



The Power-Politics of Counterproliferation:

The United States, France and the Legalization of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime

(1993-2006)

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Abstract

How has the United States sought to shape its unipolar moment since the end of the Cold War? Has Washington's liberal hegemonic leadership proved resilient or are we witnessing a shift towards an imperialist approach to international cooperation marked by a reliance on force and the imposition of policy preferences?

This dissertation seeks answers from two angles. First, it argues that the way in which the US government has been dealing with the nuclear non-proliferation regime can teach us about the terms in which it may currently be seeking to shape the unipolar moment in part based on its nuclear supremacy. Through international institutions the powerful seek to shape the behaviour of state-actors in setting constitutive standards for being member of the community of states and norm or rules to regulate behaviour within it.

Since the adoption of the National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction in December 2002, we are witnessing the *legalization* of the regime: The George W. Bush administration has since then adopted a series of policy initiatives formalizing and enforcing core norms of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty based on counterproliferation policy tenets developed at US level since the launch of the Counterproliferation Initiative in 1993. In tracing the adoption and implementation phases of the Proliferation Security Initiative and of UN Security Council Resolution 1540, it scrutinizes Washington's approach to international cooperation and its legitimation preferences to identify elements of hegemonic leadership and imperial domination.

Second, it focuses on Washington's evolving relations with France as Nuclear Weapon State and co-constitutive member of the transatlantic security community, Iran as 'rogue' state and India as de facto Nuclear Weapon State outside of the NPT realm. Ties between Washington and Paris are marked by an informal hierarchy, whilst Washington has sought to win India's acceptance of its hegemonic leadership, and Iran has been ostracised from the international community on the grounds of its suspected nuclear military aspirations. Washington has arguably begun to draw the boundaries between 'ins' and 'outs' of its intersubjectively constituted hegemonic leadership on the basis of these state's relation to the nuclear weapon.



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Short bio: Sophie C. Brune is of German and French citizenship and was born in West Berlin (Germany). She obtained her Masters degree in International Relations and Economics from St Andrews University (Scotland, UK), and further specialised in European Studies at the Humboldt Universität in Berlin, as well at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques (Sciences-Po) in Paris, France.

She has worked in Brussels at the French Permanent Representation to the EU; at the German Embassy in Stockholm, at the think tank Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik in Berlin, as well as at the Representation of the European Commission in Paris. On 4. July 2008 she defended her PhD entitled "The Power Politics of Counterproliferation: The United States and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime (1993-2006)" at the European University Institute (Florence). Her fields of interests are transatlantic security cooperation, counterproliferation policies and their implementation (PSI, UNSCR 1540) and EU external relations (CFSP, ESDP).