



SECURITY IN A NUCLEAR-ARMED WORLD

Benoît PELOPIDAS and Kjølvi EGELAND

Language of instruction

English

Spring Semester 2021

Course description

This course will introduce the main debates about nuclear weapons and their effects on international security. Every session will be devoted to a crucial problem of the 'nuclear age' which is still relevant to contemporary security policymaking. How do we know that something "is nuclear" or not? Is there a "nuclear revolution" and if so, what does it mean? How do nuclear weapons affect military strategy? How to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons? How can we explain the nuclear arms race? What is at stake in the debate about nuclear disarmament and the nuclear ban treaty? Why have nuclear weapons not been used in anger since 1945? What are the political implications of referring to "Weapons of Mass Destruction" (WMD)? These questions will be introduced through the study of concepts as well as historical events and their political operationalization.

Instructors' biographies

Professor Benoît Pelopidas is the founding director of the *Nuclear Knowledges* program (formerly chair of excellence in security studies) at Sciences Po (CERI). His program, "nuclear knowledges" (www.sciencespo.fr/nk/en), is the first independent scholarly research program on the nuclear phenomenon in France. He is also an affiliate of the Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC) at Stanford University. His research has received four international prizes and the most prestigious European grants based on scholarly assessment of the works by peers, most notably an ERC Starting Grant.

This interdisciplinary effort of independent scholarship has led to the following discoveries over the last four years: [the lack of credibility and rationality of the French nuclear arsenal at least until 1974](#); [the underestimation of the effects of French nuclear weapons tests in Polynesia](#); [the role of luck](#) in the past avoidance of unwanted nuclear explosions; [the limits of popular support for nuclear weapons policy](#) and [the role of nostalgia and imagined futures in shaping nuclear weapons politics](#).

He can be reached at benoit.pelopidas@sciencespo.fr

Dr Kjølvi Egeland is a postdoctoral scholar affiliated with the *Nuclear Knowledges* program and the ERC project NUCLEAR. He completed his DPhil in International Relations at the University of Oxford in 2017. He focuses on ideology, communication, and the politics of nuclear weapons. Egeland worked as an advisor at the International Law and Policy Institute in Oslo from 2014 to 2017. Since 2018, he has been a fellow of the Norwegian Academy of International Law. Egeland has published in a range of journals, including *International Affairs*, *Global Governance*, *Critical*



Thomas Fraise, PhD candidate in political science on the governance of nuclear knowledges with the NUCLEAR project, will be the teaching assistant for this class.

Course requirements (grading & assessment)

This will depend on the size of the class.

Most likely, the students will be assessed in two ways.

1. An analytical and critical book review of 1500 words (40% of the grade)
Under the readings for each session below, I suggest books you might choose for your review.
2. A final paper of 4000 words on the topic of the class (60% of the grade)

The book review should participate in the process of writing the final essay and does not need to be disconnected from it.

Pedagogical format

This will depend on the size of the class. If the class is under 20 students, the sessions will be divided into two parts: 1 hour lecture by the instructor on the topic of the day, including 15 to 20 minutes of questions and answers; 1 hour of groupwork, debate in class or policy simulation. If the class is larger than 20 students, it will be a lecture class with built-in active participation,

Background reading

William Walker (2011). *A Perpetual Menace. Nuclear Weapons and World Order.* London: Routledge.

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

Martin J. Sherwin (2020). *Gambling with Armageddon. Nuclear Roulette from Hiroshima to the Cuban Missile Crisis.* New York: Random House: 3-28, 465-69.

Anthony Burke (2017). *Uranium,* London: Polity Press.

Gabrielle Hecht. (2012). *Being Nuclear.* MIT Press.

Michael Bess. (1993). *Realism, Utopia, and the Mushroom Cloud. Four Activist Intellectuals and Their Strategies for Peace, 1945-1989. Louise Weiss (France), Leo Szilard (USA), E. P. Thompson (England) and Danilo Dolci (Italy).* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.



Hans Morgenthau. (1961). [Death in the nuclear age](#). *Commentary*, Sept. 1961.

Objective of the course:

This course intends to develop awareness and critical thinking about contemporary nuclear weapons related issues. As the outline makes clear, the course will be problem based rather than theory-based but theory will be used in order to understand the sources and effects of the knowledge about nuclear weapons related issues. It will provide tools to analyze and understand contemporary debates about nuclear weapons and will offer a detailed understanding of nuclear security policymaking based on historical examples.

COURSE OUTLINE

Situating security in a nuclear-armed world

Session 1. Defining Nuclear Weapons.

Required readings:

- William Walker (2011). *A Perpetual Menace. Nuclear Weapons and International Order*. London: Routledge, chapter 1.
- Nicholas J. Wheeler and Ken Booth. (2007). "Weapons" in *The Security Dilemma. Fear, Cooperation and Trust in World Politics*, Basingbroke: Palgrave: 42-58.
- Christian Enemark (2011) "Farewell to WMD: The Language and Science of Mass Destruction", *Contemporary Security Policy* 32(2): 382-400.
- Toshihiro Higuchi (2020) *Political Fallout. The making of the first global environmental crisis*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 1-6, 196-199. [Please do not read the beginning of the section on "the politics of risk" at the bottom of p.6]
- Hans Kristensen and Shannon N. Kile, chapter 6 of the 2020 SIPRI Yearbook on "[World nuclear forces](#)".

