

Nuclear Nonproliferation and Security in the 21st Century

Spring Semester 2021

Dr. Azriel Bermant

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Office Hours: Wednesday, 16:00-17:00

For course times/days and location, please visit the TAU International web site (Study Abroad Course Offerings and Schedules). Please note that all information below is subject to change and/or adjustment as necessary.

Course Description (Summary)

This course will examine the major international security challenges facing the world today. It will use both empirical and theoretical materials to study the evolution of these challenges, from the cold war to the present day. The course will analyze in depth the historical role played by nuclear deterrence and its contemporary relevance. The course will discuss the challenge that ballistic missile and nuclear proliferation poses to the stability of the international system and will include an analysis of Israel's nuclear policy, the Iran nuclear weapons program, the tensions between Russia and the West, the rise of China, the conflict between India and Pakistan and the situation on the Korean Peninsula. The course will include the screening of films to illustrate the themes under examination, guest lecturers and interactive class discussions.

Learning Outcomes

The course is designed to enable students to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the fast-paced developments in the field of international security.

Evaluation Criteria

****Full attendance is required****

25% - Course participation

25% - Mid-term multiple choice examination

50% - Final paper (1500-2500 words in length)

Absence Policy

Please note the TAU International Absence Policy as outlined on the next page.

Course Schedule

Week Beginning 21 February

Introduction: Course Overview: Nuclear Nonproliferation and Security

Nuclear Deterrence – Lessons from the Cold War (Part 1)

Tel Aviv University International

Carter Building, Room 108, Tel Aviv 6997801, Israel

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Week Beginning 28 February

Nuclear Deterrence – (Part 2)

The Changing International System and its Impact on Nuclear Proliferation

Week Beginning 7 March

The United States, NATO and Russia

Nuclear Deterrence and the Cuban Missile Crisis (Role-Playing Game)

Week Beginning 14 March

The Prospect of Nuclear Proliferation in the Middle East – The Case of Iran

Israel's Deterrence Strategy

Week Beginning 21 March

Nuclear Weapons Proliferation - South Asia (India and Pakistan)

*******Mid-Term Multiple Choice Examination*******

Week Beginning 4 April

Nuclear Weapons Proliferation - The case of North Korea

Arms Control Negotiations in the Middle East

Week Beginning 11 April

Class Discussion: Is A Nuclear Iran Inevitable?

Week Beginning 18 April

Arms Control Regimes – Successes and Failures

Nuclear Disarmament

Week Beginning 25 April

The Chemical and Biological Weapons Threat

Missile Defence – A Threat to Strategic Stability?

Week Beginning 2 May

Missile Defence: The Case of Israel (Iron Dome, David's Sling and the Arrow)

Guest Speaker: Uzi Rubin (To be confirmed)

Class Discussion: The Greatest Threats to International Security in the Coming Decade

Week Beginning 9 May

Nuclear Terrorism

The Future of Deterrence / Conclusions



Course Readings and/or Required Materials

Introduction: Course Overview: Nuclear Nonproliferation and Security

- Andrew Futter, “The Politics of Nuclear Weapons”, (Sage: London, 2015), pp.13-25

Nuclear Deterrence – Lessons from the Cold War (Part 1)

- Andrew Futter, “The Politics of Nuclear Weapons”, (Sage: London, 2015), pp.70-84.
- John Mearsheimer, ‘The Tragedy of Great Power Politics’, (WW Norton & Company: New York, 2014), pp. 128-133; 224-232.
- Bernard Brodie, “The Anatomy of Deterrence”, *World Politics*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Jan., 1959), pp. 173-191 **(Optional)**

Nuclear Deterrence – (Part 2)

- John Mueller, “Nuclear Weapons Don’t Matter But Nuclear Hysteria Does”, *Foreign Affairs*, October 2018
- Elbridge Colby, “If You Want Peace, Prepare for Nuclear War: A Strategy for the New Great-Power Rivalry”, *Foreign Affairs*, October 2018 **(optional)**.

