

Inverted Utopia: Nuclear Order in an Uncertain Age

Bard Globalization and International Affairs program
Winter 2024

Time: Tuesdays 11:00 a.m.–2:00 p.m.
Place: BGIA Midtown Teaching Space
Instructor: [Christopher David LaRoche](#)

Recent Russian threats over the war in Ukraine remind us of a perennial condition: at any moment we may be obliterated in a nuclear war. But nuclear weapons do more than worry us. Since J. Robert Oppenheimer quoted Hindu scripture to describe the first atomic test, policymakers, academics, and artists alike have been terrified — and fascinated — by the bomb. And they shape our international order by granting their possessors power and prestige, driving some to seek them and others to denounce them.

Yet for all their power, nuclear weapons have a curious feature: they have not been used in a war since 1945. Rival schools of thought argue they perhaps cannot be used at all — because of deterrence, luck, a taboo, or tradition. Despite decades of analysis, we are still what Günther Anders calls “inverted utopians,” unable to fully understand the effects of our technological creations because their capacity for destruction has outstripped our imagination.

This course explores how nuclear weapons and technologies have shaped and continue to shape international relations. We begin with the science underpinning the World War 2 race to build, and use, a superweapon. We will then examine contemporary conceptions of nuclear strategy, security, proliferation, and deterrence alongside key debates and important criticisms. Throughout, we will pay attention not only to orthodox arguments about nuclear weapons, but unorthodox ones: critical accounts that highlight the importance of culture, ethics, and the atomic subaltern to the nuclear order.

Aims

This course aims to provide you with understandings of the following topics and debates therein:

- The scientific basis of nuclear power;
- International efforts to manage, govern, and control nuclear technology and weapons;
- The relationship between civilian and military uses of nuclear technology;
- The concepts, terms, and plans developed by defense intellectuals and policymakers;
- Critical accounts and debates about the above; and
- The role of nuclear technology in world order and our future.

Assessment	Class attendance & participation:	15%
	Presentation:	15%
	4 Quizzes:	20%
	Written assignment 1:	25%
	Written assignment 2:	25%

Class participation: Participation will be graded by attendance and quality of participation (15%).

Presentation: You will deliver a \pm 10-minute presentation on an adopted crisis, person of interest, event, or program (15%).

Four quizzes distributed throughout the class will test your knowledge of the course materials by asking multiple choice, true or false, and fill-in-the-bank questions. They are worth 5% each, for 20% total. You will have advance notice of the timing of a quiz, along with quiz study guides, posted one week in advance.

Written assignments: The written assignments are two short responses (~2000 words each) or one long research or policy paper (15-20 pages, <4000 words), preceded by a proposal, that addresses topics or debates in the class.

Note: assignments written in whole or in part by LLM AI (e.g., ChatGPT) are not permitted.

Conduct

According to the chief theorist of the “bourgeois morality” that undergirds nuclear deterrent theory, Thomas Hobbes of Malmsbury, justice lies in the keeping of covenants and those who make covenants promise to obey them.¹ This syllabus is a covenant made between the instructor (me) and the students (you) in the spirit of learning. This class will discuss topics that are contentious or controversial. You are welcome to criticize each other’s (and my) ideas, but not each other’s characters. Personal attacks will not be tolerated.

Contact:

larochec@ceu.edu

Expect a 48-hour window for replies to emails during the week.

Absences, plagiarism, student needs, and other matters:

BGIA maintains a robust set of policies governing student conduct and expectations. These include policies on absences, plagiarism, and grading. Please review them! You can also contact me for further clarification.

¹ *Leviathan*, Book I, Chapters XIV & XV.

PROVISIONAL COURSE SCHEDULE

Session 1: introduction.

January 30

1. Günther Anders, "[Theses for the Atomic Age](#)," *The Massachusetts Review* 3, no. 3 (1962): 493–505.

Session 2: the atomic age begins

February 06

1. J. Robert Oppenheimer, "[International Control of Atomic Energy](#)," *Foreign Affairs* 26, no. 2 (January 1948): 239–52.
2. Bruce Cameron Reed, [The Manhattan Project: the Story of the Century](#) (Springer, 2020): chapter 1 [Chapters 1–3 give an overview of nuclear weapons science].

Supplementary:

- Elizabeth Borgwardt, "[Site-Specific: The Fractured Humanity of J. Robert Oppenheimer](#)," *Modern Intellectual History* 5, no. 3 (November 2008): 547–71.
- Michael D. Gordin and G. John Ikenberry, eds., [The Age of Hiroshima](#) (Princeton, 2020).
- Rens van Munster, "[Nuclear Weapons, Existentialism, and International Relations: Anders, Ballard, and the Human Condition in the Age of Extinction](#)," *Review of International Studies*, January 27, 2023, 1–19.
- Richard Rhodes, [The Making of the Atomic Bomb](#) (Simon & Shuster, 1986).
- Kai Bird & Martin J. Sherwin, [American Prometheus: The Triumph and Tragedy of J. Robert Oppenheimer](#) (Vintage, 2006).
- Charles Thorpe, *Oppenheimer: The Tragic Intellect* (University of Chicago Press, 2008).
- Lindsey A. Freeman, [Longing for the Bomb: Oak Ridge and Atomic Nostalgia](#) (University of North Carolina Press, 2015).
- Matthew Lavine, [The First Atomic Age: Scientists, Radiations, and the American Public, 1895-1945](#) (Palgrave, 2013).
- Robert Serber, [The Los Alamos Primer: The First Lectures on How to Build an Atomic Bomb](#) (University of California Press, 2020).