Recommended readings:

- See the special issue of *Critical Studies on Security* 5:1 (2017) on "Becoming weapons", in particular Benjamin Meiches, "Weapons, Desire and the Making of War"
- Joseph Masco (2004). "[Nuclear Technoaesthetics. Sensory Politics from Trinity to the Virtual Bomb in Los Alamos](#)", *American Ethnologist* 31(3): 1-25.
- Theodore A. Postol, *Encyclopedia Americana*, Nuclear War: Effects of Nuclear Weapons: 519-532
- Alan Robock and Owen Brian Toon. (2012). "[Self-assured destruction: The climate impacts of nuclear war](#)", *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 68(5) September: 66-74.



- Alan Robock, Owen Brian Toon et. alii. (2019). [Rapidly expanding nuclear arsenals in Pakistan and India portend regional and global catastrophe](#), *Science advances* 10(5), October
- Xia, Lili, Alan Robock, Michael Mills, Andrea Stenke, and Ira Helfand (2015). "[Decadal reduction of Chinese agriculture after a regional nuclear war](#)". *Earth's Future*, 3, 37-48.

Video

White Light, Black Rain: The Destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a documentary by Steven Okazaki (2007)
[Nuclear Winter](#), a 2016 report

Session 2. An Epochal Change: The Nuclear Revolution?

Have another look at:

- Toshihiro Higuchi (2020) *Political Fallout. The making of the first global environmental crisis*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 1-6, 196-199.

Required readings (in this order):

- Daniel Deudney (2018). "The great debate: the nuclear political question and world order: 1945-2015" In William C. Wolfworth and Alexandra Gheciu (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of International Security*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Rens van Munster (2021). "The Nuclear Origins of the Anthropocene" in David Chandler et. al. (eds.), *International Relations in the Anthropocene. New Agendas, New Agencies, New Approaches*, Springer, pp. 59-75.
- Gunther Anders (1962). "Theses for the atomic age", *The Massachusetts Review* 3(3): 493-505.
- Daniel Deudney (1995), "Nuclear Weapons and the Waning of the Real State", *Daedalus* 124(2): 209-231.

Recommended readings:

- De Groot, Gerard. (2011). "Killing is easy" in Hew Strachan et. alii (eds.), *The Changing character of war*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 91-108.
- Kier Lieber and Daryl Press (2020). *The Myth of the Nuclear Revolution. Power politics in the nuclear age*. Ithaca: NY, Cornell University Press, chap. 1.
- Brendan Rittenhouse Green (2020). *The Revolution that Failed. Nuclear Competition, Arms Control and the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press;
- Lee Clarke (1999). *Mission Improbable. Using Fantasy Documents to Tame Disaster*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, pp. 30-40.
- Campbell Craig and Sergei Radchenko. 2018 "MAD not Marx: Khrushchev and the nuclear revolution", *Journal of Strategic Studies* 41(1-2): 208-233.
- Austin Long and Brendan Rittenhouse Green (2015). "Stalking the Secure Second Strike: intelligence, counterforce and nuclear strategy", *Journal of Strategic Studies* (1-2): 38-73.



- John Lewis Gaddis *et alli* (eds.) (1999), *Cold War statesmen confront the bomb*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Daniel Deudney. (2007). *Bounding Power. Republican Security Theory from the Polis to the Global Village*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chapter 9.
- Matthew Fuhrmann and Todd Sechser. (2013). "Crisis Bargaining and Nuclear Blackmail", *International Organization* 67(1), January.
- Robert Jervis (1984). *The Illogic of American Nuclear Strategy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press: 19-46.
- Joseph Masco. (2016). "Terraforming Planet Earth: the Age of Fallout" in Rens van Munster and Casper Sylvest (eds.), *The Politics of Globality since 1945. Assembling the Planet*. London: Routledge.
- Hans Morgenthau (1964). "The Four Paradoxes of Nuclear Strategy", *American Political Science Review* 58(1): 23-35.
- Hans Morgenthau. (1961). [Death in the nuclear age](#). *Commentary*, Sept. 1961.
- Benoît Pelopidas (2018). "Quelle(s) révolution(s) nucléaire(s)" in Benoît Pelopidas and Frédéric Ramel (eds.), *Guerres et conflits armés au XXIe siècle*, Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, pp. 95-106.
- Stephen Walt. (2010) "[Rethinking the Nuclear Revolution](#)", *Foreign Policy* blog.

Video

[The Day after Trinity](#), a documentary directed by John Else (1981)

Session 3. The non-use of nuclear weapons in anger since 1945.

