

Bowdoin College - Spring 2018
Department of Government and Legal Studies
Nuclear Proliferation Politics: GOVT 2621
(version 180118)

Kanbar 107
Mondays & Wednesdays, 1:00-2:25am
Office hours: Tuesday 2:00-4:00pm

Professor Rebecca Gibbons
Email: rgibbons@bowdoin.edu
Office: Dudley Coe 305A



Course Description

Nuclear weapons have had a significant impact on international relations since their advent in 1945. The initial U.S. monopoly on nuclear weapons gave way to bilateral competition with the Soviet Union, followed by the post-Cold War period in which proliferation concerns have grown to include so-called rogue states and non-state actors. Today nuclear weapons are taking on renewed significance in international politics. This course will expose students to the history and theory of nuclear weapons proliferation, and encourage students to engage in current debates on the topic. Specifically, this course addresses the following questions related to nuclear weapons proliferation:

- What technology is necessary for developing a nuclear weapons program? Students will learn the basics of nuclear weapons design as well as the technology related to the creation of fissile material.
- Why do states proliferate? International relations scholars have posited a number of theories to explain why states seek nuclear weapons, from systemic theories related to security and norms, to theories focused on the role of specific individuals. Some scholars focus on states' demand for nuclear weapons, while others emphasize the importance of the supply of nuclear technology and knowledge. After exploring a multitude of theories and case studies, students will consider which theories have the most explanatory power.
- What policies are available to address nuclear proliferation? Since the invention of nuclear weapons, the international community has sought a variety of means to stop additional proliferation. Multilateral measures from the failed Baruch Plan to the 1970 Non-Proliferation Treaty to more recent efforts to establish a fissile material cut-off treaty illustrate arms control efforts to address nuclear weapons and nuclear material. Other policies include economic sanctions against proliferating states, diplomacy, export controls, and the use of force to attack nuclear programs.

Learning Objectives

The course seeks to cultivate your ability to engage in critical thinking, analysis, and independent learning and to improve your writing skills. To that end, reading, discussing, and writing will be the central activities of the course. The goal is for you to leave the class possessing not only a better understanding of specific concepts and events, but also an improved ability to express that knowledge in prose and speech. Specifically, in this course you will:

- Assess and critique the written arguments of nuclear-related scholars and policy-makers
- Recognize the implications of specific technologies for proliferation
- Understand the major theories of nuclear proliferation
- Apply theory to specific case studies of nuclear proliferation
- Conduct original research and draw policy implications

Course Policies

Attendance: Attendance is required at all course meetings. Since class discussion will go well beyond the readings, absence severely diminishes what you learn from this course. Each unexcused absence will result in no credit for class participation on that day. Email me at least 24 hours before class regarding any extenuating circumstances that may lead to an absence. A note from your academic Dean or the Student Health Center will be required for this absence to be excused. If you are aware of school-sanctioned absences, please email me about those absences as soon as you are aware of them. These absences will be considered excused.

Email Communication: I will respond to your emails within 48 hours. Please put “GOVT 2621” in the subject line of your email.

Technology: Please turn off or silence your cell phone before coming to class. This is a discussion-based class. If possible, please bring assigned texts to class in hard copy. Laptops may be used at times for class activities, but otherwise, laptops are not allowed in this class.

Readings: All assigned readings should be completed *before* each class. You should come prepared to discuss the author’s main argument, the evidence for this argument, and critiques of this argument. All assignments will be posted on our course Blackboard site. Check this site regularly for announcements and details on course assignments. The assignments listed on the syllabus may be subject to minor changes throughout the semester. If changes are made, they will be announced in class as well as posted on Blackboard.

You are required to sign up for the “AM Nukes Roundup” for the duration of the course. Each morning you will receive an email with links to key nuclear articles from the day before. To sign up, go to: <http://rethinkmedia.us1.list-manage.com/subscribe?u=307726d92ec941f6b4f544310&id=547ee518ec>. Enter “Bowdoin College” under “Organization Name” and “Student” under “Job Title.”

Academic Integrity: If there is a question as to whether you should cite something, err on the side of caution and cite it. You must cite the ideas of others—even if you are not directly quoting them—as well as facts and figures. Make sure that you provide as specific a citation as possible; if an author discusses an idea in one section or one page, cite the specific section or page instead of the full article or book. To review Bowdoin’s academic honor code and the definition of plagiarism, visit the following site: <http://www.bowdoin.edu/studentaffairs/student-handbook/college-policies/>.

