

Political Science 190-454
Fall 2021
Monday 4:00-6:30

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Office Hours: 10-12 Tuesday
& by appointment

NUCLEAR WEAPONS & WORLD POLITICS

DESCRIPTION: Over the seven decades since their invention, nuclear weapons have been of paramount concern for international politics and international theory. This course examines what is perhaps the most basic question: what political arrangements are consistent with security from nuclear weapons? Vast disagreements exist about every aspect of this topic. Debate about this question has passed through roughly three stages. In the first stage, from roughly 1945 to 1960, expectations were high that nuclear war would occur soon, and a variety of very radical political changes were routinely envisioned. In the second stage, from roughly 1960 to 1990, the number of nuclear weapons in existence was enormous, but most theorists thought that deterrence was the basic fact of politics in a nuclear world, but they greatly disagreed about what was necessary for deterrence, with some holding that vast numbers of nuclear weapons prepared for immediate use were necessary for deterrence, while others held that much smaller numbers, combined with a variety of arms control measures, was necessary. This stage of the debate ended abruptly and unexpectedly with the end of the cold war, and major arms control treaties that accompanied it, but there remains great disagreement about the role that nuclear weapons and arms control policies played in this event. In the third stage, 1990-to the present, the problems of proliferation of nuclear weapons and terrorism by non-state actors have been of paramount concern, but disagreements have been vast between those who support preventive and pre-emptive wars of counter-proliferation and counter-terrorism, and those who support strengthened and broadened arms control, even the abolition of nuclear weapons. Throughout these three stages of this great nuclear debate, realist international theories have also been very conflicted. Great disagreement also exists about the relevance of arms control and popular public involvement, as well as the impacts of nuclear security measures on the survival of liberal democratic constitutional government.

REQUIREMENTS:

1. Reading Assignments and Class Participation.
2. Two papers, each approximately 15 pages in length, analyzing some major argument presented in the assigned readings.
3. The first paper is due Friday, October 23 at midnight. The Second paper is due the last day of exam period.

Readings are on library RESERVE. A few others, marked EXCERPTS DISTRIBUTED, will be sent to you by e-mail.

MK TWO 9/7/21

1. INTRODUCTION

Daniel Deudney, "The Great Debate: The Nuclear-Political Question and World Orders," in William Wohlforth and Alexandra Gheciu, eds., *The Oxford Handbook on International Security* (Oxford University Press, 2018), pp.334-349. [15 pgs] RESERVE

Steven E. Miller, "A Nuclear World Transformed: the Rise of Multilateral Disorder," *Daedalus*, spring 2020, 149(2), pp.18-36. [18 pgs] RESERVE

Andrew Krepinevich, Jr., "The Eroding Balance of Terror: The Decline of Deterrence," *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2019, pp.62-74 [12 pgs] RESERVE

2. NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY, WEAPONS & WAR

Jonathan Schell, *The Fate of the Earth* (Knopf, 1982). [about 5300 words] EXCERPTS DISTRIBUTED

"Nuclear Science, Technology, Weapons & War" Power Point Text & Images DISTRIBUTED

Colin N. Water, et al., "Can Nuclear Weapons Fallout Mark the Beginning of the Anthropocene Epoch?" *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 7(3), 2015, pp.46-57. [11 pgs] RESERVE

Matthew Connelly, et al, "'General, I Have Fought Just as Many Nuclear Wars as You Have:'" Forecasts, Future Scenarios, and the Politics of Armageddon," *American Historical Review*, 117(5), December 2102, pp.1431-1460. [29 pgs] RESERVE

PART I: THE GREAT DEBATE, 1945-1990

3. NUCLEAR ONE WORLDISM

John Herz, "The Rise and Demise of the Territorial State," *World Politics*, 1957, pp.473-493. [20 pgs] RESERVE

Daniel Deudney, "Anticipations of World Nuclear Government," ch.9, *Bounding Power* (Princeton, 2007), pp.244-264. [20 pgs] RESERVE