Required readings (these texts should be read in the following order):

1. T. V. Paul. (2010). "Taboo or tradition? The non-use of nuclear weapons in world politics", *Review of International Studies* 36(4): 853–863.
2. Martin J. Sherwin (2020). *Gambling with Armageddon. Nuclear Roulette from Hiroshima to the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: Random House: 3-28, 465-69.
3. Benoît Pelopidas (2017). "The unbearable lightness of luck. Three sources of overconfidence in the controllability of nuclear crises" *European Journal of International Security* 2(2): 240-262

Recommended readings:

- Collective (2021). "Forum: Nonuse of nuclear weapons in world politics: towards the third generation of 'nuclear taboo' research", *International Studies Review* 23, 1072-1099.
- Lynn Eden (2010). "The contingent taboo", *Review of International Studies* 36(4): 831-837.
- Thomas C. Schelling (2007). "[The Nuclear Taboo](#)", *MIT International Review* March.
- Frank Sauer (2015). *Atomic Anxiety. Deterrence, Taboo and the non-use of U.S. nuclear weapons*. Basingbroke: Palgrave.



- T. V. Paul (2009). *The Tradition of Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Reid B.C. Pauly (2018). "Would US leaders push the button? Wargames and the sources of nuclear restraint", *International Security* 43(2): 151-192.
- Nina Tannenwald (2007). *The Nuclear Taboo. The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons since 1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- William Walker (2010). "The Absence of a Taboo on the Possession of Nuclear Weapons" *Review of International Studies* 36(4): 865-876

Suggested review of a book from the recommended readings.

Multimedia art work

[1945-1998 by Isao Hashimoto](#)

Session 4: causes of nuclear acquisition: security, domestic politics or ideology?

First, have another look at Hans Kristensen and Shannon N. Kile, chapter 6 of the 2021 SIPRI Yearbook on "[World nuclear forces](#)".

- Donald McKenzie. (1989) "Technology and the Arms Race [Review essay about Matthew Evangelista, *Innovation and the Arms Race: How the United States and the Soviet Union Develop New Military Technologies*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1988], *International Security* 14(1): 161-175.
- Scott D. Sagan (2011). "The Causes of Nuclear Weapons Proliferation". *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 225-241.
- Matthew Jones. (2017) *The Official History of the UK's Strategic Nuclear Deterrent*. Volume I, London: Routledge, chapter 8: "Revisiting the criteria: May-June 1962": 303-335.
- Pollack, Joshua. (2017). "[Bombs and dollars](#)", blog post on *armscontrolwonk*.

Recommended readings

- Kjølsv Egeland (2020). "Spreading the Burden. How NATO became a Nuclear Alliance", *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 31(1);
- Zia Mian, M.V. Ramana, and A. H. Nayyar; (2019) "Nuclear submarines in South Asia. New Risks and Dangers", *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament* 2(1): 184-202.
- Georges Le Guelte. (2009). *Les Armes nucléaires. Mythes et Réalités*, Arles: Actes Sud: 164-198.
- Mary Kaldor (1984). "The Military-Industrial Complex and the Baroque Arsenal", in Paul Joseph and Simon Rosenblum (eds.), *Search for Sanity* Boston, South End Press: 67-78.
- Itty Abraham (2016). "What (Really) Makes a Country Nuclear. Insights from Non-Nuclear Southeast Asia." *Critical Studies on Security* 4 (1): 24-41.
- Shampa Biswas. (2014). *Nuclear Desire. Power and the Postcolonial Nuclear Order*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, in particular chapter 3: 109-134.



