

# SEMINAR ON NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, NONPROLIFERATION, AND COUNTERPROLIFERATION – NS 4280

Naval Postgraduate School - Summer Quarter 2000  
Tues. & Thurs. 8-10am – 387 Glasgow Hall

Michael Barletta  
Senior Research Associate  
Center for Nonproliferation Studies  
Monterey Institute of International Studies

*email:* [mbarletta@miis.edu](mailto:mbarletta@miis.edu)  
*tel:* 647-6662  
*office:* 326 Glasgow  
*off. hrs:* Thus. 11am-12pm & by apt.

## Seminar Overview

This advanced research seminar examines the origins of nuclear weapons proliferation and its impact on U.S. national and international security. Its objective is to familiarize students with central debates and key cases, to think analytically and critically about the causes and consequences of nuclear proliferation, and to evaluate policy responses to impede, dissuade, and cope with the spread of nuclear weapons.

The seminar presumes familiarity with U.S. national security policy making, and requires as a prerequisite either prior participation in NS 3280 or permission of the instructor. Contrary to the description in the department catalogue, this course is neither classified nor does it directly address nuclear strategy and deterrence, which are covered in NS 3280.

The seminar is divided into four sections. The first introduces key issues, concepts, and the objectives of the course. It provides background on nuclear energy, materials, and weapons, and on the history of proliferation and nonproliferation. Section two presents the debate between deterrence optimists and proliferation pessimists regarding the strategic consequences of the spread of nuclear weapons. It engages this debate through a case study of the security and political effects of nuclear proliferation in South Asia. The third section examines the causes of nuclear proliferation. It begins with an overview of theoretical accounts for the phenomenon, and assesses their usefulness through historical and contemporary case studies of nuclear proliferation and restraint.

The fourth section surveys policy instruments available to impede and respond to nuclear proliferation, including both multilateral approaches and U.S. measures. These include international regimes and nuclear-weapon-free-zones, export controls, safeguards, security assurances, and counterproliferation measures. This section outlines the contradictory implications of different policy measures aimed at meeting challenges posed by proliferation, and the sometimes sharp trade-offs between nonproliferation and other international and U.S. foreign policy objectives. The seminar concludes with a case study of nuclear development on the Korean peninsula, which exemplifies these contradictions.

## Evaluation

Your final grade will be based on four assignments: research paper 60%; paper briefing 15%; seminar introduction and discussion questions 15%; and seminar participation 10%. Extensions beyond the deadlines will be considered only for reasons that are beyond your control, such as family or other emergencies. Inform me in advance by email or telephone if for any reason you believe that you may require an extension.

## Assignments

**Paper proposal and annotated bibliography.** Although it will not be included in the seminar grade, you are required to submit a two-page proposal in class on 27 July. It must present the research question to be addressed in your paper, and explain both the general argument that you will make and how you intend to support it. The annotated bibliography must include at least six sources other than class assignments and indicate how each will be used to support your argument.

**Research paper.** The core assignment for this seminar is a 20 to 25 page research paper on a topic germane to those examined in the seminar. Your paper will be evaluated against a high academic standard, in terms of its structure, argumentation, and references. You are expected to incorporate a wide range of sources beyond those required for the seminar. The text of the paper may be used for – but cannot be drawn from – a departmental thesis. The research paper is due the beginning of class on 21 September.

**Paper briefing.** Each student will present the executive summary of their research paper for discussion by seminar participants. The briefing will not exceed 15 minutes, and will be evaluated for clarity, conciseness, and professionalism. The briefing schedule will be designed collaboratively, so that student presentations may coincide with complementary topics in the course readings. For guidance on preparing effective briefings, it may be useful to review: Communications Consulting Group and Publications Department, RAND, *Guidelines for Preparing Briefings*, (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1996) (<http://www.rand.org/publications/CP/CP269/CP269.pdf>).

**Seminar introduction and discussion questions.** Each student will prepare and present introductory comments on a topic drawn from the course outline. This introduction will not exceed 10 minutes, and will be evaluated for clarity, conciseness, and professionalism. It should summarize the key themes examined in the readings, and must include a written set of 5 to 7 questions that will serve to guide the discussion for that seminar. These should formulate key questions, identify any important omissions, and highlight differences in analysis or interpretation among the readings.

