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UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY — DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

POLI 585 – Preventing The Spread Of Nuclear Weapons

Instructor	Dr. Gavin Cameron — SS 718 — Ph. 403 220 7060
E-mail	gcameron@ucalgary.ca
Office Hours	W - 1500-1600 or by appointment
Class Time	W - 1100-1345 (170 minutes) TI StudioD
Pre-requisite	POLI 381

COURSE DESCRIPTION & OBJECTIVES

This course will provide students with an understanding of the issues surrounding the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in general and of nuclear weapons more specifically. Students will acquire an awareness of: the nature of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons; why these categories of weapons differ from conventional ones; and how the proliferation of such weapons affects international security. The course will examine and assess the efficacy of nonproliferation regimes, with particular focus on the nuclear regime. Finally, the course will make widespread use of examples to illustrate why states seek to acquire such weapons, and the methods they employ to do so.

The course will begin with a series of discussions on background issues and then on specific cases that represent challenges to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) and the wider regime. From Week 8, the course will involve an ongoing simulation to negotiate the next quinquennial Review of the NPT. Each student will be assigned to represent a state party to the NPT, one of the non-party states, or the President of the Review Conference.

On completion of the module students should be able to demonstrate:

- An understanding of the means of acquisition of nuclear weapons and of previous examples of their acquisition.
- An appreciation of the challenges to international security and stability posed by the proliferation of nuclear weapons.
- A grasp of the difficulties confronting the international community in dealing with proliferator states, and of the measures used to address the problem.
- A basic knowledge of the major nonproliferation regimes and their limitations.

The primary purpose of the weekly seminars is to enable students to work together so as to better understand particular aspects of nuclear nonproliferation and the NPT highlighted in the earlier sessions. All seminars are intended to encourage the development of students' study and communication skills. They are an opportunity to make and develop points provoked by the course content. **Students' active participation, through preparatory reading and willingness to take part in discussions, is expected.**

COURSE REQUIREMENTS & GRADES

Assessment will be as follows:

Position Paper (10 pages)	<u>Due Monday, October 16</u>	10%
Proposal (5 pages)	<u>Due on date topic is discussed</u>	10%
Participation	<u>Throughout the course</u>	20%
Research Paper (10 pages)	<u>Due Monday, November 20</u>	30%
Take Home Exam (10 pages)	<u>Issued Monday, December 2 & Due Friday, December 6</u>	30%

Position Paper

This paper will provide the opportunity for students to set out the position of the country they represent on the issues on the agenda of the NPT Review Conference. Students should write the paper from the perspective of that country's government – it is that country's statement on the NPT, going into the (simulated) Review Conference. How does the country currently view the NPT? Are there areas of the Treaty that require improvement or strengthening? What does that country see as the key items for inclusion on the Review Conference agenda? The process for assigning countries will be discussed in the first session of the class.

The completed position papers will be placed on d2L, so that they are available for all Review Conference participants to read. Therefore, an electronic version of the paper should be submitted.

Proposal

As part of the simulation, each student will make one proposal on a specific aspect of the discussions. The deadline for that proposal will correspond with the date that the topic is to be discussed within the simulation. A short synopsis of the proposal will be orally presented by the student to the conference and will form the basis for the discussion on that topic. It is anticipated that there may be multiple proposals on the same topic. The weekly topics for the simulation will be determined in the Week 6 session.

Participation

In order for the seminar format of the class to work, everyone must not only attend each session of the class, but also must be prepared to discuss the topic of that week. This is especially critical for the simulation portion of the course. Participation will be assessed on both the quality and quantity of contributions to class discussions.

Research Paper

The purpose of the research essay is to enable students to independently research and reflect upon certain key issues and important periods identified in the class.

Choose one question from:

1. The acquisition of nuclear weapons is a reflection of pre-existing tensions, not a cause of international instability. Discuss this with reference to India and Pakistan.
2. “Nonproliferation treaties are not enforceable, so are of limited use in preventing proliferation.” Discuss this view with reference to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT).
3. “The specter of apocalypse becomes the guarantor of peace.” Discuss this view of nuclear weapons. Your answer should address both the “optimists” and the “pessimists” view of proliferation (the Waltz-Sagan Debate).
4. Does nonproliferation matter? If not, what are the alternative means of promoting nuclear security; if so, how can nuclear nonproliferation be better achieved?
5. What do the examples of North Korea, Iran and South Africa tell us about nuclear non-proliferation?