- Thomas P. Cavanna (2016). Geopolitics over Proliferation: the Origins of US Grand Strategy and Their Implications for the Spread of Nuclear Weapons in South Asia, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, published online.
- Campbell Craig and Jan Ruzicka (2013). "The Nonproliferation Complex", *Ethics and International Affairs* 27(3): 329-348.
- Hugh Gusterson. (1999). "Nuclear Weapons and the Other in the Western Imagination", *Cultural Anthropology* 14(1) February: 111-143.
- Jeffrey Knopf (2012). "Nuclear Disarmament and Nonproliferation: Examining the Linkage Argument", *International Security* 37(3): 92-132.
- Francis J. Gavin (2012) "Politics, History and the Ivory Tower-Policy Gap in the Nuclear Proliferation Debate", *Journal of Strategic Studies* (35), August: 573-600.
- Anne Harrington de Santana. (2009). "Nuclear Weapons as the Currency of Power: Deconstructing the Fetishism of Force," *Nonproliferation Review* 16(3): 325-345.
- Anne Harrington de Santana. (2012). "The Strategy of Non-proliferation: Maintaining the Credibility of an Incredible Pledge to Disarm", *Millennium* 40(1): 3-19.
- Jacques E. C. Hymans (2013) "The Threat of Nuclear Proliferation: Perception and Reality", *Ethics and International Affairs* 27(3): 281-298.
- John Mueller (2010). *Atomic Obsession. Nuclear Alarmism from Hiroshima to Al Qaeda*, Oxford University Press, part III: "the atomic terrorist?"
- John Krige and Jayita Sarkar (2018). "US technological collaboration for nonproliferation: key evidence from the Cold War", *Nonproliferation Review* 25(3/4).
- Grégoire Mallard (2018). "Antagonistic recursivities and successive cover ups: the case of private nuclear proliferation", *British Journal of Sociology*, 69(4): 1007-1030 [On the framing of the AQ Khan proliferation crisis and the US cover up of their assistance to Pakistani proliferation]
- David Mutimer. (2000) *The Weapons State. Proliferation and the Framing of Security*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Benoît Pelopidas (2010) "[La couleur du cygne sud-africain. Le rôle des surprises dans l'histoire nucléaire et les effets d'une amnésie partielle](#)", *Annuaire Français des Relations Internationales*, X: 683-694.
- Benoît Pelopidas (2011) "[The Oracles of Proliferation. How Experts Maintain a Biased Historical Reading that Limits Policy Innovation](#)", *Nonproliferation Review* 18(1): 297-314.
- Benoit Pelopidas (2012) "[Les Emergents et la prolifération nucléaire. Une illustration des biais teleologiques en relations internationales et de leurs effets](#)", *Critique Internationale*, 56, September: 57-74.
- Benoit Pelopidas (2015). "Renunciation, reversal and restraint" in Joseph Pilat and Nathan E. Busch, (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Nuclear Proliferation and Policy*. London: Routledge: 337-348.
- Todd C. Robinson (2015) "What Do We Mean by Nuclear Proliferation?" *Nonproliferation Review* 22(1): 53-70.
- James E. Doyle (2017). *Renewing America's Nuclear Arsenal: Options for the 21st century*. London: Adelphi Books.
- Lynn Eden (2011). "The US nuclear arsenal and zero. Sizing and Planning for Use. Past, Present and Future" in Judith Reppy and Catherine Kelleher,



- Steven Kull. (1985). "Nuclear Nonsense", *Foreign Policy* (58): 28-52.
- Joseph Masco (2015). "Nuclear pasts, nuclear futures; or, disarming through rebuilding". *Critical Studies on Security* 3(3): 308-312.
- Richard Rhodes. (2008). *Arsenals of Folly: The Making of the Nuclear Arms Race*, New York: Knopf.
- David Allan Rosenberg (1983). "The Origins of Overkill: Nuclear Weapons and American Strategy 1945-1960", *International Security* 7(4):3-71
- Herbert York (1971). *The Race to Oblivion. A participant's view of the arms race.* New York: Simon & Shuster.

Suggested review of any of the books in the recommended readings

Session 5. Situating present security or scoping future possibilities

Required readings (in that order please):

- Carina Meyn (2018). 'Realism for nuclear policy wonks', *Nonproliferation Review* 25(2), pp. 1-18.
- Benoît Pelopidas (2016). "Nuclear weapons scholarship as a case of self-censorship in security studies" *Journal of Global Security Studies* 1(4): 326-336.
- Kjølvs Egeland (2021), "A theory of nuclear disarmament: cases, analogies and the role of the non-proliferation regime", *Contemporary Security Policy*.
- Daniel Deudney (2020). "Technopolitical alternatives" in *Dark Skies. Space expansionism, planetary geopolitics and the ends of Humanity*. Oxford: oxford University press: 47-58.

Recommended readings:

- Daniel Deudney (2018). "Turbo change. Accelerating technological disruption, planetary geopolitics and architectonic metaphors", *International Studies Review* 20, pp. 223-231.
- Michael Bess. (1993). "The Limits of the possible. Three Core Debates" in *Realism, Utopia and the Mushroom Cloud*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993. Conclusion: 219-245.
- Kjølvs Egeland (2020). "Who stole disarmament? History and nostalgia in nuclear abolition discourse", *International Affairs* 96(5): 1387-1403.
- Benoît Pelopidas (2021). "The birth of nuclear eternity" in Jenny Andersson and Sandra Kemp (eds.), *Futures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kjølvs Egeland and Benoît Pelopidas. (2021). "European nuclear weapons. Zombie debates and nuclear realities", *European Security* 30(2): 237-58.
- Benoît Pelopidas and Sanne C. J. Verschuren (forthcoming). "Writing IR after COVID-19. Reassessing Political Possibilities, Good Faith, and Policy Relevant Scholarship on Climate Change Mitigation and Nuclear Disarmament", *forthcoming*.
- Moritz Kütt and Zia Mian. 2019. "[Setting the Deadline for Nuclear Weapon Destruction Under the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons](#)", *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament* 2(2): 410-430.