Grade Disputes: Questions regarding your grades can be directed to me after a 48-hour waiting period. You are entitled to a satisfactory explanation as to why you received the grade you did. If you are not satisfied with the explanation provided, you may submit a written explanation for why you believe that your work was misgraded. The work will then be re-graded with the understanding that I may ultimately issue a grade that is better, the same, or worse than the original grade given.

Students Accommodations: Please contact me at the beginning of the semester if specific accommodations are required for papers or exams.

Grading Policy: Except in extreme cases—such as documented medical emergencies—late assignments will lose one-third of a letter grade per day. Receiving a paper extension because of an absence requires notice from the Student Health Center or your academic Dean, preferably prior to the due date. No student can pass this course without completing all the assignments. Students are responsible for retaining a copy of their papers until they have received a grade.

Grades are earned according to the following scale:

A	100-94
A-	93-90
B+	89-87
B	86-84
B-	83-80
C+	79-77
C	76-74
C-	73-70
D	69-60
F	<60

Course Assessments

Class Attendance & Participation (20%): You are expected to have read and carefully thought about each of the required course readings. Prepare to come to each class ready to explain each author's primary arguments and comment on the author's methods, evidence, and conclusions. For selected readings (marked with ** below), you will fill out a required worksheet as you read. The worksheet will help you practice efficient reading. The following explains how class participation grades will be determined. In addition to the descriptions below, unexcused absences will have a detrimental effect on your participation grade.

- A-grade participation: Student attends class regularly and usually contributes to the discussion by raising thoughtful questions, analyzing relevant issues, building on others' ideas, synthesizing readings and discussions, expanding the class' perspective, and appropriately challenging assumptions and perspectives.
- B-grade participation: Student attends class regularly and sometimes contributes to the discussion in the aforementioned ways.
- C-grade participation: Student attends class regularly but rarely contributes to the discussion in the aforementioned ways.
- D-grade participation: Student attends class regularly but never contributes to the discussion in the aforementioned ways.

Group Project (15%): In a group, you will conduct primary source research on states' nuclear decision-making. The project is due March 29.

Midterm (15%): The midterm will cover the material from the first half of the course. Questions will include a combination of concept identifications and short answers.

Research Project (30%): You will conduct an original research project on a course topic of your choosing. Unless otherwise noted, please submit the following to me at rgibbons@bowdoin.edu as a Word email attachment by 5 p.m. on the required date.

February 26	One paragraph overview of research topic along with a working title due (2 points for completing assignment)
March 9	Full outline due (3 points for completing assignment)
April 20	Rough draft of research paper due (5 points for completing assignment)
May 17	Final version of paper due (20% of final total course grade)

Final Exam (20%): The final exam will cover the material from the second half of the course. Questions will include a combination of concept identifications, short answers, and essays.

Course Schedule & Assignments

Nuclear proliferation background: historical overview, nuclear technology, weapons effects and ethics

1) January 22 (M): Introduction to the study of nuclear nonproliferation: Why study nuclear proliferation?

2) January 24 (W): The History of Proliferation and Nonproliferation I (1890s-1950s)

➤ **Discussion question: Should the United States have dropped two nuclear weapons on Japan in August 1945?**

- Joseph Cirincione, “Building the Bomb” in *The History and Future of Nuclear Weapons* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), pp. 1-13.

Historical evidence:

- 1939 – Albert Einstein’s [Letter to President Roosevelt](#)
- 1945 – Leo Szilard’s [Petition to the President of the United States](#)
- 1947 – Henry L. Stimson, “The Decision to Use Nuclear Weapons,” *SAIS Review* Vol. 5, No. 2 (Summer-Fall 1985) (Original: 1947), pp. 1-15.
 - [“Did We Need to Drop It?”](#) NYT Book Review by Michael R. Beschloss
 - Ward Wilson, [“The Bomb Didn’t Beat Japan... Stalin Did,”](#) *Foreign Policy*, May 29, 2013.
- 1953 – Dwight D. Eisenhower, “Atoms for Peace,” [Speech before the General Assembly of the United Nations](#) (clip)
- 1955 – [Bertrand Russell-Albert Einstein Manifesto](#)

