

HERTOG 2019 SUMMER COURSES NUCLEAR STRATEGY AND WORLD ORDER

Ambassador Eric Edelman, counselor, Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments

Are we entering a dangerous new age of nuclear proliferation? A world in which the use of nuclear weapons is truly imaginable or even likely? And do the democratic nations of the world have a strategy to preserve order and protect themselves in this brave new world?

This one-week course will explore the ways nuclear weapons transformed the world we inhabit today, the effects of nuclear weapons on the conduct of international politics, and the challenges that multipolar nuclear competition and the rise of new technologies present for nuclear deterrence. Through background readings and discussion of case studies, students will gain the historical, strategic, and theoretical background necessary to allow them to understand and assess the key debates and policies regarding nuclear weapons that the United States will likely face in the coming decades.

Monday, June 10, 2019

9:00 a.m. to Noon **Introduction: Nuclear Deterrence & Extended Deterrence in the First Nuclear Age**

Readings:

- Lawrence Freedman, *Deterrence* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2008), pp. 26–59
- Henry A. Kissinger, *The Necessity for Choice* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1961), pp. 10–56
- Evan Braden Montgomery, *Extended Deterrence in the Second Nuclear Age*, (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, 2015), pp. 1–37
- Timothy W. Crawford, “The Endurance of Extended Deterrence: Continuity, Change, and Complexity in Theory and Policy,” in Paul, Morgan and Wirtz, *Complex Deterrence: Strategy in the Global Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 277–99

Discussion Questions:

1. What is deterrence, and what is necessary for it to work?
2. How much is enough for effective deterrence?
3. What is extended deterrence, and how do alliance commitments complicate credible deterrent threats?
4. How does the “Second Nuclear Age” differ from the first? What new (and old) challenges does the U.S. face?
5. Is the current U.S. approach to extended nuclear deterrence likely to remain adequate? If not, how might the U.S. adapt its extended nuclear deterrence posture to preserve stability across the regions that concern it most?

Noon to 1:00 p.m.

Group Lunch

1:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

Guest Speaker

Hal Brands, professor, Johns Hopkins SAIS and Senior Fellow at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments

Tuesday, June 11, 2019

9:00 a.m. to Noon **The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime & US Grand Strategy since 1945**

Readings:

- Memorandum for President Kennedy, February 16, 1963
- Francis J. Gavin, "Strategies of Inhibition: U.S. Grand Strategy, the Nuclear Revolution, and Nonproliferation," *International Security*, 40:1, pp. 9–46
- Hal Brands, "Rethinking Nonproliferation: LBJ, the Gilpatric Committee, and U.S. National Security Policy," *The Journal of Cold War Studies*, 8:2, pp. 82–113
- Matthew Kroenig, "U.S. Nuclear Weapons and Non-Proliferation: Is There a Link?" *Journal of Peace Research*, 53:2, pp. 166–79

Discussion Questions:

1. Why does the U.S. have a strong national interest in preventing nuclear proliferation?
2. Does nuclear proliferation produce stability or instability in the international system?
3. What is the relationship between proliferation and arms control?
4. Should states try to eliminate nuclear weapons or control their spread? What would be the best strategy to prevent nuclear proliferation?

Noon to 1:00 p.m. **Group Lunch**

1:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. **Guest Speaker**
Matthew Kroenig, professor, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University

Wednesday, June 12, 2019

9:00 a.m. to Noon **Multipolar Nuclear Competition & Scenarios for Nuclear Weapons Use in the Second Nuclear Age**

Readings:

- Andrew Krepinevich and Jacob Cohn, *Rethinking Armageddon: Scenario Planning in the Second Nuclear Age*, (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, 2016), pp. 10–22, 65–81
- Andrew Krepinevich, "The Eroding Balances of Terror: The Decline of Deterrence," *Foreign Affairs*, January-February 2019
- Vipin Narang, "Nuclear Strategies of Emerging Nuclear Powers: North Korea and Iran," *The Washington Quarterly*, 38:1, pp. 73–91
- Zenel Garcia, "Strategic Stability in the Twenty-first Century: The Challenge of the Second Nuclear Age and the Logic of Stability Interdependence," *Comparative Strategy*, 36:4, pp. 354–365
- Rebecca Davis Gibbons and Keir Lieber, "How Durable is the Nuclear Weapons Taboo?" *Journal of Strategic Studies* 42:1, pp. 29–54

Discussion Questions:

1. What are the distinctive security challenges of nuclear multipolarity?
2. What does “strategic stability” mean in a multipolar nuclear world?
3. Can a state deter, and if necessary fight, nuclear wars with multiple nuclear-armed adversaries?
4. How and why do nuclear weapons spread? What strategies can we expect emerging nuclear powers to adopt (Iran, North Korea)?