**Seminar participation.** You are expected to participate actively in the seminar discussions, and to demonstrate that you have read and reflected upon the course readings.

## Required Materials

You will receive an electronic copy of this syllabus by email to facilitate access to online materials. Two copies of all articles and book chapters are on reserve in Dudley Knox library. The seminar also requires four books available at the Navy Exchange bookstore:

- Jones, Rodney W., and Mark G. McDonough, with Gregory P. Webb. 1998. *Tracking Nuclear Proliferation: A Guide in Maps and Charts, 1998*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Mozley, Robert Fred. 1998. *The Politics and Technology of Nuclear Proliferation*. Seattle & London. University of Washington Press.
- Reiss, Mitchell. 1995. *Bridled Ambition: Why Countries Constrain their Nuclear Capabilities*. Washington, DC. Woodrow Wilson Center and Johns Hopkins University.
- Sagan, Scott. D., and Kenneth N. Waltz. 1995. *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate*. New York. W.W. Norton

## **.Online Resources – Nuclear Proliferation**

Many resources on the Internet may be useful in your research for the seminar paper. Most of the following provide links to additional sites relevant to proliferation studies.

Acronym Institute

<http://www.acronym.org.uk/>

Air War College – U.S. Air Force Counterproliferation Center

<http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/awc-cps.htm>

*Arms Control Today*

<http://www.armscontrol.org/ACT/act.html>

British American Security Information Council

<http://www.basicint.org/>

Brookings Institution – U.S. Nuclear Weapons Cost Study Project

<http://www.brook.edu/FP/PROJECTS/NUCW/COST/RELATED.HTM>

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace – Non-Proliferation Project

<http://www.ceip.org/programs/npp/index.html>

Defense Threat Reduction Agency

<http://www.dtra.mil/>

DoD Counterproliferation Network

<http://www.acq.osd.mil/cp/>

Federation of American Scientists

<http://www.fas.org/>

Henry L. Stimson Center

<http://www.stimson.org/>

International Atomic Energy Agency

<http://www.iaea.org/worldatom/>

Institute for Science and International Security

<http://www.isis-online.org/>

International Relations and Security Network

<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/>

Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory – Center for Global Security Research

<http://cgsr.llnl.gov/>

Monterey Institute of International Studies – Center for Nonproliferation Studies

<http://cns.mis.edu/>

National Defense University – Center for Counter Proliferation and Research

<http://www.ndu.edu/inss/ccp/ccphp.html>

National Security Archives

<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/>

Natural Resources Defense Council – "The Internet and the Bomb: A Research Guide"

<http://www.nrdc.org/nuclear/nuguide/guinx.asp>

Nonproliferation Policy Education Center

<http://www.wizard.net/~npec/>

Nuclear Age Peace Foundation – Nuclear Files

<http://www.nuclearfiles.org/>

Rhodes College – Security, Intelligence, and Military Links

<http://www.rhodes.edu/ishtmls/ISsecurity.html>

Stanford University – Center for International Security and Cooperation

<http://cisac.stanford.edu/>

University of Georgia – Center for International Trade and Security,

<http://www.uga.edu/~cits/>

U.S. Department of State – formerly the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

<http://www.acda.gov/>

## Section I: OVERVIEW

### Week 1 (11 July; no seminar on 13 July)

#### Introduction

- Jones, Rodney W., and Mark G. McDonough, with Gregory P. Webb. 1998. "An Overview of Global Trends," and "The International Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime." Pp. 3-11, 15-22 in *Tracking Nuclear Proliferation: A Guide in Maps and Charts, 1998*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. (<http://www.ceip.org/programs/npp/track98b.htm>).
- Mozley, Robert Fred. 1998. "Efforts to Prevent Nuclear Proliferation." Pp. 134-56 in *The Politics and Technology of Nuclear Proliferation*. Seattle and London. University of Washington Press.

