

ARMS CONTROL AND NONPROLIFERATION: CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

BIOD 709

Schar School of Policy and Government

Biodefense Program

George Mason University

Time: Tuesdays, 4:30 – 7:20pm

Room: ARLVM 313, Arlington Campus

Instructor contact information:

- Dr. Richard Cupitt
- Office: TBD
- E-mail: rcupitt@gmu.edu
- Office hours: 1530 – 1615 or by appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION

The United States and many other countries have identified the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction as the gravest threat to international peace and national security, but the international efforts to slow, halt, or reverse the spread of these weapons and their means of delivery have been under intense strain in recent years. The course explores these nonproliferation regimes and the many challenges they face. To bring the real world into the classroom, the class will develop recommendations for a comprehensive review of one of the newer initiatives, i.e., United Nations Security Council resolution 1540 (2004), that the instructor will share with representatives from several national governments and the United Nations as they plan the 3rd Comprehensive Review of the resolution in 2020.

Sequentially, after a brief consideration of the current crises facing the regimes and getting started on the class project, we will review traditional approaches to arms control and nonproliferation that, in the next part of the course, we will contrast with several new multilateral initiatives, born out of the increasing skepticism related to implementation and enforcement of various treaty regimes in the aftermath of the Cold War, including efforts by the Bush, Obama and Trump administrations. The final part of the course will concentrate on the challenges that remain in spite of these new approaches.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

This course is designed to help students become:

- Familiar with the important differences between Cold War and post-Cold War approaches to arms control and nonproliferation policy initiatives;
- Appreciate the critical differences between theory and practice in combating proliferation challenges;
- Critically appraise post-Cold War initiatives to stanch the spread of WMD and their means of delivery; and

- Be better prepared to communicate policy formulations related to course content both in writing and orally.

STUDENT COURSE REQUIREMENTS

- Participate regularly in class discussions while demonstrating that they have completed required readings in advance of each session, including preparing and delivering at least two oral briefings for the class on a reading selection, for 20% of the final grade.
- Participate in the group project designed to produce a group policy memo and briefing on recommendations for conducting the 3rd Comprehensive Review of UN Security Council resolution 1540 (2004). Starting in Week 3, part of each week's class time will be used to discuss the group project, including the development of a group project contract.
 - In Week 9, each student will submit a talking points memo for their agency, accounting for 20% of the final grade.
 - The final group policy memo presentation will be delivered in class on Week 13 and account for 20% of the final grade, of which half (10%) will come from peer evaluations.
- Write a final research paper, due December 13, 2019 before midnight for 40% of final grade. Students will write a research paper on a topic related to the course. Guidelines on topic selection will be posted on Blackboard on week 3. Papers must be prepared in proper scholarly style with clear lines of argumentation, supporting analysis, and the use of citations to support the argument. Research topics require extensive research. It is therefore advised to start as early as possible.

GRADING POLICY

Students can accumulate up to 200 points.

- Class and Blackboard discussions and assignments: 40 points (20%)
- Individual Agency Talking Points Memo: 40 points (20%)
- Group Memo and Briefing: 40 points (20%)
- Final research paper: 80 points (40%)

Late submissions of assignments will decrease grade by 10% per day, unless a prior agreement has been made for exceptional circumstances.

GRADING SCHEMA

A+ = 200 points; A = 175 – 199; A- = 150 – 174; B+ = 135 – 149; B = 115 – 134; B- = 100 – 114; C = 75 – 99; F = < 75 points

LIBRARIAN

Should you need help to find course material or sources for your research assignments, Kimberly MacVaugh (kmacvaugh@gmu.edu) is the Schar School librarian and she has put together a very useful Biodefense infoguide for our students: <https://infoguides.gmu.edu/biodefense>

BLACKBOARD

We will make regular use of Blackboard during this course, including its group conferencing features, for much of the course content, including the syllabus, readings, and assignments. In addition, I have created an “Ask the Instructor” discussion thread for any questions you may have about the course. IT Services has several tools for using Blackboard if you need them [See [https://its.gmu.edu/service/blackboard-courses/.](https://its.gmu.edu/service/blackboard-courses/)]

