foundation, October 12, 2003.

Ellen Laipson, “The Robb-Silberman Report, Intelligence, and Nonproliferation,” *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 35, No. 5 (June 2005), pp. 20-23.

George Perkovich, “‘Democratic Bomb:’ Failed Strategy,” Policy Brief No. 49 (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006).

George Perkovich et al., *Universal Compliance: A Strategy for Nuclear Security* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment, June 2004). Available at <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=1558>

“Reviving Disarmament: An Interview with Hans Blix,” *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 36, No. 6 (July/August 2006), pp. 12-18.

Brad Roberts, “Proliferation and Nonproliferation in the 1990s: Looking for the Right Lessons,” *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Fall 1999), pp. 70-82.

William Schneider, “Weapons Proliferation and Missile Defense: The Strategic Case,” in Robert Kagan and William Kristol, eds., *Present Dangers: Crisis and Opportunity in American Foreign and Defense Policy* (San Francisco, Calif.: Encounter Books, 2000), pp. 267-285.

Stephen Peter Rosen, “After Proliferation,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 85, No. 5 (September/October 2006), pp. 9-14.

**recommended reading for March 8 and later in second half:**

- Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), especially Part 2, “Order in the Contemporary International System,” pp. 101-229.
- Lewis A. Dunn, “On Proliferation Watch: Some Reflections on the Past Quarter Century,” *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Spring-Summer 1998), pp. 59-77.
- Francis J. Gavin, “Blasts from the Past: Proliferation Lessons from the 1960s,” *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Winter 2004/2005), pp. 100-135.
- Patrick Glynn, *Closing Pandora's Box: Arms Races, Arms Control, and the History of the Cold War* (New York: Basic Books, 1992). 445 pp.
- Deepa M. Ollapally, ed., *Controlling Weapons of Mass Destruction: Findings from USIP-Sponsored Projects* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2001).
- Brad Roberts, chapters 5 and 6, in Roberts, *Weapons Proliferation and World Order After the Cold War*, pp. 265-363.
- Philippe Sands, *Lawless World: America and the Making and Breaking of Global Rules from FDR's Atlantic Charter to George W. Bush's Illegal War* (Viking, 2005).
- Henry Sokolski, “Taking Proliferation Seriously,” *Policy Review* (Hoover Institution), No. 121 (October & November 2003).
- William Walker, *Weapons of Mass Destruction and International Order*, Adelphi Paper No. 370 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2004).
- Amy B. Zegart, “Running in Place: An Institutional Analysis of U.S. Nonproliferation Organization Since the Cold War,” *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Summer 2003), pp. 30-50.

## ***March 22: the nuclear nonproliferation regime***

### **required reading:**

Cirincione et al., *Deadly Arsenals*, Appendix A.

Jayantha Dhanapala, "Multilateralism and the Future of the Global Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime," *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Fall-Winter 2001), pp. 99-106.

Scott Sagan, "How to Keep the Bomb from Iran," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 85, No. 5 (September/October 2006), pp. 45-60.

Philip C. Saunders, "New Approaches to Nonproliferation: Supplementing or Supplanting the Regime?" *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Fall-Winter 2001), pp. 123-136.

Lawrence Scheinman, "Disarmament: Have the Five Nuclear Powers Done Enough?" *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (January/February 2005), pp. 6-11.

NPT Review Conference Briefing Book available at: <http://www.mcis.soton.ac.uk/nuclear.html>.

"Reshaping U.S. Nonproliferation Strategy, An Interview with Undersecretary of State Robert Joseph," *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 36, No. 5 (June 2006), pp. 18-22.

### **recommended reading:**

- Matthew Bunn and Anthony Wier, *Securing the Bomb 2006* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University's Belfer Center, 2006).
- Zachary S. Davis, "The Spread of Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones: Building a New Nuclear Bargain," *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (February 1996), pp. 15-19.
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Coral Bell, "Normative Shift," *National Interest* (Winter 2002/03), pp. 44-51.

