



SECURITY IN A NUCLEAR-ARMED WORLD

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Language of instruction

English

Spring Semester

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? Why have nuclear weapons not been used in anger since 1945? What are the political implications of referring to “Weapons of Mass Destruction” (WMD)? What is the ongoing initiative on the Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons? These questions will be introduced through the study of concepts as well as historical events and their political operationalization.

Course requirements (grading & assessment)

The students will be assessed in three ways.

1. A five minute oral summary of the previous session (15% of the grade). This could be done in groups of two depending of the size of the class
2. An analytical and critical book review of 1500 words (25% of the grade)
Under the readings for each session below, I suggest books you might choose for your review.
3. A final paper 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

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. Every seminar session will start with a five minute oral presentation of the previous session by one student.

Background reading

William Walker, *A Perpetual Menace. Nuclear Weapons and World Order*. London; Routledge, 2011

Version papier : <http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001232644>



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.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc000143600>

Georges Le Guelte. (2009). *Les Armes nucléaires. Mythes et Réalités*, Arles: Actes Sud.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001164569>

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.
Version papier : <http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001232644>
Version électronique : <http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001294536>
- Hans Kristensen and Matthew McKinzie (2015). “Nuclear arsenals: Current developments, trends and capabilities”. *International Review of the Red Cross* 899: 563-599.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=International+Review+of+the+Red+Cross
- Nicholas J. Wheeler and Ken Booth. (2007). “Weapons” in *The Security Dilemma. Fear, Cooperation and Trust in World Politics*, Basingbroke: Palgrave: 42-58.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001129690>
- Christian Enemark (2011) “Farewell to WMD: The Language and Science of Mass Destruction”, *Contemporary Security Policy* 32(2): 382-400.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=Contemporary+Security+Policy+

Recommended readings:

- 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.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=The+Bulletin+of+the+Atomic+Scientists+
- 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.
[http://agupubs.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/hub/journal/10.1002/\(ISSN\)2328-4277/issues/](http://agupubs.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/hub/journal/10.1002/(ISSN)2328-4277/issues/)

Video

White Light, Black Rain: The Destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a documentary by Steven Okazaki (2007)

Session 2. Defining nuclearities: weapons, energy and technopolitics

Keep in mind from last week

- Christian Enemark (2011) “Farewell to WMD: The Language and Science of Mass Destruction”, *Contemporary Security Policy* 32(2): 382-400.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=Contemporary+Security+Policy+

Required readings:

- Gabrielle Hecht. (2006). “[Nuclear Ontologies](#)”, *Constellations* 13 (3): 320-331.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_B&C=Constellations
- Itty Abraham (2016). “What (Really) Makes a Country Nuclear. Insights from Non-Nuclear Southeast Asia.” *Critical Studies on Security* 4 (1): 24-41.
- Vincent Pouliot (2010). “The Materials of Practice: Nuclear Warheads, Rhetorical Commonplaces and Committee Meetings in Russian–Atlantic relations”. *Cooperation and Conflict* 45(3): 294-311.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_B&C=Cooperation+and+Conflict+

Recommended readings:

- Michelle Bentley (2012) “The Long Goodbye: Beyond an Essentialist Construction of WMD”, *Contemporary Security Policy* 33(2): 384-406.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=Contemporary+Security+Policy+
- Christian Enemark (2012) “The Unfinished Business of Abandoning WMD: A Reply to Bentley”, *Contemporary Security Policy* 33(2): 407-412.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=Contemporary+Security+Policy+
- Shampa Biswas (2014). *Nuclear Desire. Power and the Postcolonial Nuclear Order*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, chapter 4.



- Anne Harrington de Santana. (2009). “Nuclear Weapons as the Currency of Power: Deconstructing the Fetishism of Force,” *Nonproliferation Review* 16(3): 325-345.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=Nonproliferation+Review+
- Gabrielle Hecht. (2012). *Being Nuclear*. MIT Press.
- Hymans, Jacques. (2010). “When Does a State Become a ‘Nuclear Weapon State?’” *Nonproliferation Review* 17(1): 161-180.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=Nonproliferation+Review+
- Columba Peoples. (2016). “Redemption and Nuptioia. The Scope of Nuclear Critique in International Studies”, *Millenium* 44(2): 216-235.
<http://journals.sagepub.com/home/mil>

Session 3. An Epochal Change: the Nuclear Revolution?