- Mike Bourne (2012). "Guns don't kill people, cyborgs do. A latourian provocation for transformatory arms control and disarmament", *Global Change, Peace and Security* 24(1): 141-163.
- Mike Bourne (2016). "Invention and Uninvention in Nuclear Weapons Politics". *Critical Studies on Security* 4(1): 6-23.
- Anthony Burke. (2016). "Nuclear Time. Temporal Metaphors of the Nuclear Present". *Critical Studies on Security* 4(1): 73-90.
- Joseph Masco (2015). "Nuclear pasts, nuclear futures; or, disarming through rebuilding". *Critical Studies on Security* 3(3): 308-312.
- Columba Peoples. (2016). "Redemption and Nutopia. The Scope of Nuclear Critique in International Studies", *Millenium* 44(2): 216-235.
- Jonathan Schell (2000). "Nuclear weapons and the real twentieth century", in *The Fate of the Earth and the Abolition*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. v-xxxix.
- Ryan Snyder and Benoît Pelopidas (2019). "A new era or a new error? Technology and the future of deterrence", in *International Security* 43:3, pp. 190-3.

Video

[How to dismantle a nuclear bomb](#) (2019)

Session 6. Knowledge production in the nuclear age

Required readings:

- Jan Ruzicka and Campbell Craig. (2013). "The Nonproliferation Complex", *Ethics and International Affairs*, 27(3): 329–48
- Kjølv Egeland and Benoît Pelopidas. (forthcoming). "No such thing as a free donation. Research funding and conflicts of interests in nuclear policy analysis"
- Sonja Amadae. (2003). *Rationalizing Capitalist Democracy. The Cold War Origins of Rational Choice Liberalism*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, chapter 1. "[Managing the National Security State: Decision Technologies and Policy Science](#)"
- Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen. (2009). "Strategic studies, deterrence and the Cold War" in *The Evolution of International Security Studies*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, chapter 4. [available online via the Sciences Po library]

Recommended reading

- Paul Erickson et alii. (2013). *How Reason almost Lost its Mind. The Strange Career of Cold War Rationality*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, introduction.
- Paul Rubinson (2016). *Redefining Science. Scientists, the National Security State, and Nuclear Weapons in Cold War America*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. [in particular chapter 7 on the nuclear winter controversy]
- On the field of nuclear studies, Kjølv Egeland, Thomas Fraise and Hebatalla Taha (2021). "Casting the atomic canon: (R)evolving nuclear strategy", *European Journal of International Security*.



- On France, Robert Belot. (2015). *L'atome et la France. Aux origines de la technoscience française*. Paris: Odile Jacob.
- On the Soviet Union on the co-production of the global governance of knowledge, Egle Rindzeviciute. (2016). *The Power of Systems: How Policy Sciences Opened Up the Cold War World*, Cornell: Cornell University Press.

Security Problems and Puzzles in a Nuclear-armed World

Session 7. Deterrence and Nuclear Deterrence as Practices of (In)security.

Required readings:

- Benoit Pelopidas (2015) "[A Bet Portrayed as a Certainty. Reassessing the Added Deterrent Value of Nuclear Weapons](#)" in George P. Shultz and James E. Goodby (eds.), *The War that Must Never be Fought. Dilemmas of Nuclear Deterrence*. Stanford: Hoover Press: 5-55.
- James Acton (2020), "[Cyber warfare and inadvertent escalation](#)", *Daedalus* 149(2): 133-149.
- Rose McDermott et. Alii. (2017). "Blunt not the heart. Enrage it'. The psychology of revenge and deterrence", *Texas National Security Review* 1(1), November: 68-89.
- Steven Lee (1985). "The Morality of Nuclear Deterrence: Hostage Holding and Consequences", *Ethics* 95(3): 549-566.

Recommended readings:

- Shampa Biswas (2014) "Unusable, Dangerous, and Desirable: Nuclear Weapons as Fetish Commodities" in *Nuclear Desire. Power and the Postcolonial Nuclear Order*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press: 109-134.
- Dallas Boyd (2016). "Revealed Preferences and the Minimum Requirements of Nuclear Deterrence", *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, Spring: 43-73.
- Anthony Burke (2009) "Nuclear Reason: at the Limits of Strategy", *International Relations* 23(4): 506-529.
- George Lee Butler. (2016). [The Uncommon Cause. A Life at Odds with Conventions. Volume 2: The Transformative Years](#). Denver: Outskirts Press, in particular chapter 23, with Franklin Miller.
- Ahsan I. Butt (2015) "Do nuclear weapons affect the guns-butter trade-off? Evidence on nuclear substitution from Pakistan and beyond". *Conflict, Security and Development* 15(3) 229-257.
- Martha Crenshaw (2012) "Will Threats Deter Nuclear Terrorism?" in Andreas Wenger and Alex Vilner (eds.), *Deterring Terrorism. Theory and Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press: 136-158.
- Francis J. Gavin (2012) "The myth of flexible response" in *Nuclear Statecraft*. Cornell: Cornell University Press
- Paul Kapur. (2009). "Revisionist Ambitions, Conventional Capabilities and Nuclear Instability: Why Nuclear South Asia is not like Cold War Europe" in Scott D. Sagan (ed.), *Inside Nuclear South Asia*, Stanford: Stanford University Press: 184-218.