Take Home Exam

This will be an open book exam. It will consist of a single essay question, issued via email on December 2 and submitted (in hard copy) to me no later than 5pm on December 6. The object of the exam is, first, to test students’ broader knowledge and grasp of the class’ contents, and, second, to develop students’ ability to present coherent and concise arguments on a complex topic. Consequently, the maximum length for the exam answer is 10 pages (excluding endnotes and bibliography, 12-point font, double-spacing). Papers exceeding this length will be penalised by half a letter grade per page (or part page) over the maximum, eg an 11-page essay worth an “A” would drop to an “A-” because it is one page too long and a 13-page essay worth an “A” would be awarded a “B” because it is three pages too long.

Writing Statement:

Written assignments are often required in Political Science courses, including this one, and the quality of writing skills, including but not limited to such elements as grammar, punctuation, sentence structure, clarity, citation, and organization, will be taken into account in the determination of grades. Students are encouraged to make use of the services offered through Writing Support Services in the Student Success Centre (3rd floor of the Taylor Family Digital Library) or at <http://www.ucalgary.ca/ssc/writing-support>.

Late submission of work

Overdue work will not be accepted unless there is a legitimate reason for the lateness that is accompanied by supporting evidence.

Grading:

A+ = 95-100	B+ = 77-79	C+ = 67-69	D+ = 55-59
A = 85-94	B = 73-76	C = 63-66	D = 50-54
A- = 80-84	B- = 70-72	C- = 60-62	F = 0-49

Readings**Textbook:**

There is no textbook for this course.

Websites:

You should make extensive use of online resources for this course. Many of the key documents relating to the NPT Review Conference can be found on the UN's Disarmament website –

<http://www.un.org/disarmament/WMD/Nuclear/NPT.shtml>

<http://www.un.org/en/conf/npt/2015/index.shtml>

<https://www.un.org/disarmament/wmd/nuclear/npt-review-conferences/>

You may find these useful in offering a structure for the Review Conference. These websites contain documents that many countries produced relating to various aspects of the NPT review process. You may find this helpful in establishing each state's position at the Conference. Look at the documents for the Preparatory Conferences (there is one each year), as well as Review Conferences (every five years) themselves.

As well as looking at the Foreign Ministries of the various countries, you will also find useful articles on many countries' positions and capabilities at:

Arms Control Today – www.armscontrol.org/aca

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists – www.thebulletin.org

Federations of American Scientists – <http://www.fas.org>

Center for Nonproliferation Studies – <http://www.nonproliferation.org/2015-npt-review-conference-resources/>

The CNS co-authors an NPT Briefing Book every year. The document can be found online at:

<https://www.nonproliferation.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/npt-briefing-book-2019-full.pdf>

Schedule**Week 1 – September 11**

Introduction – A Brief History of Weapons of Mass Destruction
Nuclear Weapons: Nature, Acquisition, Use and Deproliferation

READING:

Rublee, Maria R., *Nonproliferation norms: Why states choose nuclear restraint*, Athens, GA, University of Georgia Press, 2009, pp. 1-33 (available online from the University library)

Sagan, Scott D. and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed*, New York, W.W. Norton, 2002

Sagan, Scott D. and Kenneth N. Waltz, “Is Nuclear Zero The Best Option?” *The National Interest*, September/October 2010, https://fsi-live.s3.us-west-1.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/Sagan_Waltz_-_National_Interest_-_The_Great_Debate.pdf

Center for Science and Security Studies and James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, *NPT Briefing Book* (2019 Edition), <https://www.nonproliferation.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/npt-briefing-book-2019-full.pdf> see especially Part I, Section 1

Pabian, Frank, “The South African Denuclearization Exemplar”, *The Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 22 Issue 1, 2015, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10736700.2015.1071969>

Carasales, Julio, "The So-Called Proliferator That Wasn't: The Story of Argentina's Nuclear Policy," *The Nonproliferation Review* Vol. 6 Issue 4, 1999, <http://cns.miis.edu/npr/pdfs/carasa64.pdf>

Kassenova, Togzhan, *Brazil's Nuclear Kaleidoscope: An Evolving Identity*, Washington DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2014, http://carnegieendowment.org/files/brazil_nuclear_kaleidoscope_lo_res.pdf

Week 2 – September 18

The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty & Review Conferences

READING

Center for Science and Security Studies and James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, *NPT Briefing Book* (2019 Edition), <https://www.nonproliferation.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/npt-briefing-book-2019-full.pdf> see especially Part I, Sections 2-8 and Part II A.1