UNIVERSITY POLICIES & INFORMATION

Academic Integrity and the Honor Code

Students must be responsible for their own work, and students and faculty must take on the responsibility of dealing explicitly with violations. This tenet is a foundation of university culture. Faculty in the Schar School have zero tolerance for academic dishonesty and will strictly enforce Mason’s Honor Code. The Honor Code requires all members of this community to maintain the highest standards of academic honesty and integrity. Cheating, plagiarism, lying, and stealing are all prohibited. All violations of the Honor Code will be reported to the Honor Committee. Examples of plagiarism include quoting a source word for word without using quotation marks and proper citations or copy-pasting extracts from various sources without quotation marks and proper citations. You can find the Honor Code and get Academic Integrity training at [https://oai.gmu.edu/.](https://oai.gmu.edu/)

Academic Inclusivity and Student Conduct

This course embodies the perspective that we all have differing perspectives and ideas and we each deserve the opportunity to share our thoughts. Therefore, we will conduct our discussions with respect for those differences. That means, we each have the freedom to express our ideas, but we should also do so keeping in mind that our colleagues deserve to hear differing thoughts in a respectful manner, i.e. we may disagree without being disagreeable. See [http://diversity.gmu.edu/.](http://diversity.gmu.edu/) In addition, all students are expected to abide by the 2019-2020 Code of Student Conduct.

Students with Disabilities

If you are a student with a disability and you need academic accommodations, please see me at the start of the semester and contact the Disability Resource Center (DRC) at 993-2474. [See <http://ds.gmu.edu>]. All academic accommodations must be arranged through the DRC.

Writing Center

The George Mason University Writing Center staff provides a variety of resources and services (e.g., tutoring, workshops, writing guides, handbooks) intended to support students as they

work to construct and share knowledge through writing. [See <https://writingcenter.gmu.edu>]. You can now sign up for an Online Writing Lab (OWL) session just like you sign up for a face-to-face session in the Writing Center, which means YOU set the date and time of the appointment!

Counseling and Psychological Services

The George Mason University Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) staff consists of professional counseling and clinical psychologists, social workers, and counselors who offer a wide range of services (e.g., individual and group counseling, workshops, and outreach programs) to enhance students' personal experience and academic performance. [See <https://caps.gmu.edu/>].

Diversity, Religious Holidays

Please refer to George Mason University's calendar of religious holidays and observations. [See <https://ulife.gmu.edu/religious-holiday-calendar/>]. It is the student's responsibility to speak to the instructor in advance should their religious observances impact their participation in class activities and assignments.

GENERAL CLASS POLICY ON ELECTRONIC DEVICES

Please turn off cell phones, pagers, and other communicative devices stow them away and out of sight during class. You may use laptops or tablets (e.g., iPads) for the purpose of taking notes or working on a current classroom assignment. Engaging in activities not related to the course (e.g., gaming, email, chat, etc.) will result in a significant deduction to your participation grade.

BOOKS AND ADDITIONAL COURSE MATERIAL

Required books:

- Jeffrey W. Knopf, editor. *International Cooperation on WMD Nonproliferation*. (Studies in Security and International Affairs). University of Georgia Press. 2016.
- Daniel Salisbury, Ian J. Stewart, and Andrea Viski, editors. *Preventing the Proliferation of WMDs: Measuring the Success of UN Security Council Resolution 1540*. Palgrave Macmillan. 2018.

In addition to this book, the course will use a range of academic and policy articles, and other online sources:

- All academic journal articles are available on the library E-Journal collection: <http://library.gmu.edu/>.
- Other reading materials are available online (links provided), or on blackboard.

If you have any issues finding the materials, please let me know as soon as you can.

Given the dynamic nature of this subject, additional readings may be assigned during the semester. I can give supplemental reading recommendations if requested.

