

INTL 4255: Nuclear Politics

University of Georgia, Department of International Affairs

Course Instructor Information:

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Office hours: Tues 2:30-4:30pm & by appt.

Course Meeting Information:

Spring 2022
Tues/Thurs, 11:10am-12:25pm
275 Miller Learning Center

Course Description:

This seminar examines nuclear politics. We begin with a brief overview of nuclear science and technology, so that students gain a better understanding of how nuclear weapons work in practice. We then examine the states that have built nuclear weapons, as well as their motivations for doing so. The topic of proliferation and its various pathways (e.g., illicit proliferation, peaceful nuclear assistance, and covert programs) naturally follows and introduces yet another debate: do nuclear weapons (and their proliferation) make the international system more or less stable? Here, we engage theories of deterrence, compellence, and counter-proliferation. Finally, we discuss cooperation with respect to nuclear materials, historical nonproliferation and arms control movements, and contemporary disarmament movements (e.g., Global Zero and the Nuclear Ban Treaty). Throughout the semester, we will also use numerous in-class exercises and simulations to highlight, experiment with, and experience course concepts.

Course Objectives:

At this conclusion of this course, students will be (better) able to:

- Explain the science and technology underlying nuclear politics;
- Define and apply the key concepts used frequently in nuclear politics—for example, nuclear weapons, weapons of mass destruction, interstate bargaining, deterrence, compellence, (non)proliferation, proliferation pathways, arms control, and disarmament;
- Identify which states choose (not) to build nuclear weapons and (not) to proliferate, and explain why they did (or did not do) so;
- Analyze how nuclear weapons affect bargaining, crisis diplomacy, conflict, and cooperation;
- Express an informed opinion on several contemporary debates (e.g., the effects of nuclear weapons on stability, the place of nuclear weapons in foreign policy, or whether to ban nuclear weapons altogether), using both theoretical arguments and evidence; and
- Describe how they personally experienced the course concepts and their complexity.

Course Material:

For the course to function smoothly, students should cover all assigned, required material *before* the class meeting for which it is assigned (see schedule below). They should also read (and/or listen to) at least one daily source of national and foreign news (see suggestions at end of syllabus). Completing the required material, in conjunction with attending class consistently and following the news, will best help students succeed in the course. All required material is available electronically through the course's eLearning Commons website. Log-in at: <https://uga.view.usg.edu>, with UGA MyID and Single Sign-On password.

Please note: Students are responsible for all required material, even if the material is not explicitly discussed in the classroom. The instructor reserves the right to replace part of the participation grade with additional, unannounced quizzes if students are not prepared for and contributing to class discussions.

Course Requirements:

The following are the requirements for this course:

1. Participation (20%): Students will be evaluated on (i) (in-person) attendance, (ii) contributions to class discussions (quality and quantity), and (iii) participation during in-class activities. Each of these is *required*. Thus, attending class, but not joining into our discussions and activities, may still adversely affect a student's participation grade. There is no extra credit for low participation.

To enhance discussion, each student will belong to a discussion group that contains a number of other students (at least three, but no more than six). On days that the class breaks for small group discussion (as a way to motivate our larger discussions), each student will play one of the following roles. Groups should fill the roles in order, and the roles should rotate equally among group members over the course of the semester. Students in roles #b-e will turn material in to the instructor on the day(s) that they fill those roles.

- a. Leader / facilitator: Keep the group focused on the task at hand.
 - b. Discussion leader (theory/argument): Develop at least three questions for the group to discuss that deal with the reading's argument.
 - c. Discussion leader (evidence): Develop at least three questions for the group to discuss that deal with the reading's evidence (i.e., cases, data, analysis).
 - d. Visual: Depict something from the reading visually. This could include—but is not limited to—a concept, the argument, and so on. (Creativity welcome!)
 - e. Connections: Draw detailed connections between the reading under review and course materials covered on other days.
 - f. Participant
2. Quizzes (20%): Two quizzes will occur in class on February 22 and March 31. The quizzes will contain multiple choice and short answer. They are not cumulative.
 3. Simulations (60%, as divided below): Throughout the semester, we will hold three simulation exercises. *Because the simulations are all interactive, group exercises, attendance on these days is especially vital.*
 - a. Simulation 1, NPT Formation (15%): Students will submit a 3- to 4-page memo, which is due on February 3 (as a PDF document via eLC).
 - b. Simulation 2, Nuclear Crisis Escalation (10%): Students will submit a 2-page memo, which is due March 24 (as a PDF document via eLC).
 - c. Simulation 3, NPT Review (35%, as divided below): This simulation, being more complex, consists of five assignments.
 - i. Pre-Simulation Memo (10%): Due April 8 (as a PDF document via eLC)
 - ii. Pre-Simulation Head of State Briefing (2.5%): Due April 12 (slides by 11:59pm via eLC)
 - iii. First Plenary Presentation (5%): Due April 14 (done in class)
 - iv. Peer Evaluations and Feedback (2.5%): Due April 26 (as a PDF document via eLC)
 - v. Final Memo Response (15%): Due April 28 (as a PDF document via eLC)