#### Nonproliferation Progress and Prospects

- McNamara, Robert S. 12 February 1963. "The Diffusion of Nuclear Weapons with and without a Test Ban Agreement." Secret [declassified] memorandum for the President. Washington, DC. Office of the Secretary of Defense.
- Mandelbaum, Michael. 1995. "Lessons of the Next Nuclear War." *Foreign Affairs* 74(2): 22-37.
- Sokolski, Henry. 1996. "Next Century Proliferation: Victory is Still Possible." *Nonproliferation Review* 4(1): 90-97.
- Panofsky, Wolfgang K. H. April 1998. "Dismantling the Concept of 'Weapons of Mass Destruction.'" *Arms Control Today*. (<http://www.armscontrol.org/ACT/april98/wkhp98.htm>).
- Andréani, Gilles. 1999. "The Disarray of U.S. Non-Proliferation Policy." *Survival* 41(4): 42-61.

### Week 2 (18 & 20 July)

#### Nuclear Technology and Forms of Nuclear Proliferation

- Zimmerman, Peter D. 1993. "Technical Barriers to Nuclear Proliferation." Pp. 345-56 of *The Proliferation Puzzle: Why Nuclear Weapons Spread and What Results*. Zachary S. Davis and Benjamin Frankel, eds. London. Frank Cass.
- Office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress. 1993. "Technical Aspects of Nuclear Proliferation," "Components, Design, and Effects of Nuclear Weapons," and "Enrichment Technologies." Pp. 119-80 of *Technologies Underlying Weapons of Mass Destruction*. OTA-BP-ISC-115. Washington, DC. U.S. Government Printing Office. (<http://www.wws.princeton.edu/cgi-bin/byteserv.prl/~ota/disk1/1993/9344/934406.PDF>).
- Recommended:** For useful diagrams and additional background on relevant technologies, review Mozley, Robert Fred. 1998. "Introduction to the Technology," "Plutonium Production in Nuclear Reactors," "Uranium Enrichment," and "Bomb Assembly." Pp. 21-133 in *The Politics and Technology of Nuclear Proliferation*. Seattle and London. University of Washington Press.
- Moodie, Michael. 1995. "Beyond Proliferation: The Challenge of Technology Diffusion." *Washington Quarterly* 18(2): 183-202.
- Cohen, Avner, and Benjamin Frankel. 1990. "Opaque Nuclear Proliferation." Pp. 14-44 in *Opaque Nuclear Proliferation: Methodological and Policy Implications*. Benjamin Frankel, ed. London and Portland, OR. Frank Cass.

### **History of Proliferation and Nonproliferation**

- Bunn, George. 1992. "The NPT: Banning Transfer of Nuclear Weapons Takes Two Decades," and "The NPT Finally Brings Widespread International Safeguards on Reactors." Pp. 59-105, 281-89 in *Arms Control by Committee*. Stanford, CA. Stanford University Press.
- Rydell, Randy J. Winter 1999. "Giving Nonproliferation Norms Teeth: Sanctions and the NPPA." *Nonproliferation Review* 6(2): 1-19.
- Goldblat, Jozef. 1997. "Nuclear-Weapon-Free-Zones: A History and Assessment." *Nonproliferation Review* 4(3): 18-32. (<http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/npr/pdfs/goldbl43.pdf>).
- Dunn, Lewis A. 1998. "On Proliferation Watch: Some Reflections on the Past Quarter Century." *Nonproliferation Review* 5(3): 59-77. (<http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/npr/pdfs/dunn53.pdf>).

## **Section II: STRATEGIC CONSEQUENCES OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION**

### **Week 3 (25 & 27 July)**

**\*Paper Proposal and Annotated Bibliography due 27 July\***

#### **Deterrence Optimism and Proliferation Pessimism**

- Sagan, Scott. D., and Kenneth N. Waltz. 1995. *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate*. New York. W.W. Norton.
- Lavoy, Peter R. 1995. "The Strategic Consequences of Nuclear Proliferation." *Security Studies* 4(4): 695-753.
- Feaver, Peter D. 1995. "Optimists, Pessimists, and Theories of Nuclear Proliferation Management." *Security Studies* 4(4): 754-72
- David, Steven R. Steven R. David, Brahma Chellaney, Shai Feldman, Brad Roberts, Kenneth N. Waltz, and Scott Sagan. 1995. "The Kenneth Waltz-Scott Sagan Debate." *Security Studies* 4(4): 773-810.