Daniel Deudney, "Going Critical: Toward a Modified Nuclear One Worldism," *Journal of International Political Theory*, 2019, 15(3), pp.367-385. [18 pgs] RESERVE

4. WAR STRATEGISM

Colin Gray, *The Geopolitics of the Nuclear Era: Heartlands, Rimlands, and the Technological Revolution* (New York: Crane, Russak, 1977) [76 pgs] RESERVE

Colin Gray, "Nuclear Strategy: The Case for a Theory of Victory," *International Security*, 4(1), summer 1979, pp.54-87. [33 pgs] RESERVE

Kier A. Lieber and Daryl G. Press, "The End of MAD? The Nuclear Dimension of U.S. Primacy," *International Security*, 30(4), spring 2006, pp.7-44. [37 pgs] RESERVE

5. DETERRENCE & NUCLEAR REVOLUTION THEORY

Brendan Rittenhouse Green, ch.1 & 2, "the Nuclear Revolution Revisited" and "The Delicacy of the Nuclear Balance," *The Revolution that Failed: Nuclear Competition, Arms Control and the Cold War* (Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 9-47. [38 pgs] RESERVE

Kenneth Waltz, "Nuclear Myths and Political Realities," *American Political Science Review*, 84(3), September 1990, pp.731-44. [13 pgs] RESERVE

James R. Holmes, "Sea Changes: The Future of Nuclear Deterrence," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 72(4), 2016, pp.228-233. [5 pgs] RESERVE

6. ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Richard L. Russell, "The Nuclear Peace Fallacy: How Deterrence Can Fail," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 26(1), March 2003, pp.136-155. [19 pgs] RESERVE

Benoit Pelopidas, "The Unbearable Lightness of Luck: Three Sources of Overconfidence in the Controllability of Nuclear Crises," *European Journal of International Security*, 2017, 2(2), pp.240-262. [22 pgs] RESERVE

Harold Feiveson, et al, Part I "Staged Reductions and De-Alerting of Nuclear Forces," *The Nuclear Turning Point: A Blueprint for Deep Cuts and De-Altering of Nuclear Weapons* (Brookings, 1999), pp.3-30. [27 pgs] RESERVE

Patricia Lewis, Heather Williams, Benoit Pelopidas, and Susan Aglani, *Two Close for Comfort: Cases of Near Nuclear Use and Options for Policy* Chatham House Report (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2014), pp.1-30. [30 pgs] RESERVE

Bruno Tertrais, "'On the Brink' – Really? Revisiting Nuclear Close Calls Since 1945," *The Washington Quarterly*, 40(2), summer 2017, pp.51-66. [15 pgs] RESERVE

Colin Gray, ch.1 “The Magic Kingdom of Arms Control,” ch.2 “Weapons and War,” and ch.7 “To Bury Arms Control, Not to Praise It,” *House of Cards: Why Arms Control Must Fail* (Cornell University Press, 1992), pp.1-24, 55-69, 179-214 [79 pgs] RESERVE

7. NUCLEAR ABOLITION & MODIFIED NUCLEAR ONE WORLDISM

Jonathan Schell, *The Abolition* (Knopf, 1984). EXCERPTS DISTRIBUTED

Josef Joffe and James W. Davis, “Less than Zero,” *Foreign Affairs*, 90(1), Jan/Feb 2011, pp.7-13. [6 pgs] RESERVE

Alton Frye, “Zero Ballistic Missiles,” *Foreign Policy*, fall 1992, pp.3-20 [17 pgs] RESERVE

Beatrice Fihn, “The Logic of Banning Nuclear Weapons,” *Survival*, 59(1), February-March 2017, pp.43-50. [7 pgs] RESERVE

Daniel Deudney, “Geopolitics and Change,” in Michael Doyle and G. John Ikenberry eds., *New Thinking In International Theory* (Westview, 1997), pp.91-123. [particularly 104-108] [4 pgs] RESERVE

Daniel Deudney, “Geopolitics as Theory: Historical Security Materialism,” *European Journal of International Relations*, 6(1), March 2000, pp.77-108. [particularly pp.87-97] [10 pgs] RESERVE