3) January 29 (M): The History of Proliferation and Nonproliferation II (1960s-1990s)

➤ **Discussion question: How would you design a fair and effective nuclear nonproliferation regime?**

- Cote, Jr., Owen, “Appendix B: Primer on Fissile Materials and Nuclear Weapons Design.” In Graham T. Allison, Owen Cote Jr., Richard A. Falkenrath, and Steven E. Miller. *Avoiding Nuclear Anarchy: Containing the Threat of Loose Russian Nuclear Weapons and Fissile Materials* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996).
- Watch the first half of this video on the making of the nuclear bomb:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zVhQOhxb1Mc>

Historical evidence:

- 1968 – President Johnson’s [remarks on signing the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons](#) (clip)
 - An Indian perspective on the nuclear nonproliferation regime: Jaswant Singh, “Against Nuclear Apartheid,” *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 77, No. 5 (1998), pp. 41-52.

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- 1978 – President Carter’s [speech on the signing of the Nonproliferation Act of 1978](#) (clip)
- 1980s – Lawrence Wittner, “[The Nuclear Freeze and its Impact](#),” *Arms Control Today* (2010)
- 1983 – [Reagan announces Star Wars](#) (the American Strategic Defense Initiative)
- 1994 – [Text of the Agreed Framework with North Korea](#)
 - Negotiator Robert Gallucci on [the failed Agreed Framework](#)
- 1995 – *Washington Post* article on [indefinite extension of the NPT](#)

****Group Project Assigned****

4) January 31 (W): The History of Proliferation and Nonproliferation III (2000-Present)

➤ **Discussion Question: Are we entering a new nuclear age?**

- Paul Bracken, “Introduction” in the *Second Nuclear Age: Strategy, Danger, and the New Power Politics* (New York: NY, St. Martin's Griffin, 2013), pp. 1-14.
- Watch the second half of this video on the making of the nuclear bomb:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zVhQOhxb1Mc>

Historical evidence:

- 2003 – Colin Powell [makes the case for the Iraq War](#) (clip)
- 2009 – President [Obama’s Prague Speech](#) (clip)
- 2014 – ICAN statement: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ASYKvWKtoJo> (clip)
- 2015 – [Iran deal reached](#) (clip)
- 2017 – Text of the [Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons](#)
 - Rebecca Davis Gibbons, “[The Nuclear Ban Treaty: How Did We Get Here, What Does It Mean For The United States?](#)” *War on the Rocks*, July 14, 2017.

5) February 5 (M): Nuclear weapons: What are the physical effects of nuclear weapons?

- Excerpts from *White Flash Black Rain: Women of Japan Relive the Bomb*, Lequita Vance-Watkins and Aratani Mariko (eds.) (Minneapolis, MN: Milkweed Editions, 1995), pp. 1-9, 18-19.
- Lynn Eden, “City on Fire,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (January/February 2004), pp. 33–43.
- Review this [list of nuclear accidents](#)
- ****Carol Cohn, “Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* Vol. 12, No. 4 (1987), pp. 687-718.**

6) February 7 (W): Class at the library to work on group research projects

- ****In lieu of class read: John Mueller, “The Essential Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons: Stability in the Postwar World,” *International Security* Vol. 13, No. 2 (Autumn 1988), pp. 55-79.**

7) February 12 (M): How has the advent of nuclear weapons affected international relations? (II)

- Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed*, (New York, NY: W.W. Norton and Company, 2003), Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 3 – 87.

8) February 14 (W): Does a nuclear taboo exist?

- ****Nina Tannenwald**, “Stigmatizing the bomb: Origins of the nuclear taboo,” *International Security* Vol. 29, No. 4 (2005), pp. 5-49.
- Skim the findings in this article: Scott D. Sagan and Benjamin A. Valentino, “Revisiting Hiroshima in Iran: What Americans Really Think about Using Nuclear Weapons and Killing Noncombatants,” *International Security* Vol. 42, No. 1 (Summer 2017), pp. 41–79.

9) February 19 (M): The ethics of nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons proliferation: Is it ethical to possess nuclear weapons?