Avis Bohlen, "The Rise and Fall of Arms Control," *Survival*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (2003), pp. 7-34.

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Peter Lavoy, "Nuclear Proliferation over the Next Decade: Causes, Warnings Signs, and Policy Responses," *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 13, No.3 (Autumn 2006).

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Jonathan B. Tucker, "In the Shadow of Anthrax: Strengthening the Biological Disarmament Regime," *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 9, No.1 (Spring 2002), pp. 112-121.

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Richard Speier, "Missile Controls vs. Missile Defense," *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 34, No. 5 (June 2004), pp. 20-21

Ken Ward, "BWC Protocol: Mandate for Failure," *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer 2004).

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- Ian Anthony and Adam Rotfeld, eds., *A Future Arms Control Agenda: Proceedings of Nobel Symposium 118, 1999* (Stockholm: Oxford University Press for SIPRI, 2001).
- Barry Kellman, “Criminalization and Control of WMD Proliferation: The Security Council Acts,” *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer 2004), pp. 142-161.
- Michael Krepon with Christopher Clary, *Space Assurance or Space Dominance? The Case Against Weaponizing Space* (Washington, D.C.: Stimson Center, 2003).
- Jeffrey A. Larsen, ed., *Cooperative Security in a Changing Environment* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002). 351 pp.
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- Susan Wright, ed., *Biological Warfare and Disarmament: New Problems, New Perspectives* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002).

### *April 5: the military component*

#### **required reading:**

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Robert Litwak, “Non-proliferation and the Dilemmas of Regime Change,” *Survival*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (Winter 2003-04).

Litwak, “The New Calculus of Pre-emption,” *Survival*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Winter 2002-2003), pp. 53-80.

National Military Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction, 2006. Available at: <http://www.defenselink.mil/pdf/NMS-CWMD2006.pdf>

#### **recommended reading:**

- “A Consensus on Missile Defence? A transatlantic colloquium,” *Survival*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Autumn 2001), pp. 61-109.
- Philip Coyle, “Is Missile Defense on Target?” *Arms Control Today* (October 2003), pp. 7-14.
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- William H. Lewis and Stuart E. Johnson, *Weapons of Mass Destruction: New Perspectives on Counterproliferation* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1995). 229 pp.

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- Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Proliferation: Threat and Response*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Washington, D.C.: GPO, January 2001), pp. 67-109.
- Keith B. Payne, *Deterrence in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Nuclear Age* (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1996).
- Keith B. Payne, “The Nuclear Posture Review: Setting the Record Straight,” *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Summer 2005), pp. 135-151.
- Lawrence Scheinman, “Disarmament: Have the Five Nuclear Powers Done Enough?” *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (January/February 2005), pp. 6-11 (and special section).
- Barry R. Schneider, *Future War and Counterproliferation: U.S. Military Responses to NBC Proliferation Threats* (Westport, Ct.: Praeger, 1999).
- Richard Sokolsky, “Demystifying the US Nuclear Posture Review,” *Survival*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (Autumn 2002), pp. 133-148.
- Mark Valencia, *The Proliferation Security Initiative: Making Waves in Asia* (London: Routledge for IISS, 2005), Adelphi Paper No. 376.

## *April 12: threat reduction*

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Cristina Chuen, "The G8 Global Partnership: Progress and Prospects," *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 12, No.1 (March 2005), pp. 71-106.

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Rose Gottemoeller, "Cooperative Threat Reduction Beyond Russia," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Spring 2005), pp. 145-158.

Siegfried S. Hecker, "Thoughts about an Integrated Strategy for Nuclear Cooperation with Russia," *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Summer 2001), pp. 1-24.

Richard G. Lugar, "Eliminating Obstacles to Nunn-Lugar," *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (March 2004), pp. 3-5.