CLASS SCHEDULE, READINGS AND OTHER ASSIGNMENTS

- Week 1 (8/27/19) Course Overview, Introductions and a Little History
 Required Readings: Get started on next week's readings
 Other Assignments (Read and review in class):
- The 1925 Geneva Protocol online at <http://disarmament.un.org/treaties/t/1925>
 - W. Seth Carus (2012), Defining "Weapons of Mass Destruction," Occasional Paper 8, Center for the Study of Weapons of Mass Destruction, National Defense University Press, Washington, DC, January, pp. 1-2 and 50, online at https://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/occasional/cswmd/CSWMD_OccasionalPaper-8.pdf
- Week 2 (9/3/19) The Arms Control Crisis and Getting Started on the UN Security Council resolution 1540 (2004) Class Project
 Required Readings:
- Jeffrey W. Knoff "International Cooperation on Nonproliferation: The Growth and Diversity of Cooperative Efforts," pp. 1-22 in Knoff, *op. cit.*
 - Matthew Fuhrman and Yonatan Lupu (2016), "Do Arms Control Treaties Work? Assessing the Effectiveness of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty," *International Studies Quarterly*, 60, 530–539.
 - Amy F. Woolf, Paul K. Kerr, and Mary Beth D. Nikitin (2019), "Arms Control and Nonproliferation: A Catalog of Treaties and Agreements," Congressional Research Service, RL33865, Updated March 18, available at <https://crsreports.congress.gov>.
 - UN Security Council, Resolution 1540 (2004), online at [https://undocs.org/S/RES/1540\(2004\)](https://undocs.org/S/RES/1540(2004))
 - Salisbury, et al., "Introduction," Chapter 1.
- Read and Brief the Class: Selected students will brief the class on one of the following (no more than five minutes, covering the key takeaways and overall impressions):
- Read either Alicia Sanders-Zakre, "NPT Meeting Looks to 2020 Review Conference," *Arms Control Today*, June 2019, online at <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2019-06/news/npt-meeting-looks-2020-review-conference> or
 - Jennifer Mackby, "BWC Meeting Stumbles Over Money, Politics," *Arms Control Today*, January/February 2019, online at <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2019-01/news/bwc-meeting-stumbles-over-money-politics> or

- Alicia Sanders-Zakre (2019), "Russia Blocks Consensus at CWC Conference," *Arms Control Today*, January/February, online at <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2019-01/news/russia-blocks-consensus-cwc-conference> **or**
- Alicia Sanders-Zakre (2019), CD Fails to Advance Agenda, *Arms Control Today*, May, online <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2019-05/news-briefs/cd-fails-advance-agenda>.

Other Assignments: DISCUSS YOUR INITIAL IDEA FOR A FINAL PAPER TOPIC WITH ME THIS WEEK.

PART I:

COLD WAR COOPERATIVE APPROACHES

Week 3 (9/10/19)

Nuclear Arms Control and Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime

Required Readings:

- Joseph M. Siracusa and Aiden Warren (2018) The Nuclear NonProliferation Regime: An Historical Perspective, *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 29:1, 3-28.
- Text of the NPT: <http://disarmament.un.org/treaties/t/npt/text>
- Arms Control Today, "The 2020 NPT Review Conference Starts Now: An Interview with Argentine Diplomat Rafael Mariano Grossi," June 2019, online at <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2019-06/features/2020-npt-review-conference-starts-now-interview-argentine-diplomat-rafael>.
- Salisbury, et al., "A History of United Nations Security Council resolution 1540," Chapter 2.

Read and Brief the Class: Selected students will brief the class on one of the following:

- Read either Michael Hamel-Green, "Cooperating Regionally, Denuclearizing Globally: Multilateral Nuclear-Weapon-Free-Zone Initiatives," pp. 206-228 in Knopf, *op. cit.* **or**
- Sara Z. Hutchesfahani, "Bilateral Cooperation on Nonproliferation: The Role of an Epistemic Community in Argentina and Brazil's Creation of a Joint Safeguards Arrangement," pp. 229-249 in Knopf, *op. cit.*

Other Assignments: Review the 1540 Committee Website at <https://www.un.org/en/sc/1540/>

Week 4 (9/17/19)

The Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention

Required Readings:

- United Nations Office at Geneva, "About the Biological Weapons Convention," including the text of the Convention, online at

