

**Arms Control in the Nuclear Realm**

**Dr. Emily Landau**

**Course Number:** 702.2180

**Class Time:** Tuesday, 15:00 – 18:00

**Class Location:** TBA

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**Course Description:**

This course focuses on the notion of nuclear arms control as understood from the perspective of international relations studies. The course will highlight the motivation for developing nuclear weapons, how they are viewed by states and by the international community, and the strategic dilemmas that states face when they attempt to negotiate arms control agreements in the nuclear realm, as well as the strategic significance of the agreements themselves. We will be looking at the history of attempts to negotiate arms control and nonproliferation agreements, including the experience in the Middle East in the early 1990s, and at the different international contexts for negotiating arms control: UN, regional frameworks, and bilateral dialogues.

In conceptual terms, controlling the negative effects of nuclear weapons will be examined and discussed in light of the two major traditions that developed over the course of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: disarmament (with its focus on weapons), and "stabilization of relations" (with its focus on states). We will also examine the major proliferation challenges of the post-Cold War – Iran and North Korea – and assess developments in arms control thinking in light of the experience of international attempts to curb these two states' nuclear ambitions.

**Course Requirements:**

- Weekly reading assignments
- Active class participation, including opening discussion on reading assignments
- Mid-Term exam
- Final assignment: (up to 5 pages)

**Final Grade:**

Mid-Term exam	60%
Final assignment and class participation	40%

### Course Outline and Reading List

**Week 1+2:** Opening Lectures: Introduction to Arms Control and to the Course; Why Arms Control is Important; Arms Control and International Relations Theory

**Week 3:** Nuclear Weapons I: Why do states want them? What can they do with them?

Scott Sagan, "Why do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb" *International Security* (21:3, Winter 1996/97) pp. 54-86.

Bradley Thayer, "The Causes of Nuclear Proliferation and the Utility of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime", *Security Studies* (4:3, Spring 1995) pp. 463-519.

**Week 4:** Nuclear Weapons II: Why do states give them up? What restrains them? What role for arms control?

T. V. Paul, *Power vs. Prudence: Why Nations Forgo Nuclear Weapons* (Montreal: McGill-Queens Press, 2000) pp. 1-34.

Nina Tannenwald, "Stigmatizing the Bomb: Origins of the Nuclear Taboo" *International Security* (29:4, Spring 2005) pp. 5-49.

**Week 5:** US-Soviet Nuclear Arms Control: "Stabilization of Relations" Tradition:

Jeffrey A. Larsen, "An Introduction to Arms Control and Cooperative Security", in Jeffrey A. Larsen and James J. Wirtz (eds.) *Arms Control and Cooperative Security* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2009) pp.1-19.

James M. Smith, "A Brief History of Arms Control", in Jeffrey A. Larsen and James J. Wirtz (eds.) *Arms Control and Cooperative Security* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2009) pp. 27-36.

Emanuel Adler, "Arms Control, Disarmament, and National Security: A Thirty Year Retrospective and a New Set of Anticipations" *Daedalus* (120:1, Winter 1991) pp.1-10.

**Week 6:** NPT and Beyond: Disarmament Tradition:

Henry Sokolski, "Taking Proliferation Seriously" *Policy Review* (121, October-December 2003) pp. 51-64.

Andrew O'Neil, "Nuclear Proliferation and Global Security: Laying the Groundwork for a New Policy Agenda" *Comparative Strategy* (24, 2005) pp. 343-359.

Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "NPT: The Logic of Inequality" *Foreign Policy* (59, Summer 1985) pp. 123-131.

**Week 7:** Arms Control: Conceptual Dilemmas:

Colin S. Gray, "Arms Control Does Not Control Arms" *Orbis* (Summer 1993) pp. 333-348.

Stuart Croft, "In Defence of Arms Control" *Political Studies* (44, 1996) pp. 888-905.

**Week 8: Midterm Exam**

**Week 9:** Introducing Arms Control to the Middle East; Israel's Nuclear Policy and Attitude toward Arms Control:

Gerald M. Steinberg, "The History of Arms Control in the Middle East" in Avi Becker (ed.) *Arms Control without Glasnost: Building Confidence in the Middle East* (Jerusalem: Israel Council on Foreign Relations, 1993) pp. 7-27.

Emily B. Landau, "Being Clear about Ambiguity", *Haaretz*, May 13, 2010.

Avner Cohen and Marvin Miller, "Bringing Israel's Bomb out of the Basement: Has Nuclear Ambiguity Outlived its Shelf Life?" *Foreign Affairs*, September-October 2010.

(optional) Shai Feldman, *Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control in the Middle East* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997), Chapters 7 and 8.

**Week 10:** CSBMs: the Key to Stabilizing Relations; Application to the Middle East in ACRS:

Ariel Levite and Emily Landau, "Confidence and Security Building Measures in the Middle East" *Journal of Strategic Studies* (20:1, March 1997) pp. 143-171.

Emily B. Landau, "ACRS: What Worked, What Didn't, and What Could be Relevant for the Region Today" *Disarmament Forum* (no. 2, January 2008).

Peter Jones, "Negotiating Regional Security and Arms Control in the Middle East: The ACRS Experience and Beyond" *Journal of Strategic Studies* (26:3, September 2003) pp. 137-154.

(optional) Johan J. Holst and Karen A. Melander, "European Security and Confidence-building Measures" *Survival* (19:4, July-August 1977).

**Week 11:** Post-Cold War Nuclear Proliferation and Arms Control: Iran and North Korea:

- Emily B. Landau, *Decade of Diplomacy: Negotiations with Iran and North Korea and the Future of Nuclear Nonproliferation*, INSS Memorandum, March 2012. (108 pp.)
- Emily Landau, "The NPT and Nuclear Proliferation: Matching Expectations to Current Realities" *Strategic Assessment* (6:4, February 2004).
- Ephraim Kam, *A Nuclear Iran: What Does it Mean and What Can be Done?* Memorandum, no. 88 (Tel Aviv: Institute for National Security Studies, February 2007) pp. 17-32.

**Week 12:** Where do we go from here? New Disarmament Agenda and New Arms Control Directions; WMD/FZ for the Middle East:

- George P. Shultz, William J. Perry, Henry A. Kissinger and Sam Nunn, "A World Free of Nuclear Weapons" *Wall Street Journal*, 4 January 2007.
- George P. Shultz, William J. Perry, Henry A. Kissinger and Sam Nunn, "Toward a Nuclear-Free World" *Wall Street Journal*, 15 January 2008.
- Emily B. Landau, "Obama's Nuclear Disarmament Agenda: Blurred Aims and Priorities", in Emily B. Landau and Tamar Malz-Ginzburg (eds.) *The Obama Vision and Nuclear Disarmament*, INSS Memorandum no.107, March 2011.
- Emily B. Landau, "Egypt, Israel, and the WMD/FZ Conference for the Middle East: Setting the Record Straight" *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, (7:1, 2013) pp. 13-16.
- (optional) W.P.S. Sidhu and Bruce Jones with Colette Jaycox (eds.) *Preparing for a Constructive 2012 Conference on the Middle East Weapons of Mass Destruction Free Zone*, Center on International Cooperation, New York University, March 2012. (3 articles).