### **Week 4 (1 & 3 August)**

#### **Strategic Consequences of Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia**

- Karl, David J. 1996/1997. "Proliferation Pessimism and Emerging Nuclear Powers." *International Security* 21(3): 87-119.
- Feaver, Peter D., Scott D. Sagan, and David J. Karl. 1997. "Proliferation Pessimism and Emerging Nuclear Powers: Correspondence." *International Security* 22(2): 185-207.
- Hagerty, Devin T. 1998. "Nuclear Weapons and the 1986-87 Brasstacks Crisis," "Nuclear Weapons and the 1990 Kashmir Crisis," and "Lessons and Implications." Pp. 91-116, 133-96 in *The Consequences of Nuclear Proliferation: Lessons from South Asia*. Cambridge, MA. MIT Press.
- Hoyt, Timothy D. 12 June 1999. "Conflict in Kargil." *South Asia Internet Forum*.
- Bajpai, Kanti. 5 July 1999. "Indian Restraint vs Pak Brinkmanship." *Times of India*.
- Lancaster, John. 26 July 1999. "Kashmir Crisis Was Defused on Brink of War." *Washington Post*, p. A1.
- Kargil Review Committee Report. 2000. "Review of Events Leading Up to Kargil" and "Findings." Pp. 35-59, 189-209 in *Kargil Review Committee Report*. New Delhi. Government of India.

### Section III: CAUSES OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

#### Week 5 (8 & 10 August)

##### Security, Technology, Politics, Ideas, and Economics

- May, Michael M. 1994. "Nuclear Weapons Supply and Demand." *American Scientist* 82:526-37.
- Lavoy, Peter R. 1993. "Nuclear Myths and the Causes of Nuclear Proliferation." Pp. 92-212 in *The Proliferation Puzzle: Why Nuclear Weapons Spread and What Results*. Zachary S. Davis and Benjamin Frankel, eds. London. Frank Cass.
- Flank, Steven. 1993. "Exploding the Black Box: The Historical Sociology of Nuclear Proliferation." *Security Studies* 3(2): 259-94.
- Solingen, Etel. 1994. "The Political Economy of Nuclear Restraint." *International Security* 19(2): 126-69.
- Barletta, Michael. 1999. "Democratic Security and Diversionary Peace: Nuclear Confidence-Building in Argentina and Brazil." *National Security Studies Quarterly* 5(3): 19-38.  
(<http://www.georgetown.edu/sfs/programs/nssp/nssq/barletta2.pdf>).
- Reiss, Mitchell. 1995. "Conclusion." Pp. 321-33 in *Bridled Ambition: Why Countries Constrain their Nuclear Capabilities*. Washington, DC. Woodrow Wilson Center and Johns Hopkins University.
- Sagan, Scott. D. 1996/1997. "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb." *International Security* 21(3): 54-86.

### Section III: CASES OF NUCLEAR RESTRAINT AND PROLIFERATION

#### Nuclear Restraint and Rollback:

##### Australia

- Walsh, Jim. 1997. "Surprise Down Under: The Secret History of Australia's Nuclear Ambitions." *Nonproliferation Review* 5(1): 1-20. (<http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/npr/pdfs/walsh51.pdf>).
- Hymans, Jacques E.C. 2000. "Isotopes and Identity: Australia and the Nuclear Weapons Option, 1949-1999." *Nonproliferation Review* 7(1): 1-23.

#### Week 6 (15 and 17 August)

##### Indonesia

- Cornejo, Robert M. 2000. "When Sukarno Sought the Bomb: Indonesian Nuclear Aspirations in the Mid-1960s." *Nonproliferation Review* 7(2): 31-43.

##### Sweden

- Cole, Paul. 1996. *Atomic Bombast: Nuclear Weapon Decisionmaking in Sweden, 1945-1972*. Occasional Paper 26. Washington, DC. Henry L. Stimson Center.
- Arnett, Eric. 1998. "Norms and Nuclear Proliferation: Sweden's Lessons for Assessing Iran." *Nonproliferation Review* 5(2): 32-43.