[https://www.unog.ch/80256EE600585943/\(httpPages\)/77CF2516DDC5DCF5C1257E520032EF67?OpenDocument](https://www.unog.ch/80256EE600585943/(httpPages)/77CF2516DDC5DCF5C1257E520032EF67?OpenDocument)

- Final Document of the Eighth Review Conference
[https://www.unog.ch/80256EDD006B8954/\(httpAssets\)/3604FF0C6D1C7C80C12582100046035D/\\$file/BWCCONF.VIII4%20Final%20Document%20of%20the%208RC.pdf](https://www.unog.ch/80256EDD006B8954/(httpAssets)/3604FF0C6D1C7C80C12582100046035D/$file/BWCCONF.VIII4%20Final%20Document%20of%20the%208RC.pdf)
- Nicholas A. Sims (2011) A simple treaty, a complex fulfillment: A short history of the Biological Weapons Convention Review Conferences, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 67:3, 8-15, DOI: 10.1177/0096340211407400.
- Salisbury, et al., "UNSCR 1540: Implementation Trends," Chapter 3.

Read and Brief the Class: Selected students will brief the class on one of the following:

- Brian Rappert (2011) A teachable moment for biological weapons: The Seventh BWC Review Conference and the need for international cooperation in education, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 67:3, 44-50, DOI: 10.1177/0096340211406875 or
- Rachel Bartholomew and Kristin Omberg (2019), Making Sense of the 2018 National Biodefense Strategy, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, January at <https://thebulletin.org/2019/01/making-sense-of-the-2018-national-biodefense-strategy/>.

Other Assignments: DUE DATE FOR FINAL PAPER TOPIC

Week 5 (9/24/19)

Multilateral Export Control Regimes and WMD Black Markets

Required Readings:

- Catherine B. Dill, Ian J. Stewart (2015), "Defining Effective Strategic Trade Controls at the National Level," *Strategic Trade Review*, Autumn, 1: 4-17 available online at https://strategictraderesearch.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/STR_01.pdf.
- Scott Jones, "The Multilateral Export Control Regimes: Informality Begets Collaboration," pp. 23-45 in Knopf, *op. cit.*
- Daniel Salisbury (2017), "Why do entities get involved in proliferation? Exploring the criminology of illicit WMD-related trade," *The Nonproliferation Review*, 24:3-4, 297-314, DOI: 10.1080/10736700.2018.1423718.
- Salisbury, et al., "Regional Implementation of UNSCR 1540," Chapter 4.

Read and Brief the Class: Selected students will brief the class on one of the following:

- Review the website of the Australia Group at <https://australiagroup.net/en/> or

- the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) at <https://www.nuclearsuppliersgroup.org/en/> or
- the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) at <https://mtcr.info/>

Week 6 (10/1/19) The Chemical Weapons Convention

Required Readings:

- Chemical Weapons Convention (read the introduction and the 24 articles of the treaty) at <http://disarmament.un.org/treaties/t/cwc/text>.
- OPCW, "Origins of the Chemical Weapons Convention and the OPCW," OPCW Fact Sheet Series, online at https://www.opcw.org/sites/default/files/documents/Fact_Sheets/English/Fact_Sheet_1_-_History.pdf.
- Sico van der Meer and Peter van Ham (2018), "Chemical weapons treaty: Time for chemical industry to step up," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, October, online at <https://thebulletin.org/2018/10/time-for-the-chemical-industry-to-step-up-to-the-plate/>.

Read and Brief the Class: Selected students will brief the class on one of the following:

- Damir Kovačević, Afrimadona & Martin Claar (2019): Gas, power, and norms: competing logics for the declining use of chemical warfare, *The Nonproliferation Review*, DOI: 10.1080/10736700.2019.1627776.

Other Assignments: DUE DATE FOR FINAL PAPER INITIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

PART II: POST COLD-WAR INITIATIVES

Week 7 (10/8/19) UNSCR 1540 and PSI

Required Readings:

- Emma Belcher, "The Proliferation Security Initiative: The Achievements and Limits of an Informal Approach to Cooperation," pp. 116-139 in Knopf, *op. cit.*
- Tanya Ogilvie-White, "UN Security Council Resolution 1540: Origins, Status, and Future Prospects," pp. 140-162 in Knopf, *op. cit.*
- United Nations Committee established pursuant to UN Security Council resolution 1540 (2004) (2016), "Final Document on the 2016 Comprehensive Review, December, online at <https://undocs.org/S/2016/1038>.