Noon to 1:00 p.m.

Group Lunch

1:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

Guest Speaker

Ray Takeyh, senior fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

Thursday, June 13, 2019

9:00 a.m. to Noon Disruptive Technologies & the Renewed Prospects for “Limited” Nuclear War

Readings:

- Keir A. Lieber and Daryl G. Press, “The New Era of Counterforce: Technological Change and the Future of Nuclear Deterrence,” *International Security*, 41:4, pp. 9–49
- Stephen J. Cimbala, “Nuclear Deterrence and Cyber Warfare: Coexistence or Competition?” *Defense and Security Analysis*, 33:3, pp. 193–208
- Speier, Nacouzi, Lee, and Moore, *Hypersonic Missile Nonproliferation: Hindering the Spread of a New Class of Weapons*, (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2017), pp. 7–19
- Kareem Ayoub and Kenneth Payne, “Strategy in the Age of Artificial Intelligence,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 39:5–6, pp. 793–819
- Matthew Kroenig and Tristan Volpe, “3-D Printing the Bomb? The Nuclear Nonproliferation Challenge,” *The Washington Quarterly*, 38:3, pp. 7–19
- Thomas C. Mahnken, “Future Scenarios of Limited Nuclear Conflict,” in Larsen and Kartchner, *On Limited Nuclear War in the 21st Century*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford U. Press, 2014), pp. 129–43
- Robert Peters, Justin Anderson, and Harrison Menke, “Deterrence in the 21st Century: Integrating Nuclear and Conventional Force,” *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 12 (4) (Winter 2018): 15-43

Discussion Questions:

1. What are the implications of new technologies—e.g., precision and hypersonic weapons, antimissile defense, cyber-attack capabilities, and artificial intelligence—for nuclear deterrence?
2. Is nuclear deterrence more stable if human beings are in or out of the decision-making loop?
3. What is “limited” nuclear war? What are the different scenarios under which a limited nuclear strike might occur?
4. What can the U.S. do to deter limited nuclear attacks by adversaries?

Noon to 1:00 p.m.

Group Lunch

1:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

Guest Speaker

Amb. Robert Joseph, senior scholar, National Institute for Public Policy

Friday, June 14, 2019

9:00 a.m. to Noon

Crisis Simulation

*Simulation Leader: **Evan Montgomery**, senior fellow, CSBA*

In this active learning exercise, students participate in a simulation of a future crisis between the U.S. and North Korea involving the danger of a nuclear conflict. Students will be assigned to country-teams, who will each receive a backgrounder on their interests and positions. The goal of the exercise is to give students an appreciation for the complex role of nuclear weapons in the making of national security policy. The simulation was designed by the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Analysis.

Noon to 3:00 p.m.

Group Lunch & Closing Discussion

Instructor & Speaker Biographies

Instructor



Ambassador Eric S. Edelman is a Counselor at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments and the Roger Hertog Distinguished Practitioner-in-Residence at the Philip Merrill Center for Strategic Studies at Johns Hopkins. He has served in senior positions at the Departments of State and Defense as well as the White House, where he has led organizations providing analysis, strategy, policy development, security services, trade advocacy, public outreach, citizen services, and congressional relations.

As undersecretary of defense for policy, he was DoD's senior policy official, overseeing strategy development with global responsibility for bilateral defense relations, war plans, special operations forces, homeland defense, missile defense, nuclear weapons and arms control policies, counterproliferation, counternarcotics, counterterrorism, arms sales, and defense trade controls. He served as U.S. Ambassador to Finland in the Clinton administration and Turkey in the Bush administration and was Vice President Cheney's principal deputy assistant for national security affairs. He was chief of staff to Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, special assistant to Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Robert Kimmitt, and special assistant to Secretary of State George Shultz. His other assignments included the State Department Operations Center, Prague, Moscow, and Tel Aviv, where he was a member of the U.S. Middle East delegation to the West Bank/Gaza autonomy talks. Along with Ray Takeyh, he is the author of *Revolution and Aftermath: Forging a New Strategy Toward Iran* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 2018).