- Michael Krepon (2015) “Can Deterrence ever be Stable?” *Survival* 57(3): 111-132.
- Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Stein (1995), “[Deterrence and the Cold War](#)”, *Political Science Quarterly* 110(2): 157-181.
- Richard Ned Lebow (2018) “Deterrence: a political and psychological critique” in *Avoiding War, Making Peace*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Patrick Morgan (2011) “The Practice of Deterrence” in Emanuel Adler and Vincent Pouliot (eds.), *International Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 139-173.
- Brian Jenkins (2012) “The Terrorist Perception of Nuclear Weapons and its Implications for Deterrence” in Andreas Wenger and Alex Vilner (eds.), *Deterring Terrorism. Theory and Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press: 117-135.
- Maria Rublee (2015). “Fantasy Counterfactual. A Nuclear-Armed Ukraine”. *Survival* 57(2): 145-156.
- Paul W. Schroeder (2005). “The life and death of a long peace 1763-1914”, in Raimo Väyrynen, (ed.) *The Waning of Major War: Theories and Debates*, London: Routledge.
- Michael C. Williams (1992). « rethinking the ‘logic’ of deterrence », *Alternatives* 17: 67-93
- James J. Wirtz (2018). “How does nuclear deterrence differ from conventional deterrence?” *Strategic Studies Quarterly* Winter: 58-75.

Session 8. Organizing security by law in a world with nuclear weapons

Required reading:

- William Walker (2000). “Nuclear order and disorder”, *International Affairs* 76(4): 703–24.
- Kjølsvold Egeland (2019). “Nuclear abolition from Baruch to the Ban”, in Cecilia M. Baillet (ed.), *Research Handbook on International Law and Peace*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar. [Focus on the second part of the chapter!]
- Louis Maresca and Eleanor Mitchell (2015). “The human costs and legal consequences of nuclear weapons under international humanitarian law”, *International Review of the Red Cross* 97(899): 621–45.

Recommended reading:

- Sidra Hamidi (2019). “Law as discursive resource. The politics of the nuclear/non-nuclear distinction in the Nonproliferation Treaty”, *European Journal of International Relations* in press.
- Casey-Maslen, Stuart and Tobias Vestner (2019). *A Guide to International Disarmament Law*. London: Routledge.
- Harald Müller. (2019). “Justice and the Nonproliferation Regime” in Anne I. Harrington and Jeffrey Knopf (eds.), *Behavioral Economics and Nuclear Weapons*. Athens : Georgia University Press, pp. 135-158.
- Nystuen, Gro, Stuart Casey-Maslen, and Annie G. Bersagel (eds) (2014). *Nuclear weapons under international law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



- Brownlie, Ian (1965). "Some legal aspects of the use of nuclear weapons", *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 14(2): 437–51.
- Bourantonis, Dimitris (1993). *The United Nations and the Quest for Nuclear Disarmament*. Brookfield: Dartmouth.
- Craig, Campbell and Jan Ruzicka (2013). "The nonproliferation complex", *Ethics & International Affairs* 27(3): 329–48.

Keep in mind

Christian Enemark (2011) "Farewell to WMD: The Language and Science of Mass Destruction", *Contemporary Security Policy* 32(2): 382-400.

Session 9: Security as controllability and sustainability

Required readings:

- Have another look at
 - o Benoît Pelopidas (2017). "The unbearable lightness of luck. Three sources of overconfidence in the controllability of nuclear crises" *European Journal of International Security* 2:2: 240-262
- Scott Sagan (1993). *The Limits of Safety. Organizations, Accidents and Nuclear Weapons*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chapter 2.
- John Downer (2019). "On Ignorance and Apocalypse: A Brief Introduction To 'Epistemic Accidents'." In J-C. LeCoze (Ed.), *Safety Science Research: Evolution, Challenges and New Directions* (1 ed.). CRC Press
- Mark S. Bell and Nicholas L. Miller. (forthcoming). "The Limits of Nuclear Learning in the New Nuclear Age", in Scott D. Sagan and Vipin Narang (eds.), *Fragile Balance of Terror: Deterrence in a New Nuclear Age*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Benoît Pelopidas (2020). "Power, luck and scholarly responsibility at the end of the world(s)", *International Theory* 12(3): 459-470.
- Richard Ned Lebow and Benoît Pelopidas, (forthcoming). "Facing Nuclear War. Luck, Learning and the Cuban Missile Crisis In Christian Reus-Smit, Mlada Bukovanski et. al. (eds.) *the Oxford Handbook of History and International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gordon Barrass (2016). "Able Archer 83. What were the Soviets thinking?", *Survival* 58(6), December: 7-30.
- Barton J. Bernstein (2012). "[Reconsidering the Perilous Cuban Missile Crisis 50 Years Later](#)", *Arms Control Today*, October.
- Martin Hellman. (2011). "[How risky is nuclear optimism?](#)" *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* 67(2): 47–56.
- Patricia Lewis, Benoit Pelopidas, Heather Williams and Sasan Aghlani (2014). [Too Close for Comfort. Cases of Near Nuclear Use and Options for Policy](#). London: Chatham House.
- Benoit Pelopidas (2014). "[Remembering the Cuban Missile Crisis, with Humility](#)", *European Leadership Network*, November 11.