8. NUCLEAR POPULISM & LIBERAL-DEMOCRATIC-CONSTITUTIONAL STATES

Jeffrey Knopf, “NGOs, Social Movements, and Arms Control,” ch.12 in Robert Williams and Paul Viotti, eds., *Arms Control: History, Theory, and Policy* (Praeger/ABC-CLIO, 2012), pp.169-192. [23 pgs] RESERVE

H. Bartholomew Cox, “Raison d’Etat and World Survival: Who Constitutionally Makes Nuclear War?” *The George Washington Law Review*, 57(6), August 1989, pp.1614-1635. [19 pgs] RESERVE

Matthew Randall. “Nuclear Weapons and Intergenerational Exploitation,” *Security Studies*, 16(4), Oct-Dec. 2007, pp.525-554. [29 pgs] RESERVE

Daniel Deudney, “Political Fission: State Structure, Civil Society and Nuclear Security Politics in the United States,” in Ronnie Lipschutz ed., *On Security* (Columbia University Press, 1995), pp.87-123. [26 pgs] RESERVE

9. THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

Benjamin Schwartz, “The Real Cuban Missile Crisis,” *The Atlantic*, Jan/Feb. 2013. [about 3400 words] RESERVE

Martin J. Sherwin, *Gambling with Armageddon: Nuclear Roulette from Hiroshima to the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Knopf, 2020), ch. 1-4, “Reflections on Luck in History,” “World War III was about to Begin,” “We Will Die, but We Will Sink Them All,” “Capt. Vasily Alexandrovich Arkhipov,” pp.3-28. [25 pgs] RESERVE

Marc Trachtenberg, “The Influence of Nuclear Weapons in the Cuban Missile Crisis,” *International Security*, vol.10, no.1, summer 1985, pp.137-163. [27 pgs] RESERVE

Vladislav M. Zubok, “The Nuclear Education of Khrushchev, 1953-1963, ch. 5, *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev* (University of North Carolina Press, 2007), pp.123-153. [30 pgs] RESERVE

John Lewis Gaddis, “The Cuban Missile Crisis,” ch. 9 *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford University Press, 1997), pp.260-281. [21 pgs]. RESERVE

10. NUCLEAR WEAPONS & THE END OF THE COLD WAR

Vladislav M. Zubok, “Gorbachev and the End of Soviet Power,” ch. 10, and “Epilogue,” *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev* (University Press of North Carolina, 2007), pp.303-344. [41 pgs] RESERVE

William C. Wohlforth, “Realism and the End of the Cold War,” *International Security*, 19(3), winter 1994/95, pp.91-129. [38 pgs] RESERVE

Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry, “Pushing and Pulling: The Western System, Nuclear Weapons, and the End of the Cold War,” *International Politics*, July/September 2011, pp.496-554. [48 pgs] RESERVE

PART II: THE GREAT DEBATE, 1990-2015

11. PROLIFERATION, COUNTER-PROLIFERATION & NUCLEAR MULTIPOLARITY

Richard K. Betts, “Paranoids, Pygmies, Pariahs and Nonproliferation,” *Foreign Policy*, no.26, 1977, pp.157-183. [26 pgs] RESERVE

Scott D. Sagan, “Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb” *International Security*, 21(3), winter 1996/7, pp.54-86. [30 pgs] RESERVE

Derek D. Smith “Deterrence and Counterproliferation in an Age of Weapons of Mass Destruction,” *Security Studies*, 12(4), summer 2003, pp. 152-197. [45 pgs] RESERVE

Matthew Kroenig, “Time to Attack Iran,” *Foreign Affairs*, Jan-Feb. 2012, 91(1), pp.76-86 [10 pgs] RESERVE

John J. Mearsheimer, “Iran Is Rushing to Build a Nuclear Weapon – and Trump Can’t Stop It,” *The New York Times*, July 1, 2019, [5 pgs] RESERVE