Please note: The numerous and varied assessments provide ample opportunity for you to showcase your academic strengths. As a result, there are no extra credit assignments beyond any listed in the syllabus.

Course Guidelines:

The following guidelines govern the requirements for this course:

1. Students should attend *all* class meetings (*on time*) and participate actively within in-class activities and discussions. Much of the in-class discussion will supplement course readings, rather than simply repeat it. Regardless of attendance, students are responsible for the material we cover in

class, which may show up on course assessments.

2. Assignments are due on the dates given at the *beginning* of the regular class period for which they are assigned. Late assignments receive a penalty of one full letter grade (10 percentage points) for the first day, as well as an additional half-letter grade (5 percentage points) for each additional day they are late. After 10 days, students may submit a late assignment for half-credit until the final class meeting (May 3 at 11:10am). Note that some excuses (e.g., broken printers) do not justify missing deadlines. It is also inappropriate to come to class late on the dates on which assignments are due; anything submitted after the beginning of class may not earn full credit.
3. Students who are unable to attend a class meeting are responsible for obtaining the notes for that meeting from another student. The instructor will not provide slides or notes for class meetings.
4. Failure to complete an assignment or in-class quiz will result in a failing grade for that assignment or quiz (a score of 0). Make-up quizzes *may* be offered, but *only* with the approval of the instructor—generally for documented, emergency situations. The instructor will administer any approved make-up quizzes during the course’s regularly scheduled, semester final exam period—on Tuesday, May 10 from 12:00-3:00pm.
5. Students should keep class notes, graded papers, and copies of submitted work until they receive the final course grade in Athena. The instructor agrees to grade all assignments and quizzes fairly and objectively. During the semester, students may contact the instructor if they have questions about a received grade. Students wishing to appeal a grade should contact the instructor no sooner than 48 hours—but no later than two weeks—after receiving the grade in question. The former permits time to think about any comments received and formulate the justification for the inquiry. The latter ensures that the student and instructor address concerns together in an expeditious manner.
6. In order to foster a respectful learning environment, students enrolled in this course agree to:
 - a. use respectful language that does not insult others or their point of view;
 - b. keep cell phones and other devices silenced/turned off *and* put away during class; and
 - c. **not** use laptops during class meetings, unless the instructor informs you that they are needed for a classroom exercise. (If, however, you require special accommodations, please discuss this with the instructor and provide documentation from the Disability Resource Center.)

The instructor reserves the right to ask any student that does not follow these parameters to leave the class meeting, so as not to affect other students’ learning negatively. Those that violate the parameters more than once may be administratively removed from the course.

7. Debate and discussion are essential to critically evaluating arguments and perspectives in international relations. The point, however, is to use criticism and contrasting opinions to *sharpen* each other’s ideas and *unearth* hidden assumptions—not to “win” (e.g., destroy other ideas or look better than colleagues). Towards this end, the spirit of discussion must remain open, honest, respectful, and non-personal.
8. The course material—including (but not limited to) all documents provided in the eLC course website, quizzes, graded assignments, handouts, and in-class lectures—are copyrighted. Students may therefore **not** record lectures (audio or video), distribute materials beyond those enrolled in the course, or post any content from the course online *without my express, written permission*. For the sake of student privacy, students may also not record our class sessions (audio or video). Exceptions will be made automatically for those registered with the Disability Resource Center and who, through it, require an accommodation to record course meetings (see below). Those students, however, agree not to distribute the recordings (including online) *and* to destroy the

recordings when the course concludes.