- Benoit Pelopidas (2015). "We all Lost the Cuban Missile Crisis" in Len Scott and R. Gerald Hughes (eds.) *The Cuban Missile Crisis. Critical Reappraisals*. London: Routledge: 165-182
- Eric Schlosser, *Command and Control*. New York: Allen Lane, 2013
- Susan S. Silbey (2009) "Taming Prometheus. Talking about Safety and Culture", *American Review of Sociology* 35: 341-369.
- Sonja D. Schmid. (2019). "A new nuclear normalcy?", *Journal of International Political Theory*, 15(3): 297-315.

Videos:

- [Command and Control](#) by Robert Kenner (2016) based on Eric Schlosser's book
- *Doctor Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*, directed by Stanley Kubrick (1962)

Suggested review of

Sheldon M. Stern, *The Cuban Missile Crisis in American Memory*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2012

or

Eric Schlosser, *Command and Control*, New York, Allen Lane, 2013.

Session 10: (In)security and the limits of nuclear accountability

Required readings:

- Elaine Scarry (2014) "The floor of the world" in *The Bulletin of the atomic scientists* 70(2): 21-35.
- Robert Dahl (1985). *Controlling Nuclear Weapons: Democracy versus Guardianship*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press: 5-18.
- Hans Born and Bates Gill, "Conclusion" in Hans Born, Bates Gill and Heiner Hanggi (eds.) (2010). *Governing the Bomb. Civilian Control and Democratic Accountability of Nuclear Weapons*, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 215-233.
- Kjolv Egeland and Benoît Pelopidas (2021). "European nuclear weapons: zombie debates and nuclear realities", *European Security* 30(2): 237-258

Recommended readings:

- Steven Cooke and Andrew Futter (2018). "Democracy versus deterrence: nuclear weapons and political integrity" 38(4), pp. 500-513.
- Thomas Fraise. (forthcoming). "Le problème du secret nucléaire: armes nucléaires, secret d'Etat, démocratie, en cours d'évaluation"
- Avner Cohen (2010) *The Worst Kept Secret. Israel's Bargain with the Bomb*, New York: Columbia University Press, chapter 6 and 7:147-202.
- Daniel Deudney (1998) "Political Fission: State Structure, Civil Society and Nuclear Weapons in the United States" in Ronnie D. Lipschutz (ed.), *On Security*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Richard A. Falk (1986) "Nuclear Weapons and the Renewal of Democracy" in Avner Cohen and Steven P. Lee (eds.), *Nuclear Weapons and the Future of Humanity. The Fundamental Questions*, Rowman & Littlefield: 437-456.



- James Lindsay (1991). *Congress and Nuclear Weapons*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Bruce Russett (1989) "Democracy, Public Opinion and Nuclear Weapons", in Philip E. Tetlock et. Alii (eds.), *Behavior, Society and Nuclear War*, Oxford, Oxford University Press: 174-208.
- Annette Schaper and Harald Muller. (2008). "Torn Apart: Nuclear Secrecy and Openness in Democratic Nuclear Weapon States" in Harald Mueller, Matthew Evangelista and Niklas Schroenig, (eds.), *Democracy and Security: Preferences, Norms and Policy-Making*, London: Routledge: 143-166.
- Paul Slovic et. alii. (2020). Virtuous violence from the war room to death row. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* 117(34)
- Jonathan Baron, Stephen Herzog and Rebecca Gibbons, (2020) "Japanese Public Opinion, Political Persuasion, and the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament* 3(2): 299-309.

Suggested review of

Robert Dahl (1985), *Controlling Nuclear Weapons: Democracy versus Guardianship*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Session 11: Special session with invited diplomats debating nuclear security and disarmament

This session includes a discussion between two exceptional guests: two diplomats deeply involved in nuclear weapons politics: Ambassadors Yann Hwang (French representative to the conference on disarmament) and Alexander Kmentt, who has worked towards modifying future nuclear possibilities through a humanitarian approach since the 2010s and is the President designate of the first conference of state parties to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. [The two proposed guests have participated in the class in the past; their participation will be confirmed closer to the date.]

Required readings:

- Nick Ritchie and Kjølsv Egeland (2018) "The diplomacy of resistance. Power, hegemony and nuclear disarmament", *Global change, peace and security* 30(2): 121-141.
- Nick Ritchie and Ambassador Alexander Kmentt (2021) "Universalising the TPNW: Challenges and Opportunities", *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament* 4:1.
- Jan Ruzicka (2019). "The next great hope: the humanitarian approach to nuclear weapons", *Journal of International Political Theory* 15(3): 386-400.