Required readings:

- 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.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_B&C=Daedalus
- Colin N. Waters, James P. M. Syvitski, Agnieszka Galuszka et. al. (2015). “Can nuclear weapons fallout mark the beginning of the Anthropocene Epoch?”. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 71(3): 46-57.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=The+Bulletin+of+the+Atomic+Scientists+

Recommended readings:

- Daniel Deudney. (2008). *Bounding Power. Republican Security Theory from the Polis to the Global Village*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chapter 9.
Version papier : <http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001089565>
Version ebook : <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/sciences-po/detail.action?docID=646752>
- Matthew Fuhrmann and Todd Sechser. (2013). “Crisis Bargaining and Nuclear Blackmail”, *International Organization* 67(1), January.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=I_M&C=0020-8183
- Robert Jervis (1984). *The Illogic of American Nuclear Strategy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press: 19-46.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0000132809>
- Hans Morgenthau (1964). “The Four Paradoxes of Nuclear Strategy”, *American Political Science Review* 58(1): 23-35.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=American+Political+Science+Review

- Benoit Pelopidas (2013) “[Avoir la bombe. Repenser la puissance dans un contexte de vulnérabilité nucléaire globale](#)” *CERIscope*.
- Stephen Walt. (2010) “[Rethinking the Nuclear Revolution](#)”, *Foreign Policy* blog.

Video

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

Session 4. Situating present security or bounding future possibilities

Required readings:

- 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.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0000143600>
- Benoit Pelopidas (2016). “Nuclear weapons scholarship as a case of self-censorship in security studies” *Journal of Global Security Studies* 1(4): 326-336.
- <https://academic.oup.com/jogss/article/1/4/326/2841104/Nuclear-Weapons-Scholarship-as-a-Case-of-Self>

Recommended readings:

- 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.

Security Problems and Puzzles in a Nuclear-armed World

Session 5. 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.

Version papier : <http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001278595>

Version ebook : <http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001295772>

- Maria Rublee (2015). “Fantasy Counterfactual. A Nuclear-Armed Ukraine”. *Survival* 57(2): 145-156.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=I_M&C=0039-6338

Recommended readings:

- Shampa Biswas (2014) “Unusable, Dangerous, and Desirable: Nuclear Weapons as Fetish Commodities” in *Nuclear Desire. Power and the Postcolonial Nuclear*



- Anthony Burke (2009) “Nuclear Reason: at the Limits of Strategy”, *International Relations* 23(4): 506-529.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=I_M&C=0047-1178
- 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.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=Conflict%2C+Security+and+Development
- 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.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001234198>
- 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.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001175453>
- Michael Krepon (2015) “Can Deterrence ever be Stable?” *Survival* 57(3): 111-132.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=I_M&C=0039-6338
- Patrick Morgan (2011) “The Practice of Deterrence” in Emanuel Adler and Vincent Pouliot (eds.), *International Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 139-173.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001223043>
- Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Stein (1995), “Deterrence and the Cold War”, *Political Science Quarterly* 110(2): 157-181.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=Political+Science+Quarterly+
- 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.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001234198>

Debate in class

The students will form two groups and present a 10 minute argument about the role of nuclear deterrence today as a factor increasing or decreasing security. Beyond the readings for this session, they should look at

- Ward Wilson (2008) “The Myth of Nuclear Deterrence”, *Nonproliferation Review* 15(3). November: 421-439 and the debate around this article in the March 2012 issue of the *Nonproliferation Review*: 51-78.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=Nonproliferation+Review+
- The debate between Paul Kapur and Sumit Ganguly on nuclear stability in South Asia, *India, Pakistan, and the Bomb: Debating Nuclear Stability in South Asia*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2010
Version papier : <http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001189772>



- Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz (2012). *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons. An Enduring Debate*, New York: W.W. Norton, Chapter 5.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001240570>
- Bruno Tertrais (2011) “[In Defense of Deterrence. The Relevance, Morality and Cost-Effectiveness of Nuclear Weapons](#)”, Paris: IFRI, Proliferation Paper 39.