9. It is the policy and practice of the University of Georgia to create an inclusive learning environment. Students requiring accommodations (concerning the course meetings, material, exams, or assignments) should discuss such matters with the instructor at the outset of the course. Any student needing accommodations must register with and provide documentation from the Disability Resource Center (706-542-8719, <http://www.drc.uga.edu>).
10. Any exceptions or modifications to the above rules (or syllabus, more broadly) are at the instructor's discretion, only with prior approval and only under instances of extreme emergency or serious illness. The student must supply appropriate documentation in any event of exception. (Note: Please schedule routine medical visits around our class meetings, where possible.)

Grade Distribution

A	93.00-100.00	C	73.00-76.99
A-	90.00-92.99	C-	70.00-72.99
B+	87.00-89.99	D+	67.00-69.99
B	83.00-86.99	D	63.00-66.99
B-	80.00-82.99	D-	60.00-62.99
C+	77.00-79.99	F	Below 60.00

Note: Any student that does not attend the first week of the course may be administratively removed from the course to open space for other potential students.

Academic Dishonesty:

All University of Georgia students agree to follow the University's academic honesty policy ("A Culture of Honesty") and the Student Honor Code. All academic work must meet the standards contained in "A Culture of Honesty", including policies that cover plagiarism and unauthorized assistance (for more information, see <http://www.uga.edu/honesty>). Students are responsible for informing themselves about these standards before performing any academic work and should direct specific questions they have regarding the policy (or its application) to the instructor *before* submitting coursework.

Schedule/Topics:

The following pages contain a general plan for the course. Please note: (i) the instructor, if necessary, may announce deviations to the schedule *in class*; (ii) all material is required unless otherwise noted; (iii) everything listed under a given date should be completed at or before the start of that date's course meeting; and (iv) an asterisk (*) denotes days where electronic devices will be helpful to have on hand.

- I. Course Introduction
 - a. How to Read Political Science (January 11)
 - i. Hoover Green (2013)
 - ii. Syllabus (Seriously, read it)
- II. Background
 - a. Nuclear Science and Technology (January 13)
 - i. WATCH: Matthew Bunn "How Nuclear Bombs Work Part 1/2" (esp. up to 48:23)
 - b. Nuclear History and Origins of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (January 18)
 - i. WATCH: PBS *The Bomb* (streaming through Canopy)
 - ii. Freedman (2003), "The Arrival of the Bomb"

III. Simulation 1: Formation of the NPT

- a. Set-up (January 20)
 - i. Forsberg (1995), “The Non-Proliferation Primer” (pp. 11-49)
 - ii. Wallerstein (2018), the NPT simulation handbook
- b. Session 1 (January 25)
 - i. Oral arguments (2 min/each, 20 min total)
 - ii. Formal debate (25 min)
 - iii. Informal group discussion (25 min)
 - iv. *Note:* Groups should communicate via Slack between the 1/25 and 1/27 sessions to persuade each other and reach an agreement.
- c. Session 2 (January 27)
 - i. Voting on final treaty (20 min)
 - ii. Treaty signing (5 min)
 - iii. Discussion, epilogue, the NPT (45 min)

IV. Proliferation

- a. Why do states proliferate?
 - i. Session 1 (February 1)
 1. Sagan (2012), “Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?”
 2. Solingen (1994), “The Political Economy of Nuclear Restraint”
 - ii. Session 2 (February 3)
 1. Monteiro and Debs (2014), “The Strategic Logic of Nuclear Proliferation”
 2. Jo and Gartzke (2007), “Determinants of Nuclear Weapons Proliferation.”
 3. **Simulation 1 memo due as a PDF via eLC assignment dropbox**
- b. Why Don't States Proliferate?
 - i. Session 1 (February 8)
 1. Rublee (2009), “Nonproliferation Norms: Why States Choose Nuclear Restraint”
 2. Hymans (2000), “Isotopes and Identity”
 - ii. Session 2 (February 10)
 1. Fuhrmann and Horowitz (2014), “When Leaders Matter”
 2. Hymans (2011), “Veto Players, Nuclear Energy, and Nonproliferation”

V. Bargaining

- a. Have Nuclear Weapons Changed the World?
 - i. Session 1 (February 15)
 1. Burkemeier and Fuhrmann (2018), “Nuclear Weapons in Foreign Policy”
 2. Schelling (2008), *Arms and Influence* (pp. 1-34)
 - ii. Session 2 (February 17)
 1. Waltz and Sagan (2013), *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons* (pp. 3-17, 46-53)
 2. Quiz review
- b. Nuclear Deterrence
 - i. **Quiz #1 (February 22)**
 - ii. Deterrence (February 24)
 1. Powell (1985), “The Theoretical Foundations of Strategic Nuclear Deterrence”
 2. Narang (2013), “What Does It Take to Deter?”
- c. Nuclear Coercion, Crises, and Compellence
 - i. Session 1 (March 1)
 1. Betts (1987), *Nuclear Blackmail and Nuclear Balance* (pp. 1-21)
 2. Kroenig (2013), “Nuclear Superiority and the Balance of Resolve”