The Changing International System and its Impact on Nuclear Proliferation

- Y. Evron, “Changes in the International System and their Impact on Proliferation”, The Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime at a Crossroads, Emily B. Landau and Azriel Bermant (eds), 2014, *INSS Memorandum* No.137, pp. 135-144.
- John Mearsheimer, “Why We Will Soon Miss the Cold War”, *The Atlantic*, August 1990 **(optional)**
- John Mearsheimer, “Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War”, *International Security*, Volume 15, Number 1, Summer 1990, pp. 5-56 **(optional)**

The United States, NATO and Russia

- George P. Shultz, William J. Perry, Henry A. Kissinger and Sam Nunn, “Deterrence in the Age of Nuclear Proliferation”, *The Wall Street Journal*, 7 March 2011
- Strobe Talbott, ‘U.S.-Russia arms control was possible once—is it possible still?’, *Brookings Institution*, December 12, 2017
- <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2017/12/12/u-s-russia-arms-control-was-possible-once-is-it-possible-still/>

Nuclear Deterrence and the Cuban Missile Crisis (Role-Playing Game)

- Scott Sagan, ‘Why do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three models in search of the bomb’, *International Security*, 21:3 (1996-7)
- Graham Allison, “The Cuban Missile Crisis at 50”, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012.

The Prospect of Nuclear Proliferation in the Middle East – The Case of Iran

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- Andrew Futter, "The Politics of Nuclear Weapons", (Sage: London, 2015), pp.124-128
- Kenneth Waltz, "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb", *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012, Volume. 91, No. 4, pp. 2-6.
- Emily Landau, "When Neorealism Meets the Middle East: Iran's Pursuit of Nuclear Weapons in (Regional) Context", *Strategic Assessment*, Vol. 15, No.3, October 2012, pp.27-38
- Yoel Guzansky, "The Saudi Nuclear Genie is Out", *The Washington Quarterly*, 38:1, 2015, pp. 93-106 (**optional**)

Israel's Deterrence Strategy

- Andrew Futter, "The Politics of Nuclear Weapons", (Sage: London, 2015) pp. 111-115
- Avner Cohen and Marvin Miller, "Bringing Israel's Bomb out of the Basement: Has Nuclear Ambiguity Outlived its Shelf Life?" *Foreign Affairs*, September-October 2010.
- Azriel Bermant, "Margaret Thatcher and the Middle East", Cambridge University Press: New York, 2016, pp.44-57 (**optional**)

Nuclear Weapons Proliferation - South Asia

- Sumit Ganguly and S. Paul Kapur, "India, Pakistan and the Bomb: Debating Nuclear Stability in South Asia" (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), pp.23-35
- Azriel Bermant, "Pakistan: Reducing the Risks of a Nuclear Disaster" in Emily B. Landau and Anat Kurz (eds) and *National Security: Arms Control New Horizons* (Tel Aviv: Institute for National Security Studies, April 2014), pp.31-42 (**optional**)

Mid-Term Multiple Choice Examination

Nuclear Weapons Proliferation - The case of North Korea

- Andrew Futter, "The Politics of Nuclear Weapons", (Sage: London, 2015), pp.120-124
- Christopher R. Hill, "The Elusive Vision of a Non-nuclear North Korea", *The Washington Quarterly*, 36:2, 2013, pp.7-19
- Denny Roy (2010) "Parsing Pyongyang's Strategy", *Survival*, 52:1, 111-136 (**optional**)

Arms Control Negotiations in the Middle East

- Emily Landau, "ACRS: what worked, what didn't, and what could be relevant for the region today", *Disarmament Forum*, no. 2 (Arms Control in the Middle East), 2008, pp.13-20
- Peter Jones, "Negotiating regional security and arms control in the Middle East: the ACRS experience and beyond", *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 26:3, 2003, 137-154
- Patricia Lewis, "A Middle East free of nuclear weapons: possible, probable or pipe-dream?", *International Affairs* 89: 2 (2013) 433-450 (**Optional**)



Class Discussion: Is A Nuclear Iran Inevitable?

Scott D. Sagan, "Armed and Dangerous: When Dictators Get the Bomb", *Foreign Affairs*, October 2018.