Suggested review

Lawrence Freedman, *Deterrence*. London: Polity Press, 2004.

<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0000610387>

Session 6. 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.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_M&C=Review+of+International+Studies+
2. Daryl G. Press, Scott D. Sagan and Benjamin A. Valentino (2013). “Atomic Aversion. Experimental Evidence on Taboos, Traditions, and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons”, *American Political Science Review*, February: 1-19.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=American+Political+Science+Review
3. Jacques Villain (2014). “Le drame des essais” in *Le livre noir du nucléaire militaire*. Paris : Fayard: 109-136.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001265325>

Recommended readings:

- Lynn Eden. (2010). “The contingent taboo”, *Review of International Studies* 36(4): 831-837.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_M&C=Review+of+International+Studies+
- 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.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001294517>
- T. V. Paul (2009). *The Tradition of Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001166117>
- Nina Tannenwald (2007). *The Nuclear Taboo. The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons since 1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Version papier : <http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0000525196>
Version ebook : <http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001294663>

Suggested review of a book from the recommended readings.

Multimedia art work



Session 7: The problem of the spread 1: horizontal (nuclear proliferation to states and non-state actors) and nuclear desire

Required readings:

- Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz. (2012). *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons. An Enduring Debate*, New York: W.W. Norton, 2012, chapters 1, 2 and 6.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001240570>

Recommended readings:

- Shampa Biswas. (2014). *Nuclear Desire. Power and the Postcolonial Nuclear Order*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, in particular chapter 3: 109-134.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001274390>
- Campbell Craig and Jan Ruzicka (2013). “The Nonproliferation Complex”, *Ethics and International Affairs* 27(3): 329-348.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_M&C=Ethics+and+International+Affairs+
- Hugh Gusterson. (1999). “Nuclear Weapons and the Other in the Western Imagination”, *Cultural Anthropology* 14(1) February: 111-143.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_M&C=Cultural+Anthropology
- Jeffrey Knopf (2012). “Nuclear Disarmament and Nonproliferation: Examining the Linkage Argument”, *International Security* 37(3): 92-132.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=I_M&C=0162-2889
- 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.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_M&C=Journal+of+Strategic+Studies
- Anne Harrington de Santana. (2012). “The Strategy of Non-proliferation: Maintaining the Credibility of an Incredible Pledge to Disarm”, *Millennium* 40(1): 3-19.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=I_M&C=0305-8298
- Jacques E. C. Hymans (2013) “The Threat of Nuclear Proliferation: Perception and Reality”, *Ethics and International Affairs* 27(3): 281-298.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_M&C=Ethics+and+International+Affairs+
- John Mueller. (2010). *Atomic Obsession. Nuclear Alarmism from Hiroshima to Al Qaeda*, Oxford University Press, part III: “the atomic terrorist?”
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001179113>
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001294799>
- David Mutimer. (2000) *The Weapons State. Proliferation and the Framing of Security*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
Version papier : <http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0000268524>
Version ebook : <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/sciences-po/detail.action?docID=3329039>



- 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.
<http://www.afri-ct.org/afri/tous-les-volumes/>
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0000319578>
- Benoît Pelopidas (2011) “[The Oracles of Proliferation. How Experts Maintain a Biased Historical Reading that Limits Policy Innovation](#)”, *Nonproliferation Review* 18(1): 297-314.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=Nonproliferation+Review+
- Benoit Pelopidas (2012) “[Les Emergents et la prolifération nucléaire. Une illustration des biais téléologiques en relations internationales et de leurs effets](#)”, *Critique Internationale*, 56, September: 57-74.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_M&C=Critique+Internationale
- 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.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001294459>
- William Potter and Gaukhar Mukhatzhanova (eds.) (2010) *Forecasting Nuclear Proliferation in the 21st Century*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2 vol.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001207109>
- Todd C. Robinson (2015) “What Do We Mean by Nuclear Proliferation?” *Nonproliferation Review* 22(1): 53-70.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=Nonproliferation+Review+

Debate in class:

The students will use the readings above to form two teams discussing the consequences of nuclear proliferation. Each team will make a ten minute presentation and should be ready to defend its case in front of the class. Each team is expected to give policy recommendations.