James R. Holmes and Toshi Yoshihara, “Thinking the Unthinkable: Tokyo’s Nuclear Option,” ch.7 in Toshi Yoshihara and James R. Holmes, eds., *Strategy in the Second Nuclear Age: Power, Ambition, and the Ultimate Weapon* (Georgetown University Press, 2012), pp.115-132 [17 pgs] RESERVE

12. BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE, GLOBAL STRIKE & SPACE WEAPONS

Barry Posen, “Command of the Commons: The Military Foundations of U.S. Hegemony,” *International Security*, 28, summer 2003. [40 pgs] RESERVE

Richard L. Garwin, “A Defense That Will Not Defend,” in Lennon, ed., *Contemporary Nuclear Debates* (MIT, 2003), pp.29-47. [18 pgs] RESERVE

Thomas G. Roberts, “Why a Space-Based Missile Interceptor System is Not Viable,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 74(4), 2018, pp.238-242. [4 pgs] RESERVE

George Lewis and Frank von Hippel, “Limitation on Ballistic Missile Defense – Past and Possibly Future,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 74(4), 2018, pp.199-209. [10 pgs] RESERVE

Laura Grego, “US Ground-based Midcourse Missile Defense: Expensive and Unreliable,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 74(4), 2018, pp.220-226. [6 pgs] RESERVE

Kier A. Lieber and Daryl G. Press, “The New Era of Counterforce: Technological Change and the Future of Deterrence,” *International Security*, 41(4), spring 2017, pp.9-49. [40 pgs] RESERVE

Karl P. Mueller, “Totem and Taboo: Depolarizing the Space Weapons Debate,” *Astropolitics*, 1(1), spring 2003, pp.4-28 [24 pgs] RESERVE

Erik Gatzke and Jon R. Lindsay, “Thermonuclear Cyberwar,” *Journal of Cybersecurity*, Feb 2017, pp.1-12. [11 pgs] RESERVE

13. WMD TERRORISM, NON-STATE ACTORS & LDC STATES

Richard Betts, "The Soft Underbelly of American Primacy: Tactical Advantages of Terror," *Political Science Quarterly*, 2002, pp.19-36 [17 pgs] RESERVE

Gary Ackerman and William C. Potter, "Catastrophic Nuclear Terrorism as a Preventable Act," ch. 19, in Nick Bostrom and Milan M. Cirkovic, eds., *Global Catastrophic Risks* (Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.402-422. [40 pgs] RESERVE

Daniel Deudney, "Omniviolence, Arms Control and Limited Government," in Stephen Macedo and Jeffrey Tulis, eds., *The Limits of Constitutionalism* (Princeton University Press, 2010), pp.297-316. [25 pgs] RESERVE

Kim Lane Scheppele, "The Migration of Anti-Constitutional Ideas: The Post-9/11 Globalization of Public Law and the International State of Emergency," in Sujit Choudhry, ed., *The Migration of Constitutional Ideas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp.347-373. [26 pgs]. RESERVE

EXTRA READING:

2. NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY, WEAPONS & WAR

Lawrence Badash, *A Nuclear Winter's Tale: Science and Politics in the 1980s* (MIT Press, 2009)

Geoffrey L. Herrera, *Technology and International Transformation: The Railroad, the Atom Bomb, and the Politics of Technological Change* (SUNY, 2006) [206 pgs]

Kier A. Lieber, *War and the Engineers: The Primacy of Politics over Technology* (Cornell University Press, 2005).

John Mueller, *Atomic Obsession: Nuclear Alarmism from Hiroshima to Al-Qaeda* (Oxford University Press, 2009).

3. NUCLEAR ONE WORLDISM

John Herz, *International Politics in the Atomic Age* (Columbia University Press, 1959).

Campbell Craig, *Glimmer of a New Leviathan: Total War in the Realism of Neibuhr, Morgenthau, and Waltz* (Columbia University Press, 2003). [173 pgs]

Rens van Munster and Casper Sylvest, *Nuclear Realism: Global Political Thought during the Thermonuclear Revolution* (Routledge, 2017).

James Burnham, *The Struggle for the World* (John Day, 1947).