Arms Control Regimes – Successes and Failures

- Andrew Futter, "The Politics of Nuclear Weapons", (Sage: London, 2015), pp. 140-146
- Nina Tannenwald, "The Vanishing Nuclear Taboo? How Disarmament Fell Apart", *Foreign Affairs*, October 2018
- Carlo Masala, "Don't Beat a Dead Horse: The Past, Present, and Future Failures of the NPT", *The Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime at a Crossroads*, Emily B. Landau and Azriel Bermant (eds), 2014, *INSS Memorandum* No.137, pp.45-54
- Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "NPT: The Logic of Inequality", *Foreign Policy* (59, Summer 1985) pp. 123- 131 **(Optional)**

Nuclear Disarmament

- Andrew Futter, "The Politics of Nuclear Weapons", (Sage: London, 2015) pp. 172-186
- Bruno Tertrais, "The Illogic of Zero", *The Washington Quarterly*, 33:2, 2010, pp. 125-138
- Brad Roberts, "Ban the Bomb or Bomb the Ban? Next Steps on the Ban Treaty", *European Leadership Network*, March 2018 **(optional)**.
- <https://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/policy-brief/ban-the-bomb-or-bomb-the-ban/>
- Tom Sauer, "Whether you like it or not, the Nuclear Ban Treaty is here to stay", *European Leadership Network*, March 2018 **(optional)**.
- <https://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/commentary/whether-you-like-it-or-not-the-nuclear-ban-treaty-is-here-to-stay-a-reply-to-brad-roberts/>

The Chemical and Biological Weapons Threat

- Joseph Cirincione, Jon B. Wolfsthal and Miriam Rajkumar, *Deadly Arsenal: Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Threats*, (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: Washington DC, 2005), pp.329-364
- Nomi Bar-Yaacov, "Achieving Universality of the Chemical Weapons Convention in the Middle East", *Survival*, 57:6, 2015, 159-180 **(Optional)**
- Perry Robinson, "Difficulties Facing the Chemical Weapons Convention", *International Affairs*, March 2008, Vol. 84, No. 2, pp. 223-239 **(Optional)**

Missile Defence – A Threat to Strategic Stability?

- Andrew Futter, "The Politics of Nuclear Weapons", (Sage: London, 2015) pp. 146-149



- Ankit Panda and Vipin Narang, “Deadly Overconfidence: Trump Thinks Missile Defenses Work Against North Korea, and that Should Scare You”, *War on the Rocks*, October 2017.
- Azriel Bermant & Igor Sutyagin, ‘Moving Forward with THAAD: Why Unpopular Deterrence is Still Necessary’, *Foreign Affairs*, 21 August 2017 (**Optional**)
- Philip Gordon, “Bush, missile defence and the Atlantic alliance”, *Survival*, 43:1, 2001, pp.17-36. (**Optional**)
- Azriel Bermant, “The Russian and Iranian Missile Threats: Implications for NATO Missile Defense”, *INSS Memorandum* No.143, November 2014, pp.13-33, 65-69 (**optional**).

Missile Defence: The Case of Israel (Iron Dome, David’s Sling and the Arrow)

- Azriel Bermant and Emily B. Landau, “Iron Dome Protection: Missile Defense in Israel’s Security Concept” in Anat Kurz and Shlomo Brom (eds), in *The Lessons of Operation Protective Edge* (Tel Aviv: Institute for International Security Studies, November 2014), pp.37-42.

Class Discussion: The Greatest Threats to International Security in the Coming Decade

- George P. Shultz, William J. Perry, Henry A. Kissinger and Sam Nunn, “Toward a Nuclear-Free World”, *Wall Street Journal*, 15 January 2008.
- William Perry, ‘My Journey to the Nuclear Brink’ (Stanford; California, 2015), pp.91-102.

Nuclear Terrorism

- Andrew Futter, “The Politics of Nuclear Weapons”, (Sage: London, 2015), pp. 159-167
- Charles Ferguson and William Potter, “The Four Faces of Nuclear Terrorism” (London: Routledge, 2005), pp.14-45; 318-336 (**Optional**)
- Keir A. Lieber and Daryl G. Press, “Why States Won’t Give Nuclear Weapons to Terrorists”, *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Summer 2013), pp. 80-104 (**Optional**).