Kenneth N. Luongo and William E. Hoehn III, "Reform and Expansion of Cooperative Threat Reduction," *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (June 2003), pp. 11-15

Charles L. Thornton, "The G8 Global Partnership against the Spread of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction," *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Fall/Winter 2002), pp. 135-152.

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- Graham T. Allison et al., *Avoiding Nuclear Anarchy: Containing the Threat of Loose Russian Nuclear Weapons and Fissile Material* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1996).
- Gary K Bertsch and William C. Potter, *Dangerous Weapons, Desperate States: Russia, Belarus, Kazakstan, and Ukraine* (New York: Routledge, 1999).
- James Goodby et al., *Cooperative Threat Reduction for a New Era* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University, Center for Technology and National Security Policy, 2004).
- Jeffrey A. Larsen and Kurt J. Klingenberger, *Controlling Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons* (Colorado Springs, Colo.: U.S. Air Force Academy, 2001).
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- Harold P. Smith Jr., "Consolidating Threat Reduction," *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 33., No. 8 (November 2003), pp. 19-23.

## *April 19: strategies of technology denial*

### **required reading:**

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Michael Beck and Seema Gaulaut, “Creating a New Multilateral Export Control Regime,” *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (April 2003), pp. 12-18.

John Mueller and Karl Mueller, “Sanctions of Mass Destruction,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 3 (May/June 1999), pp. 43-53.

Mark Smith, “On Thin Ice: First Steps for the Ballistic Missile Code of Conduct,” *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 32, No. 6 (July/August 2002), pp. 9-13.

K. Subrahmanyam, “Export Controls and the North–South Controversy,” *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Spring 1993), pp. 135–144.

“Strategic Trade Control in an Age of Terror” in the Fall 2004 issue of *The Monitor*, published by the University of Georgia Center for International Trade and Security, available at <http://www.uga.edu/cits/home/index.htm>.

### **recommended reading:**

- Michael Beck et al., *Strengthening Multilateral Export Controls* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Center for International Trade and Security, 2002). Available at [www.uga.edu/cits](http://www.uga.edu/cits).
- Wyn Q. Bowen, “U.S. Policy on Ballistic Missile Proliferation: The MTCR's First Decade,” *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Fall 1997), pp. 21-39.
- John R. Harvey, Cameron Binkley, Adam Block, and Rick Burke, *A Common-Sense Approach to High-Technology Export Controls* (Stanford, Calif.: Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University, 1995). 110 pp.
- Robert Johnston, “U.S. Export Control Policy in the High Performance Computer Sector,” *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Winter 1998), pp. 44-59.
- K. Scott McMahon and Dennis M. Gormley, *Controlling the Spread of Land-Attack Cruise Missiles* (Marina del Rey, Calif.: American Institute for Strategic Cooperation, 1995). 117 pp.
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- William J. Perry, “Preparing for the Next Attack,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 6, pp. 31-45.
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*April 26: the politics of antiproliferation*

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Chester A. Crocker, "Engaging Failing States," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 5 (September/October, 2003), pp. 32-44.

Lawrence Freedman, "Prevention, Not Preemption," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Spring 2003), pp. 105-114.

Michael J. Glennon, "Why the Security Council Failed," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 3 (May/June 2003), pp. 16-35.

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Robert Jervis, "The Remaking of the Unipolar World," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Summer 2006), pp. 7-20.

William Kristol and Robert Kagan, "Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 4 (July/August 1996), pp. 18-32.

Michael Mazaar, "Acting Like a Leader," *Survival*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Winter 2002-03), pp.107-120.

Joseph S. Nye, "U.S. Power and Strategy After Iraq," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 4 (July/August, 2003), pp. 60-73.

Walter B. Slocombe, "Force, Pre-emption, and Legitimacy," *Survival*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Spring 2003), pp. 117-130.

**No recommended reading**

But some of the items listed as recommended for the March 8 session ought to be useful, especially for writing the final essay.