Suggested Review of

David Mutimer (2000). *The Weapons State. Proliferation and the Framing of Security*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Version papier : <http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0000268524>

Version ebook : <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/sciences-po/detail.action?docID=3329039>

Session 8: The problem of the spread 2: vertical (the arms race)

Required readings:

- Hans Kristensen and Matthew McKinzie (2015). “Nuclear arsenals: Current developments, Trends and Capabilities”. *International Review of the Red Cross* 899: 563-599. [You have already read it!]



http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=International+Review+of+the+Red+Cross

- 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.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=I_M&C=0162-2889
- 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.
- Georges Le Guelte. (2009). *Les Armes nucléaires. Mythes et Réalités*, Arles: Actes Sud: 164-198.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001164569>

Recommended readings:

- James E. Doyle (2016). “Better Ways to Modernize the US Nuclear Arsenal”. *Survival* 58(4): 27-50.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=I_M&C=0039-6338
- 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.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001216581>
- Steven Kull. (1985). “Nuclear Nonsense”, *Foreign Policy* (58): 28-52.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_M&C=Foreign+Policy+
- 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.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001136716>
- David Allan Rosenberg (1983). “The Origins of Overkill: Nuclear Weapons and American Strategy 1945-1960”, *International Security* 7(4):3-71
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=I_M&C=0162-2889
- Herbert York (1971). *The Race to Oblivion. A participant's view of the arms race*. New York: Simon & Shuster.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0000658498>

Suggested review of any of the books in the recommended readings.

Session 9: Security as controllability and sustainability

Required readings:



- London: Chatham House.
- Benoit Pelopidas (2012). "Arrogance et catastrophe", *Critique* 783-784: 710-717.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=I_M&C=0011-1600
- Scott Sagan (1993). *The Limits of Safety. Organizations, Accidents and Nuclear Weapons*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chapter 2.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0000109837>

Recommended readings:

- 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.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_M&C=Bulletin+of+Atomic+Scientists
- 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
Ebook EBC : <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/sciences-po/detail.action?docID=2011223>
- Susan S. Silbey (2009) "Taming Prometheus. Talking about Safety and Culture", *American Review of Sociology* 35: 341-369.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_M&C=Annual+Review+of+Sociology+
- Eric Schlosser, *Command and Control*. New York: Allen Lane, 2013
3 éditions :
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001249122>
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001256103>
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001294856>

Videos:

- [Drell Lecture 2012](#), Stanford University
- [Cold War International History Project](#); Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars
- *Doctor Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*, directed by Stanley Kubrick (1962)

Suggested review of

Len Scott, *The Cuban Missile Crisis and the Threat of Nuclear War. Lessons from History*.

London: Continuum, 2007

<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001137227>

or

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



Lane, 2013.

3 éditions :

<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001249122>

<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001256103>

<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001294856>

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

Required readings:

- Robert Dahl (1985). *Controlling Nuclear Weapons: Democracy versus Guardianship*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press: 5-18.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0000763828>
- 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.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001151821>
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001295699>
- 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.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001211477>

Recommended readings:

- Avner Cohen (2010) *The Worst Kept Secret. Israel’s Bargain with the Bomb*, New York: Columbia University Press, chapter 6 and 7:147-202.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001212227>
- 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.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0000184539>
- 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.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0000566932>
- James Lindsay (1991). *Congress and Nuclear Weapons*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0000042361>
- 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.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001223667>