Read and Brief the Class: Selected students will brief the class on one of the following:

- Richard Cupitt, “Nearly at the Brink: The Tasks and Capacity of the 1540 Committee,” *Arms Control Today*, August 2012, online at https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2012_09/Nearly-at-the-Brink-The-Tasks-and-Capacity-Of-the-1540-Committee **or**
- Review the PSI website at <https://www.psi-online.info/> **or**
- Review the 1540 Committee website at <https://www.un.org/en/sc/1540/>.

Other Assignments: DUE DATE FOR FINAL PAPER INITIAL OUTLINE

Week 8 (10/15/19) No class, Fall Break

Week 9 (10/22/19) GICNT, ICSANT, A/CPPNM, and the Nuclear Security Summits

Required Readings:

- Gavin Cameron, “Formal and Informal Mechanisms for Countering Nuclear Terrorism: The ICSANT and the GCINT,” pp. 163-181 in Knopf, *op. cit.*
- Elizabeth Turpen, “The Nuclear Security Summit Experiment: Has It Been a Catalyst for Action?” pp. 182-205 in Knopf, *op. cit.*
- Ramesh Thakur (2018) Nuclear Turbulence in the Age of Trump, *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 29:1, 105-128.
- Nuclear Threat Initiative, “How Can the CPPNM/A Review Conference Be Different than other Mechanisms?,” online at https://media.nti.org/documents/CPPNM_Comparison_Matrix.pdf
- Salisbury, et al., “UNSCR 1540 Implementation: Challenges Past and Present,” Chapter 5.

Read and Brief the Class: Selected students will brief the class on one of the following:

- The website of the GICNT (<http://www.gicnt.org/>) **or**
- The website 2016 Nuclear Security Summit (<http://www.nss2016.org/>) **or**
- The unofficial consolidated text of the A/CPPNM, starting a page 11, online at <https://www.iaea.org/sites/default/files/infcirc274r1m1.pdf> **or** the ICSANT text **or** the text of the CTBT, either of which can be found online at <http://disarmament.un.org/treaties/t/ctbt/text> **or**
- Kjølsv Egeland, Torbjørn Graff Hugo, Magnus Løvold & Gro Nystuen (2018), “The nuclear weapons ban treaty and the non-proliferation regime,” *Medicine, Conflict and Survival*, 34:2, 74-94, DOI: 10.1080/13623699.2018.1483878

Other Assignments: AGENCY TALKING POINTS MEMO DUE DATE

PART III: CONTINUING CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES

Week 10 (10/29/19) Means of Delivery – The Neglected Domain

Required Readings:

- Zachary Kallenborn & Philipp C. Bleek (2018), “Swarming Destruction: Drone Swarms and Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear Weapons,” *The Nonproliferation Review*, 25:5-6, 523-543, DOI: 10.1080/10736700.2018.1546902
- Christine Parthemore (2017), “The Ambiguity Challenge: Why the World Needs a Multilateral Nuclear Cruise Missile Agreement,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 73:3, 154-158, DOI: 10.1080/00963402.2017.1315919
- Sitki Egeli (2016) Seeking a Path Toward Missile Nonproliferation, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 72:6, 362-364, DOI: 10.1080/00963402.2016.1240437
- Hans M. Kristensen and Matt Korda (2019), “The INF Treaty Officially Died Today,” Federation of American Scientists blog post on August 2 at <https://fas.org/blogs/security/2019/08/inf-treaty-died-today/>
- Salisbury, et al., “Preventing WMD Proliferation: The Future of UNSCR 1540 Implementation,” Chapter 6.