George Quester, *Nuclear Monopoly* (Transaction, 2000).

Wesley T. Wooley, *Alternatives to Anarchy: American Supranationalism since World War II* (University of Indiana Press, 1988)

Paul Boyer, *By the Bombs Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (Pantheon, 1985).

4. WAR STRATEGISM

Todd S. Sechser and Matthew Fuhrman, *Nuclear Weapons and Coercive Diplomacy* (Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Brad Roberts, *The Case for U.S. Nuclear Weapons in the Twenty-First Century* (Stanford University Press, 2016).

Richard Ned Lebow, *Nuclear Crisis Management: A Dangerous Illusion* (Cornell University Press, 1987).

Edward Kaplan, *To Kill Nations: American Strategy in the Air-Atomic Age and the Rise of Mutually Assured Destruction* (Cornell University Press, 2015). xx

David F. Krugler, *This Is Only a Test: How Washington D.C. Prepared for Nuclear War* (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2006), pp.264.

George Quester, *Nuclear First Strike: Consequences of a Broken Taboo* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006)

5. DETERRENCE & NUCLEAR REVOLUTION THEORY

John Mueller, *Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War* (Basic Books, 1989).

Avery Goldstein, *Deterrence and Security in the 21st century: China, Britain, and Enduring Legacy of the Nuclear Revolution* (Stanford University Press, 2000).

Nina Tannenwald, *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons since 1945* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Bruce Blair, *Strategic Command and Control: Redefining the Nuclear Threat* (Brookings, 1985).

Francis J. Gavin, *Nuclear Statecraft: History and Strategy in America's Atomic Age* (Cornell University Press, 2012).

6. ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Bruce G. Blair, *The Logic of Accidental Nuclear War* (Brookings, 1993).

Scott Sagan, *The Limits of Safety: Organizations, Accidents and Nuclear Weapons* (Princeton University Press, 1993).

Thomas Schelling and Morton Halperin, *Strategy and Arms Control* (The Twentieth Century Fund, 1961), (re-issued 1985, with new introduction).

Hedley Bull, *The Control of the Arms Race* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1961).

Michael A. Levi and Michael E. O'Hanlon, *The Future of Arms Control* (Brookings, 2005).

7. NUCLEAR ABOLITION & MODIFIED NUCLEAR ONE WORLDISM

Harold A. Feiveson, Alexander Glaser, Zia Mian, and Frank von Hippel, *Unmaking the Bomb: A Fissile Material Approach to Nuclear Disarmament and Nonproliferation* (MIT Press, 2014).

Philip Taubman, *The Partnership: Five Cold Warriors and their Quest to Ban the Bomb* (Harper/Collins, 2012).

8. NUCLEAR POPULISM & LIBERAL-DEMOCRATIC-CONSTITUTIONAL STATES

Jeffrey W. Knopf, *Domestic Society and International Cooperation: The Impact of Protest on US Arms Control Policy* (Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Joseph Masco, *Theater of Operations: National Security Affect from the Cold War to the War on Terrorism* (Duke University Press, 2104).

Elaine Scarry, *Thermonuclear Monarchy: Choosing between Democracy and Doom* (Norton, 2013).

Peter Douglas Feaver, *Guarding the Guardians: Civilian Control of Nuclear Weapons in the United States* (Cornell University Press, 1992).

Lawrence S. Wittner, *Confronting the Bomb: A Short History of the World Disarmament Movement* (Stanford University Press, 2009).

Garry Wills, *Bomb Power: The Modern Presidency and the National Security State* (Penguin, 2010).

9. THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

Norman Polmar and John D. Gresham, *DEFCON-2: Standing on the Brink of Nuclear War during the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Wiley, 2006).

James G. Blight, *The Shattered Crystal Ball: Fear and Learning in the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1992).

Sheldon M. Stern, *The Cuban Missile Crisis in American Memory: Myth versus Reality* (Stanford University Press, 2012).

Sheldon M. Stern, *Averting the 'Final Failure': John F. Kennedy and the Secret Cuban Missile Crisis Meetings* (Stanford University Press, 2003).

