

Strategies Against WMD Proliferation

American University, School of International Service (SIS-696-004)

Spring 2007

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Objective: This seminar will explore the challenges presented by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) from a historical, theoretical, and strategic perspective. The first few sessions will introduce several foreign policy options for reducing the WMD threat, including arms control, deterrence, and defense. The rest of the seminar then applies these concepts to a variety of international crises and conflicts, drawing conclusions for crafting an effective American strategy against WMD.

To Purchase (online or at the AU Campus Store):

- Joseph Cirincione, Jon Wolfsthal, and Miriam Rajkumar, eds., *Deadly Arsenals: Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Threats*, Second Edition (Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, July 2005).
- Peter R. Lavoy, Scott D. Sagan, and James J. Wirtz, eds., *Planning the Unthinkable: How New Powers Will Use Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Weapons* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000).
- Derek D. Smith, *Deterring America: Rogue States and the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction* (Cambridge University Press: 2006).

To Order (free):

- George Perkovich, et al., *Universal Compliance: A Strategy for Nuclear Security* (Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, March 2005). Visit <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/>.

Other Readings: All other assigned readings will be posted on Blackboard. Please print these and bring the relevant selections to seminar.

Seminars: Mondays 8:10 – 10:00 pm in SIS 200. Attendance is mandatory.

Grades: Based on a mid-term 4-5 page memo assignment (20%), a final research paper of 15-20 pages (60%), and seminar participation (20%).

Movie Sessions: To make up for the abbreviated seminar length, I will host two screenings of topical feature films.

Contact Information:

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- Office Hours: before seminar by appointment

Week One (January 22): Introduction

- *Deterring America*, pp. 3-15
- *Universal Compliance*, pp. 13-32
- *National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction*, December 2002

Week Two (January 29): The WMD Threat in Historical Perspective

- *Planning the Unthinkable*, pp. 1-15 (Wirtz)
- *Deadly Arsenals*, pp. 3-18, 45-82
- George W. Christopher, et al., "Biological Warfare: A Historical Perspective," in *Biological Weapons: Limiting the Threat* (1999), pp. 17-35
- "Chemical Warfare," Wikipedia
- Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, June 1925
- Baruch Plan, presented to the U.N. Atomic Energy Commission, June 1946
- Bernard Brodie, "Implications for Military Policy," in *The Absolute Weapon* (1946), pp. 70-107

Week Three (February 5): Arms Control

- *Deadly Arsenals*, pp. 18-24, 27-37, 421-42
- *Universal Compliance*, pp. 83-115
- Graham Allison, "How to Stop Nuclear Terror," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 83, no. 1 (January/February 2004): pp. 64-74
- Paul F. Walker, "Nunn-Lugar at 15: No Time to Relax Global Threat Reduction Efforts," *Arms Control Today*, May 2006
- Jean du Preez, "Half Full or Half Empty? Realizing the Promise of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty," *Arms Control Today*, December 2006
- John Borrie, "The Limits of Modest Progress: The Rise, Fall, and Return of Efforts to Strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention," *Arms Control Today*, October 2006

Week Four (February 12): Export Control and Interdiction

- *Deadly Arsenals*, pp. 38-39, 443-50
- *Deterring America*, pp. 111-15, 140-54
- *Universal Compliance*, pp. 53-71, 116-125
- Michael Byers, "Policing the High Seas: The Proliferation Security Initiative," *American Journal of International Law* vol. 98 (July 2004): pp. 526-45
- Scott Jones, "Resolution 1540: Universalizing Export Control Standards?" *Arms Control Today*, May 2006

Week Five (February 19): Deterrence

- *Deterring America*, pp. 3-41
- Albert Wohlstetter, "The Delicate Balance of Terror," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 37, no. 2 (January 1959): pp. 211-34
- Fred Charles Ikle, "Can Nuclear Deterrence Last Out the Century?" *Foreign Affairs* vol. 51, no. 2 (January 1973): pp. 267-85
- Paul H. Nitze, "Deterring Our Deterrent," *Foreign Policy*, no. 25 (winter 1976-77): pp. 195-210
- Richard K. Betts, "What Will it Take to Deter the United States?" *Parameters* vol. XXV, no. 4 (winter 1995-96): pp. 70-79

Saturday February 24 (time tbd): "Dr. Strangelove" Movie

Week Six (February 26): Defense

- *Deterring America*, pp. 100-107
- U.S. Government, *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (2002), pp. vii-xiii, 37-40
- Charles L. Glaser and Steve Fetter, "National Missile Defense and the Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy," *International Security* vol. 26, no. 1 (summer 2001): pp. 40-92
- Stephen E. Flynn, "The Neglected Home Front," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 83, no. 5 (September/October 2004): pp. 20-33
- Benjamin Friedman, "Homeland Security," *Foreign Policy* no. 149 (July/August 2005): pp. 22-28
- Jonathan B. Tucker, "Bioterrorism: Threats and Responses," in *Biological Weapons: Limiting the Threat* (1999): pp. 283-320