Read and Brief the Class: Selected students will brief the class on one of the following:

- Mark Gubrud (2015), “Going too fast: Time to Ban Hypersonic Missile Tests?” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 71:5, 1-4, DOI: 10.1177/0096340215599771 **or**
- Tong Zhao (2015) ,“Going Too Fast: Time to Ban Hypersonic Missile Tests?” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 71:5, 5-8, DOI: 10.1177/0096340215599774 **or**
- Rajaram Nagappa (2015), “Going Too Fast: Time to Ban Hypersonic Missile Tests?” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 71:5, 9-12, DOI: 10.1177/0096340215599773 **or**
- Read and Review the Hague Code of Conduct website at <https://www.hcoc.at/>

Week 11 (11/5/19) State Challenges to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime: Iran and the DPRK

Required Readings:

- David Santoro, “European and P5 Responses to Iran’s Nuclear Program,” pp. 271-293 in Knopf, *op. cit.*
- Paul Kerr (2017), “The JCPOA and safeguards: model or outlier?” *The Nonproliferation Review*, 24:3-4, 261-273, DOI: 10.1080/10736700.2018.1432326.

- Lewis, Jeffrey. 2017. "The Game Is Over, and North Korea Has Won." *Foreign Policy*, August 9.
- Lai, David, and Alyssa Blair. 2017. "How to Learn to Live with a Nuclear North Korea." *Foreign Policy*, August 7.
- Salisbury, et al., "Conclusions: The Future of UNSCR 1540," Chapter 7.

Read and Brief the Class: Selected students will brief the class on one of the following:

- Daniel Salisbury and David Lowrie (2013), Targeted: A Case Study in Iranian Illicit Missile Procurement, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 69:3, 23-30, DOI: 10.1177/0096340213485948 or
- Nicolas L. Miller (2014), "The Secret Success of Nonproliferation Sanctions," *International Organization*, 68, Fall, pp. 913–944.

Week 12 (11/12/19) State and Non-State Challenges to the Biological and Chemical Weapons Nonproliferation Regimes

Required Readings:

- Andrea A. Nehorayoff, Benjamin Ash, and Daniel Smith (2016), "Aum Shinrikyo's Nuclear and Chemical Weapons Development Efforts," *Journal of Strategic Security*, 9, 1, pp. 35-48.
- Sonia Ben Ouagrham-Gormley (2017), "Potemkin or Real? North Korea's Biological Weapons Program," Sonia Ben Ouagrham-Gormley, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, July online at <https://thebulletin.org/2017/07/potemkin-or-real-north-koreas-biological-weapons-program/>
- Security Council Report (2017), "In Hindsight: The Demise of the JIM," *January 2018 Monthly Forecast*, online at https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/monthly-forecast/2018-01/in_hindsight_the_demise_of_the_jim.php.
- Hannah Ellis-Petersen and Benjamin Haas (2019), "How North Korea Got Away with the Assassination of Kim Jong-nam," *The Manchester Guardian*, April 1, online at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/01/how-north-korea-got-away-with-the-assassination-of-kim-jong-nam>.

Read and Brief the Class: Selected students will brief the class on one of the following:

- Perry World House (2016), "When Neuroscience Leads to Neuroweapons," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, October 5 online at <https://thebulletin.org/2016/10/when-neuroscience-leads-to-neuroweapons/>.
- Daniel Horner (2016), "OPCW Pressing Syria on Declaration Gaps," *Arms Control Today*, April, online at

<https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2016-03/news-briefs/opcw-pressing-syria-declaration-gaps>.

Week 13 (11/19/19) Using Financial Sanctions

Required Readings:

- Dr. Jonathan Brewer (2018), "The Financing of Nuclear and Other Weapons Of Mass Destruction Proliferation," Center for a New American Security, online at <https://s3.amazonaws.com/files.cnas.org/documents/CNASReport-ProliferationFinance-Finalb.pdf?mtime=20180202155127>.
- Financial Action Task Force (2018), "FATF Guidance on Counter Proliferation Financing: The Implementation of Financial Provisions of United Nations Security Council Resolutions to Counter the Proliferation of Weapons Of Mass Destruction," online at <https://www.fatf-gafi.org/media/fatf/documents/reports/Guidance-Countering-Proliferation-Financing.pdf>.
- Moyara Ruehsen & Leonard Spector (2015), "Follow the Proliferation Money," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 71:5, 51-58, DOI: 10.1177/0096340215590798.