## Argentina and Brazil

- Reiss, Mitchell. 1995. "Argentina and Brazil: Rivals, Not Enemies." Pp. 45-88 in *Bridled Ambition: Why Countries Constrain their Nuclear Capabilities*. Washington, DC. Woodrow Wilson Center and Johns Hopkins University.
- Barletta, Michael. 1997. *The Military Nuclear Program in Brazil*. Working paper. Stanford, CA. Center for International Security and Arms Control. (<http://cisac.stanford.edu/docs/barletta.pdf>).

## South Africa

- Reiss, Mitchell. 1995. "South Africa: 'Castles in the Air.'" Pp. 7-43 in *Bridled Ambition: Why Countries Constrain Their Nuclear Capabilities*. Washington, DC. Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Pabian, Frank V. 1995. "South Africa's Nuclear Weapon Program: Lessons for U.S. Nonproliferation Policy." *Nonproliferation Review* 3(1): 1-19. (<http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/npr/pdfs/pabian31.pdf>).

## Week 7 (22 & 24 August)

### Contemporary Proliferation Challenges:

#### Israel

- Jones, Rodney W., and Mark G. McDonough, with Gregory P. Webb. 1998. "Israel." Pp. 205-14 in *Tracking Nuclear Proliferation: A Guide in Maps and Charts, 1998*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. (<http://www.ceip.org/programs/npp/track98b.htm>).
- Cohen, Avner. 1998. "Israel and the Evolution of U.S. Nonproliferation Policy: The Critical Decade (1958-1968)." *Nonproliferation Review* 5(2): 1-19. (<http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/npr/pdfs/cohen52.pdf>).
- Feldman, Shai. 1997. "Nuclear Weapons in Israel's Security Policy," and "Arab Approaches to Nuclear Weapons." Pp. 95-120, 121-49 in *Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control in the Middle East*. Cambridge, MA, & London. MIT Press.
- Cohen, Avner. 1998. "Epilogue." Pp. 339-49 in *Israel and the Bomb*. New York. Columbia University Press.
- Barletta, Michael, and Christina Ellington. December 1998. "Israel's Nuclear Posture Review." Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies (<http://cns.miis.edu/research/wmdme/israelnc.htm>).
- Arab League Council. 2000. "Israeli Nuclear Weapons and Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Danger that They Pose to Arab National Security." Draft resolution prepared for the 24 April-19 May 2000 Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Unofficial translation. Monterey, CA. Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies.

#### Iraq

- Jones, Rodney W., and Mark G. McDonough, with Gregory P. Webb. 1998. "Iraq." Pp. 187-204 in *Tracking Nuclear Proliferation: A Guide in Maps and Charts, 1998*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. (<http://www.ceip.org/programs/npp/track98b.htm>).
- Albright, David. 1997. "A Special Case: Iraq." Pp. 309-50 of *Plutonium and Highly Enriched Uranium 1996: World Inventories, Capabilities, and Policies*. Oxford. Oxford University Press/SIPRI.
- Albright, David. 1998. "Masters of Deception." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 54(3): 44-50.
- Hamza, Khidhir. 1998. "Inside Saddam's Secret Nuclear Program." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 54(5). (<http://www.bullatomsci.org/issues/1998/so98/so98hamza.html>).

Kay, David A. 1998. "Detecting Cheating on Nonproliferation Regimes: Lessons from Our Iraqi Experience." Pp. 16-35 in *Pulling Back from the Nuclear Brink: Reducing and Countering Nuclear Threats*. Barry R Schneider and William Dowdy, eds. London and Portland, OR. Frank Cass.

### **Week 8 (29 & 31 August)**

#### **Iran**

Jones, Rodney W., and Mark G. McDonough, with Gregory P. Webb. 1998. "Iran." Pp. 169-86 in *Tracking Nuclear Proliferation: A Guide in Maps and Charts, 1998*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. (<http://www.ceip.org/programs/npp/track98b.htm>).

