

WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION COUNTER PROLIFERATION: INTERDICTION, DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE

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Paris School of International Affairs – Spring Semester

SHORT BIOGRAPHY

Title: General-Engineer,

Organization/Affiliation: French Ministry of Defense.

Short biography: Fouad El Khatib has been promoted General-Engineer in 2022 and currently acts as an advisor on various missions for the French ministry of defense. Previously he was posted as Armament Attaché at the French Embassy in Baghdad (2020-2022), he worked at the General Directorate for International Affairs and Strategy issues (DGRIS) of the French ministry of defense as special adviser of the Director for International and Security Affairs (2019-2020), Deputy-Director of the Directorate for Regional Affairs (2016-2019), after having led the Middle East and North Africa department (2015-2016). He was posted at the French Embassy in Libya from 2012 to 2014. Other previous assignments included positions in the Office of the Prime Minister (SGDSN) as special adviser on WMD counter-proliferation, missile defense and nuclear deterrence, as well as positions in the Directorate for Strategic Affairs of the French Ministry of Defense, as head of the non-proliferation bureau. He also served in the UN Special Commission for the Disarmament of Irak, in the DGA (French defense procurement agency), in the industry (THALES) and in IISS, a London-based think-tank.

COURSE OUTLINE

Session n°1 — Introduction – Definitions and history of WMD proliferation

Introduction:

- Objective and overall plan of the conferences, expectations, definitions.
- General presentation of the course (teaching method, feedbacks, evaluation of written and oral work, etc.).
- Work share (newsletter, briefings, policy papers), recommendations.

History of WMD proliferation:

- 1945-1968: Nuclear, biological, chemical and missile programs after WWII.
- 1969-1990: Secondary proliferations (Egypt, Israel, India, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran...). Emergence of non-proliferation efforts (e.g. Treaties and regimes)
- 1991-mid 2010s: Loopholes in non-proliferation efforts, emergence of counter-proliferation. Towards a proliferated world?
- Today's international context of WMD proliferation (technical, legal, diplomatic) - trends and current crises.

Will be addressed during this session: the motivations of a proliferating country, regional dynamics, the interaction between proliferation efforts and non-proliferation/counter-proliferation efforts, the risks generated by the proliferation of WMD.

Session n°2 — Understanding the dynamics of nuclear weapons programs

- Motivations, actors, technologies, programs and strategies of proliferating countries.
- Access to nuclear materials.
- Case study: Iraq's nuclear program.
- Specific technologies and means of nuclear proliferation supervision and monitoring.
- Nuclear and radiological terrorism risks.

Briefing 1: North Korea's nuclear program. Lessons learned, risks and threats

Briefing 2: Iran's nuclear program. Lessons learned, risks and threats.

Session n°3 — Understanding the dynamics of chemical and biological weapons programs

- Definitions, motivations, actors, technologies, programs and strategies (countries and non-state actors).
- Case study: Iraq's chemical and biological programs.
- Specific technologies and means of chemical and biological proliferation control and verification, confidence building. measures and means to assess compliance.
- Chemical and biological terrorism risks.

Briefing 3: History of non-conventional terrorism (chemical, biological or radiological); lessons learned.

Briefing 4: The 2001 anthrax scares. Crisis management and investigation of alleged use: lessons learned.

Session n°4 — Understanding the dynamics of missile programs

- Means of delivery of WMD (incl. ballistic and cruise missiles, unmanned air vehicles).
- Motivations, actors, technologies, programs and strategies of proliferating countries.
- Specific technologies and means of missile proliferation control and monitoring, confidence building measures.
- Case study: Iraq's ballistic missiles program.

Briefing 5: The Iranian ballistic missiles programs: risks and threats.

Briefing 6: Situation, perspectives and consequences of missile proliferation in East and North East-Asia.

Session N°5 – Understanding the dynamics of WMD-related procurement networks

- Procurement and financing patterns: taking advantage of the weak points.
- Military and dual use goods export-control mechanisms (Australia, Wassenaar, NSG, MTCR).
- Issues related to intangible knowledge and know-how transfers.
- Issues related to the financing of proliferation activities.
- Case study: Iraq's WMD programs.