Read and Brief the Class: Selected students will brief the class on one of the following:

- Emil Dall, Tom Keatinge and Andrea Berger (2017), "Countering Proliferation Finance: An Introductory Guide for Financial Institutions," RUSI Guidance Paper, April, online at https://rusi.org/sites/default/files/201704_rusi_cpf_guidance_paper.1_0.pdf or
- Sonia Ben Ouagrham-Gormley (2012), "Banking on Nonproliferation: Improving the Efficiency of Counter-Proliferation Financing Policies," *The Nonproliferation Review*, 19:2, 241-265, DOI: 10.1080/10736700.2012.690963 or
- Andrea Stricker (2017), "Case Study: United States Levies Civil Suits Against Chinese and Russian Entities for Helping North Korea Bust Financial and Nonproliferation Sanctions," Institute for Science and International Security, September, online at <http://isis-online.org/isis-reports/detail/case-study-united-states-levies-civil-suits-against-chinese-and-russian-ent/> or
- Javier Serrat (2012), Financial Interdictions to Curb Proliferation, *Arms Control Today*, July, online at <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2012-07/financial-interdictions-curb-proliferation>.

Other Assignments: CLASS PROJECT COMPLETION DATE

Week 14 (11/26/19) Assistance, Cooperative Threat Reduction, and the Global Partnership

Required Readings:

- Alan J. Kuperman, "Nuclear Nonproliferation via Coercion and Consensus: The Success and Limits of the RERTR Program (1978-2004) pp. 46-71 in Knopf, *op. cit.*
- Wyn Q. Bowen and Alan Heyes, "The G8 Global Partnership: A Glass Half Full," pp. 97-115 in Knopf, *op. cit.*

Read and Brief the Class: Selected students will brief the class on one of the following:

- Togzhan Kassenova, "Implementing Nonproliferation Programs: The Cooperative Threat Reduction Process in the Former Soviet Union," pp. 72-96 in Knopf, *op. cit.* **or**
- Adam Williams & Rodney Wilson (2018) "Defense by other means": Future Evolution(s) of Cooperative Threat Reduction, *The Nonproliferation Review*, 25:5-6, 501-522 **or**
- Review the 1540 Assistance Support Initiative Database at <https://1540assistance.stimson.org/>

Week 15 (12/3/19)

Leadership and Governance in Nonproliferation

Required Readings:

- United States (2018), *National Strategy for Countering WMD Terrorism*, December, online at https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/20181210_National-Strategy-for-Countering-WMD-Terrorism.pdf.
- Jeffrey W. Knopf, "Conclusions," pp. 294-316 In Knopf, *op. cit.*
- Francesca Giovannini, "Understanding the "Proliferation" of Nuclear Cooperation: An Alternative Theoretical Framework and Its Implications for Regional Efforts, pp. 250-270 in Knopf, *op. cit.*
- Paul Meyer (2018), "Our WMD Treaties Are Working," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 74:1, 27-31, DOI: 10.1080/00963402.2017.1413058

Read and Brief the Class: Selected students will brief the class on one of the following:

- Erin D. Dumbacher (2018) "Limiting Cyberwarfare: Applying Arms-Control Models to an Emerging Technology," *The Nonproliferation Review*, 25:3-4, 203-222, DOI: 10.1080/10736700.2018.1515152 **or**
- Wyatt Hoffman & Tristan A. Volpe (2018), "Internet of Nuclear Things: Managing the Proliferation Risks of 3-D Printing Technology," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 74:2, 102-113, DOI: 10.1080/00963402.2018.1436811 **or**
- Kjølsv Egeland, Torbjørn Graff Hugo, Magnus Løvold & Gro Nystuen (2018), "The Nuclear Weapons Ban Treaty and the Non-

Proliferation Regime," *Medicine, Conflict and Survival*, 34:2, 74-94,
DOI: 10.1080/13623699.2018.1483878.

Final (12/13/19)

FINAL PAPER DUE DATE (before midnight)

DRAFT