IN CLASS DEBATE

- J. Bryan Hehir, “Nonproliferation: A Global Issue for a Global Ethic,” *Ethics & International Affairs* Vol. 27, No. 3 (September 2013). **[read this one first]**
- Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), pp. 269-274.
- Thomas Donaldson, “Nuclear Deterrence and Self-Defense,” *Ethics* Vol. 95, No. 3, Special Issue: Symposium on Ethics and Nuclear Deterrence (April 1985), pp. 537-548.
- Charles Krauthammer, “On Nuclear Morality,” *Commentary* Vol. 75, No. 10 (October 1983), pp. 48-52.
- Nobuo Hayashi, “On the Ethics of Nuclear Weapons,” ILPI-UNIDIR NPT Review Conference Series, Paper No. 2 of 5 (2015), pp. 1-12.
- Justin Anderson, *Arms Control Wonk* guest blogposts:
 - [Post 1: Applying Jus In Bello To The Nuclear Deterrent](#)
 - [Post 2: Nuclear Weapons And The Laws Of War \(Cont.\)](#)

Theories of nuclear proliferation: Why do states seek nuclear weapons?

10) February 21 (W): Theories of nuclear proliferation: Does nuclear assistance lead to proliferation? (Discussion of quantitative nuclear research)

- Skim for main argument, methodology, and findings: Matthew Kroenig, “Importing the Bomb Sensitive Nuclear Assistance and Nuclear Proliferation,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 53, No. 2 (April 2009), pp. 161-180.
- Skim for main argument, methodology, and findings: Matthew Fuhrmann, “Spreading Temptation: Proliferation and Peaceful Nuclear Cooperation Agreements,” *International Security* Vol 34, No. 1 (Summer 2009), pp. 7-41.
- Nicholas Miller, “Why Nuclear Energy Programs Rarely Lead to Proliferation,” *International Security* Vol. 42, No. 2 (2017), pp. 40-77.

11) February 26 (M): Theories of nuclear proliferation: What factors affect states’ nuclear decision-making? (I)

- Scott Sagan, “The Causes of Nuclear Weapons Proliferation,” *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 14 (2011), pp. 225-44.
- ****Christopher Way and Jessica Weeks**, “Making It Personal: Regime Type and Nuclear Proliferation,” *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 58, No. 3 (July 2014), pp. 705–719.

****One paragraph overview of research topic along with a working title due****

12) February 28 (W): Theories of nuclear proliferation: What factors affect states' nuclear decision-making? (II)

- ****Nicholas Miller, "Nuclear Dominoes: A Self-Defeating Prophecy?" *Security Studies* Vol. 23, No. 1 (2014), pp. 33-73.**
- Rebecca Davis Gibbons, "American Hegemony and the Determinants of Commitment to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime," (Working Paper).

13) March 5 (M): Nuclear Latency

- Ariel E. Levite, "Never Say Never Again: Nuclear Reversal Revisited," *International Security* Vol. 27, No. 3 (Winter 2002-2003), pp. 59-88.
- ****Rupal N. Mehta and Rachel Elizabeth Whitlark, "The Benefits and Burdens of Nuclear Latency," *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 61 (2017), pp. 517-528.**

14) March 7 (W): Midterm

****March 9: Full outline of research paper due****

March 12, 14, 19 & 21: No Class Spring Break

Proliferation and non-proliferation case studies. As you read about the case studies below, consider the following questions: What are the facts of the case? What type of technology is involved? What theories of proliferation or non-proliferation are presented by the author? What evidence does the author provide for this theoretical perspective? Are the theories compelling? Why or why not?

15) March 27 (M): Case Studies: India

- George Perkovich, "What Makes the Indian Bomb Tick?" in D.R. SarDesai and Raju G. C. Thomas (Eds.) *Nuclear India in the Twenty-First Century* (New York, NY: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2002), pp. 25-60.

16) March 29 (W): Case Studies: Iraq

- Etel Solingen, "Iraq," in *Nuclear Logics: Contrasting Paths in East Asia and the Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 143-163.
- [Key Findings](#), DCI Special Advisor Report on Iraq's WMD, 2004.

****Group Research Project Due****

17) April 2 (M): Proliferation Case Studies: Iran

- Shahram Chubin, *Iran's Nuclear Ambitions* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment, 2006), pp. 14-42.
- Paul K. Kerr, "[Iran's Nuclear Program: Tehran's Compliance with International Obligations Analyst in Nonproliferation](#)," Congressional Research Services Report, March 3, 2016.