Briefing 7: The AQ. Khan network and horizontal proliferation

Briefing 8: North Korea procurement network and horizontal proliferation

Session N°6 - Interdiction - International actions - Enforced disarmament of Iraq

- Importance of the United-nations (Security Council, implementing agencies, UNSCR etc.)
- Study of a real case : UN inspections in Iraq (UNSCOM and UNMOVIC)
- Use of international inspections to enforce disarmament: lessons learned, prerequisite for effectiveness.

Briefing 9: Enforcing the chemical disarmament in Syria. Achievements, failures, lessons learned.

Briefing 10: Enforcing the disarmament of Iraq: the Iraq Survey Group (ISG). Achievements, failures, lessons learned.

Session N°7 — Interdiction - Multilateral actions and regional dynamics

- Sanctions and embargos.
- PMG8 – Cooperative threat reduction (Avoiding the spread of knowledge after the aftermath, the CIST experience).
- The proliferation security initiative (PSI): What is PSI? Description of typical real cases of interdiction, problems raised and lessons learned - Strengths and weaknesses of this initiative.
- The European Union as a regional actor. Guidelines for action in combating WMD proliferation: the challenges

Briefing 11: Maritime interdiction of WMD trafficking and the law of the seas

Briefing 12: Air interdiction of WMD trafficking and the Beijing convention

Session n°8 — Interdiction - National actions— The need for a multidisciplinary and interministerial approach

Organizing the inter-agencies response and enhancing the capabilities of military, intelligence, technical, and law enforcement communities to prevent the movement of WMD materials, technology, and expertise to hostile states and terrorist organizations:

- The actors.
- From non-proliferation to counter-proliferation: policy aspects and real-life.
- Establishing national legal basis.
- Military and dual-use goods export control implementation.
- Intangible knowledge and know-how transfers control.
- Training programs (incl. universities) and outreach to the private sector.
- Military pre-emptive and preventive actions: legal, technical and political aspects.
- The importance of intelligence.

Briefing 13: United-Nations Security Council resolution 1540: challenges of implementation by a Member State.

Briefing 14: Pre-emptive actions against WMD related assets (industrial facilities, weapons systems): lessons learned.

Session N°9 — Deterrence and countering proliferation

- Nuclear deterrence and countering proliferation.
- Conventional deterrence and countering proliferation.
- Investigation of alleged use of WMD (nuclear, radiological, biological, chemical, ballistic missiles): problems raised.

Briefing 15: The renewal of strategic nuclear arsenals and their means of delivery.

Briefing 16: Tactical nuclear weapons? A net assessment.

Session N°10 — Defense and mitigation actions to combat WMD use – Missile Defense

- Passive defense versus active defense.
- Assessing the threat (military and geopolitical considerations).
- Missile defense: a technical approach, identifying key parameters for policy decisions.
- Missile defense: policy (and budgetary) issues.

Briefing 17: Ballistic Missile Defense in Europe. Status? Commonalities and differences of approach by member States? Impact of war in Ukraine?

Briefing 18: Ballistic Missile Defense in East-Asia and in the Middle East. Status? Strengths and weaknesses?

Session N°11 and N°12 - A case study (DPRK or Iran)

- The actors,
- Scene setting: perceived risks and threats (NRBC/M), the procurement strategy, the regional environment,
- The objectives and the red lines,
- 3hrs play of the TTX. Considering and debating the options between the players, taking into consideration the simultaneity of events and wild cards.
- Debriefing, lessons learned, conclusions.

This 4 hours long wrap-up session will be managed as a table-top exercise (TTX) played by the students and moderated by the professor.