Sheldon M. Stern, *The Week the World Stood Still: Inside the Secret Cuban Missile Crisis* (Stanford University Press, 2005).

Timothy Naftali and Alexandr Fursenko, *One Hell of a Gamble: Khrushchev, Castro, and Kennedy* (Norton, 1997).

10. NUCLEAR WEAPONS & THE END OF THE COLD WAR

Paul Lettow, *Ronald Reagan and His Quest to Abolish Nuclear Weapons* (Random House, 2005).

James Mann, *The Rebellion of Ronald Reagan: A History of the End of the Cold War* (Viking, 2009).

Matthew Evangelista, *Unarmed Forces: The Transnational Movement to End the Cold War* (Cornell University Press, 1999).

Stephen Shenfield, *The Nuclear Predicament: Explorations in Soviet Ideology* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987).

David Hoffman, *The Dead Hand: The Untold Story of the Cold War and Its Dangerous Legacy* (Doubleday, 2009).

Sigfried S. Hecker, ed., *Doomed to Cooperate: How American and Russian Scientists Joined Forces to Avert Some of the Greatest Post-Cold War Nuclear Dangers* (Bathtub Row Press, 2015. [pp.976]

11. PROLIFERATION, COUNTER-PROLIFERATION & NUCLEAR MULTIPOLARITY

Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate*, second edition, (New York: Norton, 2007).

Shampa Biswas, *Nuclear Desire: Power and the Postcolonial Nuclear Order* (University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

Jacques E.C. Hymans, *The Psychology of Nuclear Proliferation: Identity, Emotions, and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Etel Solingen, *Nuclear Logics: Contrasting Paths in East Asia and the Middle East* (Princeton, 2007). [299 pgs]

Alexandre Debs and Nuno P. Monteiro, *Nuclear Politics: The Strategic Causes of Proliferation* (Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Paul Bracken, *The Second Nuclear Age: Strategy, Danger, and the New Power Politics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2012).

Richard Rhodes, *The Twilight of the Bombs: Recent Challenges, New Dangers, and the Prospect for a World without Nuclear Weapons* (Knopf, 2010).

12. BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE, GLOBAL STRIKE & SPACE WEAPONS

Colin S. Gray, *The Second Nuclear Age* (Lynne Reiner, 1999).

Keith B. Payne, *The Fallacies of Cold War Deterrence and a New Direction* (The University Press of Kentucky, 2001).

Ernest J. Yanarella, *The Missile Defense Controversy: Technology in Search of a Mission* (University Press of Kentucky, 2002).

Everett C. Dolman, *Astropolitik: Classical Geopolitics in the Space Age* (Frank Cass, 2002).

James Clay Moltz, *The Politics of Space Security: Strategic Restraint and the Pursuit of National Interests* (Stanford University Press, 2009).

13. WMD TERRORISM, NON-STATE ACTORS & LDC STATES

Charles D. Ferguson and William C. Potter, *The Four Faces of Nuclear Terrorism* (Routledge, 2006). [333 pgs]

Matthew Carr, *The Infernal Machine: A History of Terrorism from the Assassination of Tsar Alexander II to Al-Qaeda* (New Press, 2006).

Richard L. Garwin and Georges Charpak, *Megawatts and Megatons: The Future of Nuclear Power and Nuclear Weapons* (University of Chicago, 2003).

Francis Flannery, *Understanding Apocalyptic Terrorism: Countering the Radical Mindset* (Routledge, 2016).

John Mueller, *Overblown: How Politicians and the Terrorism Industry Inflate National Security Threats and Why We Believe Them* (Free Press, 2006).

Benjamin E. Schwartz, *Right of Boom: The Aftermath of Nuclear Terrorism* (Overlook Press, 2015).

David Cortwright and George A. Lopez, eds., *United Against Terror: Cooperative Nonmilitary Responses to the Global Terrorist Threat* (MIT Press, 2007).

Fred Charles Ikle, *Annihilation from Within: the Ultimate Threat to Nations* (Columbia University Press, 2006), pp.107.