18) April 4 (W): Proliferation Case Studies: North Korea

- Alexandre Y. Mansourov, “The origins, evolution, and current politics of the North Korean nuclear program,” *The Nonproliferation Review* Vol. 2, No. 3 (1995), pp. 25-38.
- Benjamin R. Young, “The Reagan-era invasion that drove North Korea to develop nuclear weapons,” *The Washington Post*, August 9, 2017.
- Jonathan Pollack, *No Exit: North Korea, Nuclear Weapons and International Security* (The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2014), Chapters 1-3.

19) April 9 (M): Cases of Nuclear Reversal & Restraint (Guest lecture)

- ****Mariana Budjeryn**, “The Power of the NPT: International Norms and Ukraine's Nuclear Disarmament,” *The Nonproliferation Review* Vol. 22, No 2, (2015), pp. 203-237.
- Peter Liberman, “The Rise and Fall of the South African Bomb,” *International Security* Vol. 26, No. 2 (Fall 2001), pp. 45-86.

Policy options for addressing nuclear proliferation. What are the best means of addressing proliferation? How do theories of nuclear proliferation affect policy choices? What policies have been most successful? Least successful?

20) April 11 (W): Policy Responses to Nuclear Proliferation: The nuclear nonproliferation regime

- [Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons](#), 1970.
- George Bunn, “[The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty: History and Current Problems](#),” *Arms Control Today*, 2003.
- ****Maria Rost Rublee**, “Taking Stock of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime: Using Social Psychology to Understand Regime Effectiveness,” *International Studies Review* Vol. 10, No. 3 (2008), pp. 420-450.

21) April 16 (M): Policy Responses to Nuclear Proliferation: Nuclear policies of the nuclear states (export controls, security guarantees, and declaratory policy)

- ****R. Scott Kemp**, “The Nonproliferation Emperor Has No Clothes: The Gas Centrifuge, Supply-Side Controls, and the Future of Nuclear Proliferation,” *International Security* Vol. 38, No. 4 (Spring 2014), pp. 39-78.
- The Trump Administration’s Nuclear Posture Review (coming soon)

****APRIL 20 by 4pm: Rough Draft of Research Paper Due in hard copy to 305 Dudley Coe****

22) April 18 (W): Policy Responses to Nuclear Proliferation: Sanctions and diplomacy

- Scott D. Sagan. “How to Keep the Bomb from Iran,” *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 85, No. 5 (September/October 2006), pp. 45–59.
- Indira A.R. Lakshamanan, “If You Can’t Do This Deal...Go Back to Tehran,” *Politico*, September 25, 2015.
- Bradley O. Babson, “Positive Economic Inducements in Future Nuclear Negotiations with North Korea,” (Washington, DC: US-Korea Institute at SAIS, December 2015).

23) April 23: Policy Responses to Nuclear Proliferation: Use of force

- Sarah E. Kreps and Matthew Fuhrmann, “Attacking the Atom: Does Bombing Nuclear Facilities Affect Proliferation?” *Journal of Strategic Studies* Vol. 34, No. 2 (2011), pp. 161-187.
- Matt Kroenig, “Time to Attack Iran,” *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 91, No. 1 (January/February 2012), pp. 76-86.
 - Response to Kroenig’s article: Colin H. Kahl, “Not Time to Strike Iran,” *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 91, No. 2 (March/April 2012).

24) April 25 (W): Policy Responses to Nuclear Proliferation: The humanitarian turn in nuclear disarmament

- Rebecca Davis Gibbons, “The Humanitarian Turn in Nuclear Disarmament and the New Nuclear Prohibition Treaty,” *The Nonproliferation Review* (forthcoming).
- 2017 [Nobel Peace Prize Award Speech](#)

**25) April 30 (M): Policy Responses to Nuclear Proliferation: Should we pursue nuclear abolition?
IN CLASS DEBATE**

- 2017 [Nobel Peace Prize Award Lecture](#)
- George Perkovich and James M. Acton, “Rebutting the standard arguments against disarmament,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, July 15, 2009.
- Josef Joffe and James W. Davis, “Less Than Zero: Bursting the New Disarmament Bubble,” *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 90, No. 1 (January/February 2011), pp. 7-13.

26) May 2 (W): Research paper workshops

27) May 7 (M): Research paper workshops

28) May 9 (W): Exam

Final research paper due via email to rgibbons@bowdoin.edu Thursday, May 17 by 5:00pm