Week Seven (March 5): Preemption and Prevention

- *Deterring America*, pp. 107-11, 116-39
- *Universal Compliance*, pp. 71-82
- James J. Wirtz and James A. Russell, "U.S. Policy on Preventive War and Preemption," *Nonproliferation Review* (spring 2003): pp. 113-23
- United Nations, *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, Report of the Secretary-General's High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change (2004), pp. 61-67
- Lee Feinstein and Anne-Marie Slaughter, "A Duty to Prevent," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 83, no. 1 (January/February 2004): pp. 136-51
- Keir A. Leiber and Daryl G. Press, "The Rise of U.S. Nuclear Primacy," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 85 no. 2 (March/April 2006): 42-54
- Peter C.W. Flory et al., "Nuclear Exchange," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 85 no. 5 (September/October 2006): 149-57

****Memo Due Friday March 9****

[Spring Break: No Seminar March 12]

Week Eight (March 19): Iraq

- *Deadly Arsenals*, pp. 329-61
- *Planning the Unthinkable*, pp. 47-78 (McCarthy and Tucker)
- *Deterring America*, pp. 45-64
- Barry Posen, "U.S. Security Policy in a Nuclear-Armed World, or What if Iraq Had Had Nuclear Weapons?" in *The Coming Crisis* (2000), pp. 158-91
- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "An Unnecessary War," *Foreign Policy* no. 134 (January/February 2003): pp. 50-59
- U.S. Government, *What Does Disarmament Look Like?* (January 2003), pp. 1-9
- Charles Duelfer, Testimony Before the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (November 2004), pp. 1-6
- *Comprehensive Report of the Special Advisor to the DCI on Iraq's WMD, Selected Key Findings* (September 2004)

Week Nine (March 26): North Korea

- *Deadly Arsenals*, pp. 278-93
- *Planning the Unthinkable*, pp. 182-201 (Bermudez)
- *Deterring America*, pp. 65-91
- Victor D. Cha and David C. Kang, "The Korea Crisis," *Foreign Policy* no. 136 (May/June 2003): pp. 20-28
- Selig S. Harrison, "Did North Korea Cheat?" *Foreign Affairs* vol. 84, no. 1 (January/February 2005): pp. 1-6
- Mitchell B. Reiss and Robert L. Gallucci, "Red-Handed," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 84, no. 2 (March/April 2005): pp. 1-5
- Zhang Liangui, "Coping With a Nuclear North Korea," *China Security* (Autumn 2006): pp. 2-18

Week Ten (*Saturday April 7*): Iran (and "Deterrence" Movie) **Paper Topics Due**

- *Deadly Arsenals*, pp. 294-313
- *Planning the Unthinkable*, pp. 79-103 (Giles)
- Ray Takeyh, "Iran Builds the Bomb," *Survival* vol. 46, no. 4 (autumn 2004): pp. 51-63
- Christopher de Bellaigue, "Iran," *Foreign Policy* no. 148 (May/June 2005): pp. 18-24
- Kenneth Pollack and Ray Takeyh, "Taking on Tehran," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 84, no. 2 (March/April 2005): pp. 1-7
- Michael McFaul, Abbas Milani, and Larry Diamond, "A Win-Win U.S. Strategy for Dealing With Iran," *The Washington Quarterly* vol. 30, no. 1 (winter 2006-07): pp. 121-38
- Scott D. Sagan, "How to Keep the Bomb From Iran," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 45, no. 5 (September/October 2006): pp. 45-59

Week Eleven (April 9): India and Pakistan

- *Deadly Arsenals*, pp. 220-258
- *Planning the Unthinkable*, pp. 125-181 (Sidhu & Cheema)
- S. Paul Kapur, "India and Pakistan's Unstable Peace," *International Security* vol. 30, no. 2 (fall 2005): pp. 127-152
- Thomas Graham Jr., Leonor Tomero, and Leonard Weiss, "Think Again: U.S.-India Nuclear Deal," *Foreign Policy* (July 2006)
- *Universal Compliance*, pp. 159-69

Week Twelve (April 16): Proliferation Reversal?

- *Deadly Arsenals*, pp. 316-27, 364-418
- *Universal Compliance*, pp. 127-57
- Ariel E. Levite, "Never Say Never Again," *International Security* vol. 27, no. 3 (winter 2002-03): pp. 59-88
- Jonathan Schell, "The Folly of Arms Control," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 79, no. 5 (September/October 2000): pp. 22-46

Week Thirteen (April 23): Terrorism and Al Qaeda

- *Planning the Unthinkable*, pp. 202-229 (Stern)
- U.S. Government, *National Strategy for Combating Terrorism* (February 2003), pp. 1-30
- U.S. Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism* (2003), pp. 85-93
- Noah Feldman, "Islam, Terror and the Second Nuclear Age," *New York Times Magazine*, October 29, 2006
- Philip B. Heymann, "Dealing with Terrorism," *International Security* vol. 26, no. 3 (winter 2001/02): pp. 24-38
- C. Christine Fair and Husain Haqqani, "Think Again: Islamist Terrorism," *Foreign Policy* (January 2006)
- Daniel L. Byman, "Al-Qaeda As Adversary: Do We Understand Our Enemy?" *World Politics* vol. 56, no. 1 (October 2003): pp. 139-63
- Jason Burke, "Al Qaeda," *Foreign Policy* no. 142 (May/June 2004): pp. 18-26
- Stephen M. Walt, "Beyond bin Laden: Reshaping U.S. Foreign Policy," *International Security* vol. 26, no. 3 (winter 2001/02): pp. 56-78

Week Fourteen (April 30): Conclusion

- United States, *National Security Strategy*, March 2006

**** Papers Due: Monday May 7****