Suggested review of



<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0000763828>

Session 11: Security and morality

Required readings:

- 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.
Version papier : <http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0000736262>
Version ebook : <http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001294662>
- Matthew Randall (2007). "Nuclear Weapons and Intergenerational Exploitation", *Security Studies* 16(4): 525-554.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_M&C=Security+Studies+

Recommended reading:

- Thomas E. Doyle. (2010) "Reviving Nuclear Ethics: A Renewed Research Agenda for the 21st Century", *Ethics and International Affairs* 24(3): 287-308.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_M&C=Ethics+and+International+Affairs+
- Steven P. Lee and Sohail H. Hashmi (eds.) (2004). *Ethics and Weapons of Mass Destruction. Religious and Secular Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Version papier : <http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0000736262>
Version ebook : <http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001294662>
- 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.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=Nonproliferation+Review+

Session 12: Security through change? (Non)-Nuclear Futures and recent initiatives

Required readings:

- Alexander Kmentt (2015). "[The development of the international initiative on the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons and its effect on the nuclear weapons debate](http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=International+Review+of+the+Red+Cross)", *International Review of the Red Cross* 899: 681-709.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=International+Review+of+the+Red+Cross



- Matthew Bolton and Elizabeth Minor (2016). "The Discursive Turn Arrives in Turtle Bay: The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons' Operationalization of Critical IR Theories", *Global Policy* 7(3): 385-395.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_M&C=Global+Policy+
- Steven E. Miller and Scott D. Sagan (2010). "Alternative Nuclear Futures", *Daedalus* 139(1): 126-137.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_B&C=Daedalus

And have a second look at

- 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.
Version papier : <http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001278595>
Version ebook : <http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001295772>

Recommended readings:

- Laura Considine (forthcoming). "[The 'standardization of catastrophe': Nuclear disarmament, the Humanitarian Initiative and the politics of the unthinkable](#)", *European Journal of International Relations*.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_M&C=European+Journal+of+International+Relations
- 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.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001216581>
- 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.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=I_M&C=0020-8833
- Halit Mustafa Emin Tagma. (2010). "Realism at the Limits: Post-Cold War Realism and Nuclear Rollback". *Contemporary Security Policy* 31(1): 165-188.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=Contemporary+Security+Policy+
- James Acton and George Perkovich (2009). [Abolishing Nuclear Weapons: A Debate](#). Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, debate section.
- Nik Hynek and Michal Smetana, (eds.) (2016). *Global Nuclear Disarmament. Critical and Normative Perspectives*, London: Routledge.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001288037>
- Donald McKenzie and Graham Spinardi (1995). "Tacit Knowledge, Weapons Design and the Uninvention of Nuclear Weapons", *American Journal of Sociology*: 44-99.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_M&C=American+Journal+of+Sociology
- Harald Muller (2013). "Icons off the Mark. Waltz and Schelling on a Perpetual Brave Nuclear World". *Nonproliferation Review* 20(3): 545-565.



http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=Nonproliferation+Review+

- David Mutimer (2011). “From Arms Control to Denuclearization: Governmentality and the Abolitionist Desire”. *Contemporary Security Policy* 32(1) April: 57-75
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=T_W_A&C=Contemporary+Security+Policy+
- Thomas C. Schelling. (2009) “[A world without nuclear weapons?](#)”, *Daedalus* 138(4): 124-129
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_B&C=Daedalus
- Bruno Tertrais, (2010) “[The Illogic of Zero](#)” *The Washington Quarterly* 33(2):135-148.
http://gl5sm8uv5q.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=100&tab=JOURNALS&L=GL5SM8UV5Q&S=AC_T_M&C=The+Washington+Quarterly+
- 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.
<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001175439>

Debate in class on the desirability and feasibility of a world without nuclear weapons: the students will use the readings above to form two teams. Each team will make a ten minute presentation and should be ready to defend its case in front of the class. The two camps have to come up with a practical proposition to advance their goal today.

Review of

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

<http://catalogue.sciencespo.fr/ark:/46513/sc0001175439>

Video:

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