Speakers



Hal Brands is Henry A. Kissinger Distinguished Professor of Global Affairs at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). He is the author or editor of several books, including *Making the Unipolar Moment: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Rise of the Post-Cold War Order* (2016), *What Good is Grand Strategy? Power and Purpose in American Statecraft from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush* (2014), *Latin America's Cold War* (2010), *From Berlin to Baghdad: America's Search for Purpose in the Post-Cold War World* (2008), and *The Power of the Past: History and Statecraft* (co-edited with Jeremi Suri, 2015).



Robert Joseph holds the position of Senior Scholar at the National Institute for Public Policy. Joseph served as Ambassador to the U.S.-Russian Commission on Nuclear Testing. Until March 2007, Ambassador Joseph was Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security. From January 2001 through November 2004, Dr. Joseph served in the National Security Council as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Proliferation Strategy, Counterproliferation and Homeland Defense.



Matthew Kroenig is an Associate Professor in the Department of Government and the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University and a Senior Fellow in the Brent Scowcroft Center on International Security at The Atlantic Council. Dr. Kroenig is the author or editor of six books, including *The Logic of American Nuclear Strategy*. He was a senior national security adviser on the 2016 Marco Rubio presidential campaign and a foreign policy adviser on the 2012 Mitt Romney campaign. He has served in several positions in the U.S. Department of Defense and the intelligence community, has testified before Congressional committees, and regularly consults with U.S. government entities.



Evan Montgomery is a Senior Fellow at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. From October 2016 through December 2017, he served as Special Advisor to the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In that capacity, Dr. Montgomery supported the Vice Chairman in his responsibilities within the Joint Staff, the Department of Defense, and the interagency, with an emphasis on innovation, nuclear modernization, and organizational reform. During his time on the Joint Staff, he participated in the National Defense Strategy, the Nuclear Posture Review, and the Advanced Capabilities and Deterrence Panel.



Ray Takeyh is Hasib J. Sabbagh senior fellow for Middle East studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. His areas of specialization are Iran, political reform in the Middle East, and Islamist movements and parties. Prior to joining CFR, Takeyh was senior advisor on Iran at the Department of State. He was previously a fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. He is the coauthor (with Amb. Edelman) of *Revolution and Aftermath: Forging a New Strategy Toward Iran*, and author of *Guardians of the Revolution: Iran and the World in the Age of the Ayatollahs* and *Hidden Iran: Paradox and Power in the Islamic Republic*.

Suggested Background Reading

(Available electronically and in hard copy upon request)

General

1. U.S. Department of Defense
 - a. 2018 National Defense Strategy
 - b. 2018 Nuclear Posture Review
 - c. 2019 Ballistic Missile Defense Review
 - d. 2018 National Defense Strategy Commission Report (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2018)
2. Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Opening Statement before the Senate Armed Services Committee, January 25, 2018
3. General (ret.) Kevin Chilton, "On U.S. Nuclear Deterrence," *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, Winter 2017
4. Paul Bracken, *The Second Nuclear Age*, 2012
5. Edward Geist and Andrew Lohn, *How Might Artificial Intelligence Affect the Risk of Nuclear War?*, RAND Corp., April 2018
6. Mark S. Bell, "Beyond Emboldenment: How Acquiring Nuclear Weapons Can Change Foreign Policy," *International Security*, 40:1, pp. 87–119
7. Vipin Narang, "What Does it Take to Deter?: Regional Power, Nuclear Postures and International Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 57:3, pp. 478–508
8. Vipin Narang, "Strategies of Nuclear Proliferation: How States Pursue the Bomb," *International Security*, 41:3, pp. 110–50
9. Andrew Krepinevich, *Critical Mass: Nuclear Proliferation in the Middle East*, (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, 2013), pp. 33–60
10. Bruce Bennett, "On U.S. Preparedness for Limited Nuclear War," in Larsen and Kartchner, pp. 211–41

For the North Korea Simulation

1. Van Jackson, *Rival Reputations: Coercion and Credibility in US-North Korea Relations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016)
2. Van Jackson, *On The Brink: Trump, Kim and the Threat of Nuclear War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019)
3. Sung Chull Kim and Michael D. Cohen, eds. *North Korea and Nuclear Weapons: Entering the New Era of Deterrence* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2017)
4. Jeffrey Lewis, PhD, *A Speculative Novel: The 2020 Commission Report on the North Korean Nuclear Attacks against the United States* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 2018)
5. Oriana Skylar Mastro, "Conflict and Chaos on the Korean Peninsula: Can China's Military Help Secure North Korea's Nuclear Weapons," *International Security*, 43:2, pp. 84–116