Week 3 – September 25

The Non-Members – Israel, India, Pakistan

READING

Cohen, Avner, *Worst-Kept Secret: Israel's Bargain with the Bomb*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2010, esp. Chapters 2-3 (available online from the University library)

Haggerty, Devin, “India’s Evolving Nuclear Posture”, *The Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 21 Issue 3-4, 2014, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10736700.2014.1072990>

Karl, David, “Pakistan’s Evolving Nuclear Weapons Posture”, *The Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 21 Issue 3-4, 2014, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10736700.2014.1072998>

Week 4 – October 2

The “Problem Cases” 1 - Iran & Iraq

READING

See the collection of short articles in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, “The Iranian Problem”, <https://thebulletin.org/collections/the-iranian-problem/>

Thomas Juneau and Sam Razavi, “Costly gains: a cost–benefit assessment of Iran’s nuclear program” *The Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 25 No. 1-2, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10736700.2018.1477456>

Hamza, Khidhir, “Inside Saddam’s Secret Nuclear Program.” *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 54 Issue 5, 1998, https://books.google.ca/books?id=rwsAAAAAMBAJ&pg=PA26&source=gbs_toc_r&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false

Week 5 – October 9

The “Problem Cases” 2 – North Korea

READING

Kimball, Daryl G. and Kelsey Davenport, “Recalibrating U.S. Policy Toward North Korea”, Issue Brief, Arms Control Association, Volume 9 Issue 1 February 2017, <https://www.armscontrol.org/Issue-Briefs/2017-02-01/Recalibrating-US-Policy-Toward-North-Korea>

Arms Control Association, “Arms Control and Proliferation Profile: North Korea”, Fact Sheets and Briefs, June 2018, <https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/northkoreaprofile>

Arms Control Association, “Chronology of U.S.-North Korean Nuclear and Missile Diplomacy”, Fact Sheets and Briefs, July 2019, <https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/dprkchron>

October 14 – Thanksgiving Day (No Classes)**Week 6 – October 16**

Simulation session

Week 7 – October 23

Simulation session

Week 8 – October 30

Simulation session

Week 9 – November 6

Simulation session

Week 10 – November 10-16 – READING WEEK (No Classes)

Week 11 – November 20

Simulation session

Week 12 – November 27

Simulation session

Week 13 – December 4

Wrap-up session

December 6 - FALL SESSION LECTURES END**December 9-19**

Final Examinations

IMPORTANT POLICIES AND INFORMATION**Supporting Documentation and the Use of a Statutory Declaration**

As stated in the University Calendar:

Students may be asked to provide supporting documentation for an exemption/special request. This may include, but is not limited to, a prolonged absence from a course where participation is required, a missed course assessment, a deferred examination, or an appeal. Students are encouraged to submit documentation that will support their situation. Supporting documentation may be dependent on the reason noted in their personal statement/explanation provided to explain their situation. This could be medical certificate/documentation, references, police reports, invitation letter, third party letter of support or a statutory declaration etc. The decision to provide supporting documentation that best suits the situation is at the discretion of the student. Students cannot be required to provide specific supporting documentation, such as a medical note.

Students can make a Statutory Declaration as their supporting documentation (available at ucalgary.ca/registrar). This requires students to make a declaration in the presence of a Commissioner for Oaths. It demonstrates the importance of honest and accurate information provided and is a legally binding declaration. Several registered Commissioners for Oaths are available to students at no charge, on campus. For a list of locations to access a Commissioners for Oaths, visit ucalgary.ca/registrar).

Falsification of any supporting documentation will be taken very seriously and may result in disciplinary action through the Academic Discipline regulations or the Student Non-Academic Misconduct policy. This statement is accessible at:

<https://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/m-1.html>

Please note that while the form of supporting documentation provided is at the discretion of the student, the instructor has the discretion not to accept the supporting documentation if it does not corroborate the reason(s) given for the exemption/special request.

Absence From a Mid-term Examination:

Students who are absent from a scheduled term test or quiz for legitimate reasons are responsible for contacting the instructor via email within 48 hours of the missed test to discuss alternative arrangements. A copy of this email may be requested as proof of the attempt to contact the instructor. Any student who fails to do so forfeits the right to a makeup test.