- ii. Session 2 (March 3)
 1. Sechser and Fuhrmann (2013), “Crisis Bargaining and Nuclear Blackmail”
 2. LISTEN: Hermans and Hodges (2020), “Distortions in the Fabric of Deterrence”

** Spring Break March 7-11**

VI. Simulation 2: Nuclear Crisis Escalation

- a. Session 1 (March 15)
 - i. CSIS, “On the Nuclear Brink” (game background instructions)
 - ii. Plan: Divide into teams (5 min), Turn 1 (30 min), Discussion (15 min), Turn 2 (30 min)
- b. Session 2 (March 17)
 - i. Plan: Discussion (20 min), Turn 3 (30 min), Discussion (25 min)

VII. Addressing Nuclear Weapons

- a. Counter-proliferation
 - i. Session 1 (March 22)
 1. Kreps and Fuhrmann (2011) “Attacking the Atom”
 2. Miller (2014) “The Secret Success of Nonproliferation Sanctions”
 - ii. Session 2 (March 24)
 1. Gerzhoy (2015), “Alliance Coercion and Nuclear Restraint”
 2. Lindsey (2013), “Stuxnet and the Limits of Cyber Warfare”
 3. **Simulation 2 memo due as a PDF via eLC assignment dropbox**
- b. Arms Control and Disarmament
 - i. Session 1 (March 29)
 1. Larsen and Wirtz (2009), *Arms Control and Cooperative Security* (pp. 1-14)
 2. Glaser (1998), “The Flawed Case for Nuclear Disarmament”
 3. Schelling (2009), “A World Without Nuclear Weapons”
 4. David-Gibbons (2017), “The Nuclear Ban Treaty”
 - ii. **Quiz #2 (March 31)**

VIII. Simulation 3, NPT Review Conference

- a. Session 1: Introduction to simulation & group meetings (April 5)
 - i. Simulation 3 handbook
 - ii. Additional country sources (see guidelines)
 - iii. Optional *reading*:
 1. Paul (2003), “Systemic Conditions and Security Cooperation”
 2. Bunn (2003), “The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty”
- b. Session 2: Group meetings (April 7)
 - i. **Pre-simulation memo sections due April 7 at 5:00pm via eLC**
 - ii. **Pre-simulation group memo due April 8 at 5:00pm via eLC**
- c. Session 3: Head of state presentations, feedback, and revisions (April 12)
- d. Session 4: Plenary briefings (April 14)
- e. Session 5: Committee meetings (April 19)
 - i. **Committee recommendations due 11:59pm via eLC DISCUSSION board**
- f. Session 6: Debate and vote on final document (April 21)
- g. Session 7: Debrief (April 26)
 - i. **Peer evaluations due April 26 at 5pm via eLC**

IX. Emerging Issues

- a. Session 1 (April 28)
 1. Brooks (2020), “The End of Arms Control?”
 2. Timbie (2020), “A Way Forward”
 3. **Simulation 3 memo due April 28 at 5pm via eLC**

- b. Session 2 (May 3)
 1. Mehta and Whitlark (2016), “Unpacking the Iranian Nuclear Deal”
 2. Johnson and Krabill (2020), “AI, Cyberspace, and Nuclear Weapons”

Additional Resources

For further information, background reading, and research, see (among others) the following outlets:

- Print/electronic: *BBC World News*, *The Economist*, *Financial Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *The New York Times*, *New Yorker*, *The Washington Post*, *The Washington Quarterly*
- Electronic: [Foreign Policy](#) (general), [War on the Rocks](#) (experts blog about national security issues), [WaPo’s Monkey Cage](#) (connects research findings to policy issues), [Arms Control Wonk](#) (covers nuclear and arms control issues), [Law Fare Blog](#) (on role of law in war and conflict)
- Audio: BBC World Service Radio, The Daily podcast, Bombshell podcast, War on the Rocks podcast, Horns of Dilemma podcast