Carus, W. Seth. 1998. "Iranian Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Weapons: Implications and Responses." *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 2(1): 1-14. (<http://www.biu.ac.il/SOC/besa/meria/journal/1998/issue1/jv2n1a3.html>).

Arnett, Eric. 1998. "Iran is Not Iraq." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 54(1): 12-14. (<http://www.bullatomsci.org/issues/1998/jf98/jf98arnett.html>).

Litwak, Robert S. 2000. "Iran: Revolutionary State or Ready to Rejoin the 'Family of Nations.'" Pp. 158-95 in *Rogue States and U.S. Foreign Policy: Containment after the Cold War*. Washington, DC/Baltimore. Woodrow Wilson Center Press/Johns Hopkins University Press.

Eisenstadt, Michael. 2000. "Can the United States Influence the WMD Policies of Iraq and Iran?" *Nonproliferation Review* 7(2): 63-76.

Zarif, Mohammad Javad, and Mohammad Reza Alborzi. 1999. "Weapons of Mass Destruction in Iran's Security Paradigm: The Case of Chemical Weapons." *Iranian Journal of International Affairs* 11(4): 511-23.

#### **Soviet Nuclear Legacies**

Jones, Rodney W., and Mark G. McDonough, with Gregory P. Webb. 1998. "Russia." Pp. 25-48 in *Tracking Nuclear Proliferation: A Guide in Maps and Charts, 1998*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. (<http://www.ceip.org/programs/npp/pdf/Ch03.pdf>).

Williams, Phil, and Paul N. Woessner. 1996. "The Real Threat of Nuclear Smuggling." *Scientific American* 264(1): 40-44. (<http://www.sciam.com/0196issue/0196williams.html>).

Ewell, Emily. 1998. "NIS Nuclear Smuggling since 1995: A Lull in Significant Cases?" *Nonproliferation Review* 5(3): 119-25.

Potter, William C. 1998. "Nuclear Leakage from the Post-Soviet States." Pp. 107-19 in Barry R Schneider and William Dowdy, eds. *Pulling Back from the Nuclear Brink: Reducing and Countering Nuclear Threats*. London & Portland, OR. Frank Cass.

Bunn, Matthew, Oleg Bukharin, Jill Cetina, Kenneth Luongo, and Frank von Hippel. September/October 1998. "Retooling Russia's Nuclear Cities." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 54(5) (<http://www.bullatomsci.org/issues/1998/so98/so98bunn.html>).

## Section IV: POLICY RESPONSES

### Week 9 (5 & 7 September)

#### Cooperative Threat Reduction

- Duffy, Gloria. 1997. "Cooperative Threat Reduction in Perspective." Pp. 23-39 in *Dismantling the Cold War: U.S. and NIS Perspectives on the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program*. John M. Shields and William C. Potter, eds. Cambridge, MA, and London. MIT Press.
- Alessi, Victor, and Ronald F. Lehman II. June/July 1998. "Science in the Pursuit of Peace: The Success and Future of the ISTC." *Arms Control Today* (<http://www.armscontrol.org/ACT/junjul98/vicjj98.htm>).
- Moltz, James Clay. 2000. "Introduction: Assessing U.S. Nonproliferation Assistance to the NIS." *Nonproliferation Review* 7(1): 55-58. (<http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/npr/intro71.htm>).
- Ewell Daughtry, Emily, and Fred L. Wehling. 2000. "Cooperative Efforts to Secure Fissile Material in the NIS." *Nonproliferation Review* 7(1): 97-111.
- Parrish, Scott, and Tamara Robinson. 2000. "Efforts to Strengthen Export Controls and Combat Illicit Trafficking and Brain Drain." *Nonproliferation Review* 7(1): 112-24.

#### Multilateral Regimes and Export Controls

- Davis, Zachary S. 1996. "The Spread of Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones: Building a New Nuclear Bargain." *Arms Control Today* 26(1): 15-19.
- U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO). July 1998. "Nuclear Nonproliferation: Uncertainties with Implementing IAEA's Strengthened Safeguards System." [NSIAD/RCED-98-184] (<http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/useftp.cgi?IPAddress=162.140.64.21&filename=n598184.pdf&directory=/diskb/wais/data/gao>).
- Mitchell, Ronald B. 1997. "International Control of Nuclear Proliferation: Beyond Carrots and Sticks." *Nonproliferation Review* 5(1): 40-52.
- Beck, Michael. 2000. "Reforming the Multilateral Export Control Regimes." *Nonproliferation Review* 7(2): 91-103.