Review of

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

Video:

[Interview with Lawrence Wittner, April 3, 2010](#)



Required readings:

- Daniel Deudney (2019) "Going critical. Toward a modified nuclear one-worldism", *Journal of International Political Theory* 15(3): 367-85.
- Nick Ritchie and Kjølsv Egeland (2018) "The diplomacy of resistance. Power, hegemony and nuclear disarmament", *Global change, peace and security* 30(2): 121-141.
- Steven P. Lee. (2004). "Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Limits of Moral Understanding" in Steven P. Lee and Sohail H. Hashmi (eds.), *Ethics and Weapons of Mass Destruction. Religious and Secular Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 482-510.
- Benoît Pelopidas and Sanne C. J. Verschuren (forthcoming). "Writing IR after COVID-19. Reassessing Political Possibilities, Good Faith, and Policy Relevant Scholarship on Climate Change Mitigation and Nuclear Disarmament", *forthcoming*

Recommended readings:

On ethics

- Thomas E. Doyle. (2010) "Reviving Nuclear Ethics: A Renewed Research Agenda for the 21st Century", *Ethics and International Affairs* 24(3): 287-308.
- Steven P. Lee and Sohail H. Hashmi (eds.) (2004). *Ethics and Weapons of Mass Destruction. Religious and Secular Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Frank Jones. (2013) "'The High Priest of Deterrence': Sir Michael Quinlan, Nuclear Weapons, and the Just War Tradition", *Logos. A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture* 16(3), Summer: 16-42.
- Paolo Foradori. (2014) "The Moral Dimension of 'Global Zero': the evolution of the Catholic Church's Nuclear Ethics in a Changing World", *Nonproliferation Review* 21(2), June: 189-206.
- Benoît Pelopidas and Fabricio Fialho (2019). "[Is Pope Francis an influencer in nuclear matters?](#)", *The Conversation*, March, 5.
- William Walker. (2011). "Sir Michael Quinlan and the Ethics of Nuclear Weapons" in Bruno Tertrais (ed.), *Thinking about Strategy: A Tribute to Sir Michael Quinlan*, Paris: L'Harmattan, pp. 85-98.

On other sources of change

- Expect an essay by Dr Lyndon Burford on blockchain as a technology suitable for nuclear disarmament verification building on [this](#).
- Lynn Eden (2011). "The US nuclear arsenal and zero. Sizing and Planning for Use. Past, Present and Future" in Judith Reppy and Catherine Kelleher, *Getting to Zero: The Path to Nuclear Disarmament*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press: 69-89.
- Catherine Eschle (2013). "[Gender and the subject of \(Anti\)nuclear Politics: Revisiting Women's campaigning against the Bomb](#)", *International Studies Quarterly* 57(4): 713-724.
- Halit Mustafa Emin Tagma. (2010). "Realism at the Limits: Post-Cold War Realism and Nuclear Rollback". *Contemporary Security Policy* 31(1): 165-188.



- Antony Colangelo and Peter Hayes. (2019) An international tribunal for the use of nuclear weapons, *Journal for peace and nuclear disarmament* 2(1): 219-252
- James Acton and George Perkovich (2009). [Abolishing Nuclear Weapons: A Debate](#). Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, debate section.
- Andrew Futter and Ben Zala (2021). “Non-strategic nuclear weapons and the onset of a third nuclear age”, *European Journal of International Security* 6(3): 257-77.
- Donald McKenzie and Graham Spinardi (1995). “Tacit Knowledge, Weapons Design and the Uninvention of Nuclear Weapons”, *American Journal of Sociology*: 44-99.
- Harald Muller (2013). “Icons off the Mark. Waltz and Schelling on a Perpetual Brave Nuclear World”. *Nonproliferation Review* 20(3): 545-565.
- David Mutimer (2011). “From Arms Control to Denuclearization: Governmentality and the Abolitionist Desire”. *Contemporary Security Policy* 32(1) April: 57-75
- Potter, William C. (2017) “Disarmament diplomacy and the nuclear ban treaty”, *Survival* 59(4): 75-108.
- Matthew Randall (2007). “Nuclear Weapons and Intergenerational Exploitation”, *Security Studies* 16(4): 525-554.
- Thomas C. Schelling. (2009) “[A world without nuclear weapons?](#)”, *Daedalus* 138(4): 124-129
- Casper Sylvest and Rens van Munster (2016). “Reimagining the Future” in *Nuclear Realism. Global Political Thought during the Thermonuclear Revolution*. London: Routledge.
- Scott Sagan and Ben Valentino. (2017) “[The nuclear weapons ban treaty: opportunities lost](#)”, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, July 16
- Nick Ritchie. (2017). “[A rebuttal to critics of the nuclear weapons ban treaty](#)”. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, July 24.
- Nick Ritchie (2019). “Inventing nuclear disarmament”, *Critical Studies on Security* 7(1): 73-77.
- Lawrence Wittner, *Confronting the Bomb: A Short History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009, chapter 2, 4, 6 and 8.

Video

[A conceivable horizon of horror, by Dr Zia Mian \(Princeton University\), October 2019](#)