PROLIFERATION & ARMS CONTROL

WMD Counter-proliferation: interdiction, deterrence & defense

Conferences delivered by Fouad EL KHATIB

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- Nicolas Roche, *Pourquoi la dissuasion*, PUF, 2016

Relevant Websites

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION WEBSITES

United Nations	http://www.un.org et http://www.unog.ch
United Nations (Office for Disarmament Affairs)	http://disarmament.un.org/
IAEA	http://www.iaea.org/
OPCW	http://www.opcw.org/
European Union	http://www.europa.eu.int
NATO	http://www.nato.int
BWC ISU	
http://www.unog.ch/unog/website/disarmament.nsf/(httpPages)/B24C4D2DF0A2230FC12573440052AF75?OpenDocument&unid=16C37624830EDAE5C12572BC0044DFC1	

THINK-TANKS AND NGOs WEBSITES

International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)	http://www.iiss.org
Fondation pour la recherche stratégique (FRS)	http://www.frstrategie.org
Centre d'études de sécurité internationale et de maîtrise des armements	http://www.cesim.fr
Center for nonproliferation studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies	http://www.cns.miis.edu
Carnegie Endowment for International peace	http://www.ceip.org/npp
Nuclear Threat Initiative	http://www.nti.org
Federation of American Scientists	http://www.fas.org
Center for defense information	http://www.cdi.org/issues/proliferation/
Stockholm International Peace Research Institute	http://www.sipri.org
Acronym Institute	http://www.acronym.org.uk/
UNIDIR	http://www.unidir.org/
Arms control association	http://www.armscontrol.org
Institut de stratégie comparée (ISC) :	http://www.stratisc.org
Institut français des relations internationales (IFRI) :	http://www.ifri.org
IFRI (proliferation papers)	http://www.ifri.org/frontDispatcher/ifri/publications/proliferation_papers_1090224187156
Royal United Services Institute	http://www.rusi.org/
Center for Strategic & International Studies	http://csis.org/
Institute for Science and International Security	http://www.isis-online.org/
Nuclear Threat Initiative : Global Security Newswire	http://gsn.nti.org/gsn/

OTHER USEFUL WEBSITES

<i>Export control regimes</i>	
NSG	http://www.nuclearsuppliersgroup.org/
Zangger Committee	http://www.zanggercommittee.org/
Australia Group	http://www.australiagroup.net/
MTCR	http://www.mtcr.info/
<i>International organizations</i>	
PM G8 (non official website)	http://www.sgpproject.org/
WMD COMMISSION (aka « Blix Commission») :	http://www.wmdcommission.org
Bioprepwatch	http://www.bioprepwatch.com/
CBRNe World	http://www.cbrneworld.com/
Arms Control Wonk	http://www.armscontrolwonk.com/
North Korean Economy Watch	http://www.nkeconwatch.com/
Proliferation Press	http://proliferationpress.com/
Defense News	http://www.defensenews.com/index.php
Missile Defense Advocacy Alliance	http://www.missiledefenseadvocacy.org/
Missile Threat	http://www.missilethreat.com/

GENERAL PUBLICATIONS

Foreign Affairs,
Foreign Policy,
The National Interest,
Survival,
The Washington Quarterly,
Politique étrangère

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org>
<http://www.foreignpolicy.com>
<http://www.nationalinterest.org>
<http://www.iiss.org/pub/survival.asp>
<http://www.twq.com>
www.ifri.org/frontDispatcher/ifri/publications/politique_etrangere

PUBLICATIONS ON SECURITY ISSUES

Jane's Defence Weekly,
Jane's International Defense Review,
National Security Studies Quarterly,
International Security,

<http://jdw.janes.com/>.
<http://idr.janes.com/>.
<http://www.georgetown.edu/sfs/programs/nssp/nssq/index.html>.
<http://mitpress.mit.edu/ISEC>

PUBLICATIONS ON WMD PROLIFERATION, DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL ISSUES

Arms Control Today,
Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,
Disarmament Diplomacy,
IAEA Bulletin,
Issues in Science and Technology,
The Nonproliferation Review,
Nuclear Proliferation News,
OPCW Synthesis,
Export Controls Observer,
Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists

<http://www.armscontrol.org/act/>.
<http://www.bullatomsci.org/>.
<http://www.acronym.org.uk/dd/index.htm>.
<http://www.iaea.or.at/worldatom/Periodicals/Bulletin/>.
<http://www.nap.edu/issues/>.
<http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/npr/index.htm>.
<http://csf.colorado.edu/dfax/npn/>.
<http://www.opcw.org/synthesis/>.
<http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/observer/index.htm>
<http://www.thebulletin.org>