### Week 10 (12 & 14 September)

#### Intelligence

- Kokoski, Richard. 1995. "Verification and Intelligence." Pp. 199-242 in *Technology and the Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons*. Oxford. Oxford University Press/SIPRI.
- Casciano, John P. 1998. "Intelligence Challenges." Pp. 281-302. in *Countering the Proliferation and Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction*. Peter L. Hays, Vincent J. Jodoin, and Alan R. Van Tassel, eds. New York. USAF Institute for National Security Studies/McGraw-Hill.

#### Counterproliferation

- Wallerstein, Mitchel B. 1998. "The Origins and Evolution of the Defense Counterproliferation Initiative." Pp. 21-35 in *Countering the Proliferation and Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction*. Peter L. Hays, Vincent J. Jodoin, and Alan R. Van Tassel, eds. New York. USAF Institute for National Security Studies/McGraw-Hill.

U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO). 26 May 2000. *Weapons of Mass Destruction: DOD's Actions to Combat Weapons Use Should Be More Integrated and Focused*. NSIAD-00-97. Washington, DC. U.S. Government Printing Office. (<http://www.gao.gov/new.items/ns00097.pdf>).

**Recommended:** For detailed review of U.S. agencies' roles and responsibilities in addressing proliferation, see Deutch Commission. 1999. "Annex: Organizational Overviews." Pp. 1-91 of the Annexes in *Combating Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction*. (<http://www.senate.gov/~specter/11910book.pdf>).

Cohen, Avner. 1995. "The Lessons of Osirak and the American Counterproliferation Debate." Pp. 73-102 in *International Perspectives on Counterproliferation*. Working Paper No. 99. Washington, DC. Woodrow Wilson Center.

Gompert, David, Kenneth Watman, and Dean Wilkening. 1995. "Nuclear First Use Revisited." *Survival* 37(3): 27-44.

Kristensen, Hans M. 1998. *Nuclear Futures: Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and U.S. Nuclear Strategy*. BASIC Research Report 98.2. British American Security Information Council. (<http://www.basicint.org/nfuture2.htm>).

Sagan, Scott D. 2000. "The Commitment Trap: Why the United States Should Not Use Nuclear Threats to Deter Biological and Chemical Weapons." *International Security* 24(4): 85-115.

### **Week 11 (19 & 21 September)**

#### **\*Research Paper due 21 September\***

#### **Nuclear Precedents on the Korean Peninsula**

Kier, Elizabeth, and Jonathan Mercer. 1996. "Setting Precedents in Anarchy: Military Intervention and Weapons of Mass Destruction." *International Security* 20(4): 77-106.

Englehardt, Michael J. 1996. "Rewarding Nonproliferation: The South and North Korean Cases." *Nonproliferation Review* 3(3): 31-37, (<http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/npr/engelh33.htm>).

Reiss, Mitchell. 1995. "North Korea: Living with Uncertainty." Pp. 231-319 in *Bridled Ambition: Why Countries Constrain their Nuclear Capabilities*. Washington, DC. Woodrow Wilson Center and Johns Hopkins University.

Sigal, Leon V. 1997. "The North Korean Nuclear Crisis: Understanding the Failure of the 'Crime and Punishment' Strategy." *Arms Control Today* (May): 3-13. (<http://www.armscontrol.org/ACT/may/sigal.htm>).

Gallucci, Robert L. 1998. "U.S. Nonproliferation Policy: Lessons Learned from Our Experience with Iraq and North Korea." Pp. 3-15 in Barry R Schneider and William Dowdy, eds. *Pulling Back from the Nuclear Brink: Reducing and Countering Nuclear Threats*. London. Frank Cass.

Martin, Curtis H. 1999. "Lessons of the Agreed Framework for Using Engagement as a Nonproliferation Tool." *Nonproliferation Review* 6(4): 35-50.