Deferral of a Final Examination:

Deferral of a final examination can be granted for reasons of illness, domestic affliction, and unforeseen circumstances, as well as to those with three (3) final exams scheduled within a 24-hour period. Deferred final exams will not be granted to those who sit the exam, who have made travel arrangements that conflict with their exam, or who have misread the examination timetable. The decision to allow a deferred final exam rests not with the instructor but with Enrolment Services. Instructors should, however, be notified if you will be absent during the examination. The Application for Deferred Final Exam, deadlines, requirements and submission instructions can be found on the Enrolment Services website at <https://www.ucalgary.ca/registrar/exams/deferred-exams> .

Appeals:

If a student has a concern about the course or a grade they have been assigned, they must first discuss their concerns with the instructor. If this does not resolve the matter, the student then proceed with an academic appeal. The first step in an academic appeal is to set up a meeting with the Department Head. Appeals must be requested within 15 days of receipt of the graded assignment.

Student Accommodations:

Students seeking an accommodation based on disability or medical concerns should contact Student Accessibility Services; SAS will process the request and issue letters of accommodation to instructors. For additional information on support services and accommodations for students with disabilities, visit www.ucalgary.ca/access/ .

Students who require an accommodation in relation to their coursework based on a protected ground other than disability should communicate this need in writing to their Instructor.

The full policy on Student Accommodations is available at <http://www.ucalgary.ca/policies/files/policies/student-accommodation-policy.pdf> .

University Regulations:

Students are responsible for familiarizing themselves with the University policies found in the Academic Regulations sections of the Calendar at www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/academic-regs.html .

Plagiarism And Other Forms Of Academic Misconduct:

Academic misconduct in any form (e.g. cheating, plagiarism) is a serious academic offence that can lead to disciplinary probation, suspension or expulsion from the University. Students are expected to be familiar with the standards surrounding academic honesty; these can be found in the University of Calgary calendar at <http://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/k.html> . Such offences will be taken seriously and reported immediately, as required by Faculty of Arts policy.

Copyright Legislation:

As stated in the University of Calgary Calendar, Academic Regulations, “students are required to read the University of Calgary policy on Acceptable Use of Material Protected by Copyright and requirements of the copyright act to ensure they are aware of the consequences of unauthorised sharing of course materials (including instructor notes, electronic versions of textbooks etc.).

Students who use material protected by copyright in violation of this policy may be disciplined under the Non-Academic Misconduct Policy.”

<https://www.ucalgary.ca/policies/files/policies/acceptable-use-of-material-protected-by-copyright.pdf> and <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-42/index.html>

Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy (FOIP):

FOIP legislation requires that instructors maintain the confidentiality of student information. In practice, this means that student assignment and tests cannot be left for collection in any public place without the consent of the student. It also means that grades cannot be distributed via email. Final exams are kept by instructors but can be viewed by contacting them or the main office in the Department of Political Science. Any uncollected assignments and tests meant to be returned will be destroyed after six months from the end of term; final examinations are destroyed after one year.

Evacuation Assembly Points:

In the event of an emergency evacuation from class, students are required to gather in designated assembly points. Please check the list found at www.ucalgary.ca/emergencyplan/assemblypoints and note the assembly point nearest to your classroom.

Faculty of Arts Program Advising and Student Information Resources:

For program planning and advice, visit the Arts Students’ Centre in Social Sciences 102, call 403-220-3580 or email artsads@ucalgary.ca . You can also visit arts.ucalgary.ca/advising for program assistance.

For registration (add/drop/swap), paying fees and assistance with your Student Centre, contact Enrolment Services at (403) 210-ROCK [7625] or visit their office in the MacKimmie Library Block.

Important Contact Information:

Campus Security and Safewalk (24 hours a day/7 days a week/365 days a year)

Phone: 403-220-5333

Faculty of Arts Undergraduate Students’ Union Representatives

Phone: 403-220-6551 Email: arts1@su.ucalgary.ca , arts2@su.ucalgary.ca , arts3@su.ucalgary.ca , arts4@su.ucalgary.ca
Students’ Union URL: www.su.ucalgary.ca

Graduate Students’ Association

Phone: 403-220-5997 Email: askgsa@ucalgary.ca URL: www.ucalgary.ca/gsa

Student Ombudsman

Phone: 403-220-6420 Email: ombuds@ucalgary.ca

Campus Mental Health Resources:

SU Wellness Centre: <http://www.ucalgary.ca/wellnesscentre/>

Campus Mental Health Strategy: <https://www.ucalgary.ca/mentalhealth/>