The Future of Deterrence / Conclusions

- William Perry, ‘My Journey to the Nuclear Brink’ (Stanford; California, 2015), pp.192-197.
- Steven Pifer, ‘A Realist’s Rationale for a World without Nuclear Weapons’ in “The War that Must Never be Fought” James Goodby and George P. Shultz (eds), Hoover Press, 2015, pp. 81-107.

Instructor Biography

Dr. Azriel Bermant is a historian and an international relations scholar. He is a lecturer in international Relations at Tel Aviv University and at the Rothberg International School, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He was a research fellow in security studies at the University of Nottingham between 2018 and 2019, and a research fellow in the arms control and regional security program at the Institute for National Security Studies, Tel Aviv University, between 2012 and 2015. He is the author of “Margaret Thatcher and the Middle East” (2016, Cambridge



University Press). His work has been published in distinguished journals such as *The International History Review* and in leading publications, including *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *The Guardian*, *Haaretz*, *Prospect Magazine* and *Standpoint*. He is a fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

TAU International Academic Guidelines

Students may only attend classes which they are officially registered for. No auditing of courses is permitted. Students are responsible for reading and adhering to all policies and procedures in the TAU International Academic Handbook [posted here](#) at all times. Below is a summary of some of these relevant policies and procedures.

Learning Accommodations

In accordance to University guidelines, TAU International may be able to accommodate students with learning disabilities or accommodation requests if these requests are also honored at the student's home university or home school. To be considered, students must submit official documentation from their home school or university (if not in English, a notarized official copy translated into English is required) to TAU International in advance of arrival describing in detail any specific needs and how these are accommodated at the home school or university. Students must also bring a copy of this documentation with them on-site and give it to their faculty on the first day of class while introducing themselves so that the faculty know who they are and what sorts of needs or accommodations they may have. **Without official documentation from the home school submitted on or before the first day of courses, TAU will not be able to honor accommodation support.**

With supporting documentation and by following the correct procedure as outlined above, TAU International and its faculty will do the best it can to make any suitable accommodations possible. However, we cannot guarantee that all accommodations received at the home school can be similarly met at TAU. For example, TAU is usually not able to offer note-taking services in English, private testing rooms, or advance viewing of classroom presentations, exams, or assignments.

It may be an option to provide a student with additional tutoring or support outside the classroom as needed. Students should be aware that this additional support cannot be guaranteed and is based on teacher availability in the subject as well as the specific student level. If available, the cost of additional tutoring or support will be the sole responsibility of the student.

In-Class Exams

TAU does not permit, under any circumstances, taking any in-class (including mid or final) exams early or later than the scheduled exam day. When selecting courses, it is thus very important to note if there is an in-class midterm or final exam as this date/exam cannot be changed. It is also the student's responsibility to clarify exam dates with the professors at the beginning of a course, with the understanding that not all exam dates can be decided up front as it can sometimes depend on the pace of the course and class learning. It is the student responsibility



to plan to be present for all courses including the final day of class for this reason. Early departures from the program are not approved, nor are early or exception in-class exams.

TAU International Absence Policy

Attendance is mandatory in all of the courses including Hebrew Ulpan. Faculty can and will take attendance regularly. Missing classes will be reflected in the final grade of the course. Up to three justified and properly documented absences from classes may be accepted (for example: emergency matter or illness, both of which will require a doctor's note). Such cases of absence should be reported to the faculty immediately and again, a doctor's note is required. Teachers are entitled to treat any lateness or absence without documentation as unexcused. Some of our courses such as Service Learning or the Internship Seminar require more practical in-class work; thus, attendance policies may be stricter in some courses and students then must adhere to the stricter attendance policy as outlined by the faculty/syllabus.

Students are required to arrive on time for classes. Teachers are entitled to treat any single case of lateness and/or repeated lateness as an unjustified absence.

Please note that according to official TAU Academic Policy, if a student's behavior or attendance during is disagreeable his/her course participation may be cancelled at the discretion of TAU with no due refund.

Grade Appeals

Students are responsible for checking grades once posted or distributed by faculty. The limited grade appeals window and the detailed procedure for appealing a grade – whether a graded assignment, exam or final grade – is outlined clearly in the policies and procedures in the TAU International Academic Handbook [posted here](#).