Session 3: nuclear planning — postures & assumptions

February 13

1. Office of the United States Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Nuclear Matters, "[Nuclear Weapons Employment Policy, Planning and NC3](#)," *Nuclear Matters Handbook*, revised edition (2020): Chapter 2.
2. Vipin Narang, "[Nuclear Strategies of Emerging Nuclear Powers: North Korea and Iran](#)," *The Washington Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (January 2, 2015): 73–91.
3. Carol Cohn, "[Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals](#)," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 12, no. 4 (1987): 687–718.

Supplementary:

- Lawrence Freedman, [The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy](#), 4th ed. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).
- Lynn Eden, [The Whole World on Fire](#) (Cornell, 2004), especially chapter 1.
- Daniel Ellsberg, [The Doomsday Machine: Confessions of a Nuclear War Planner](#) (Bloomsburg, 2017).
- Stuart Casey-Maslen, [Nuclear Weapons: Law, Policy, and Practice](#) (Cambridge University Press, 2021).
- Fred Kaplan, [The Wizards of Armageddon](#) (Stanford, 1991) & [The Bomb: Presidents, Generals, and the Secret History of Nuclear War](#) (Simon & Schuster, 2021).
- Elaine Scarry, [Thermonuclear Monarchy](#) (Norton, 2016).
- Alex Wellerstein, [Restricted Data: The History of Nuclear Secrecy in the United States](#) (University of Chicago Press, 2021).
- Gary Willis, [Bomb Power: The Modern Presidency and the National Security State](#) (Penguin, 2011).
- Paul Boyer, [By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age](#) (University of North Carolina Press, 2005).
- Francis J. Gavin, "[Strategies of Inhibition: U.S. Grand Strategy, the Nuclear Revolution, and Nonproliferation](#)," *International Security* 40, no. 1 (July 2015): 9–46; [Nuclear Statecraft: History and Strategy in America's Atomic Age](#) (Cornell, 2012); and [Nuclear Weapons and American Grand Strategy](#) (Brookings, 2020).
- Vipin Narang & Scott D. Sagan, eds., [The Fragile Balance of Terror: Deterrence in the New Nuclear Age](#) (Cornell, 2023).
- Vipin Narang, [Nuclear Strategy in the Modern Era](#) (Princeton, 2014).
- Claire Duncanson and Catherine Eschle, "[Gender and the Nuclear Weapons State: A Feminist Critique of the UK Government's White Paper on Trident](#)," *New Political Science* 30, no. 4 (December 1, 2008): 545–63.
- Kjølvi Egeland and Benoît Pelopidas, "[European Nuclear Weapons? Zombie Debates and Nuclear Realities](#)," *European Security* 30, no. 2 (April 2021): 237–58.
- Reid B. C. Pauly and Rose McDermott, "[The Psychology of Nuclear Brinkmanship](#)," *International Security* 47, no. 3 (January 2023): 9–51.
- Paul Erickson et al., [How Reason Almost Lost Its Mind: The Strange Career of Cold War Rationality](#) (University of Chicago Press, 2013).

Sessions 4 & 5: explaining non-use — deterrence, luck, taboo & tradition

February 20

1. Rose McDermott, Anthony C. Lopez, and Peter K. Hatemi. “[‘Blunt Not the Heart, Enrage It’: The Psychology of Revenge and Deterrence](#),” *Texas National Security Review* 1, no. 1 (November 2017): 68–89.
2. Benoît Pelopidas, “[The Unbearable Lightness of Luck: Three Sources of Overconfidence in the Manageability of Nuclear Crises](#),” *European Journal of International Security* 2, no. 2 (July 2017): 240–62.

February 27

3. Nina Tannenwald, “[The Legacy of the Nuclear Taboo in the Twenty-First Century](#),” in *The Age of Hiroshima*, ed. Michael D. Gordin and G. John Ikenberry (Princeton, 2020), 276–93.
4. T. V. Paul, “[Taboo or Tradition? The Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons in World Politics](#),” *Review of International Studies* 36, no. 4 (October 2010): 853–63.

Supplementary on deterrence & luck:

- Robert Jervis, “[Deterrence Theory Revisited](#),” *World Politics* 31, no. 2 (January 1979): 289–324.
- Robert Jervis, “[Rational Deterrence: Theory and Evidence](#),” *World Politics* 41, no. 2 (January 1989): 183–207.
- Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein, “[Beyond Deterrence](#),” *Journal of Social Issues* 43, no. 4 (Winter 1987): 5–71.
- Richard Ned Lebow & Janice Gross Stein, “[Rational Deterrence Theory: I Think, Therefore I Deter](#),” *World Politics* 41, no. 2 (January 1989): 208–224.
- Stephen L. Quackenbush, “[Deterrence theory: where do we stand?](#)” *Review of International Studies* 37, no 2 (April 2011): 741–762.
- Andrew Brown and Lorna Arnold, “[The Quirks of Nuclear Deterrence](#),” *International Relations* 24, no. 3 (September 2010): 293–312.
- Keith B. Payne, “[The Great Divide in US Deterrence Thought](#),” *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (Summer 2020): 16–48.
- Vipin Narang, “[What Does It Take to Deter? Regional Power Nuclear Postures and International Conflict](#),” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57, no. 3 (June 2013): 478–508.
- Gordon Fraser, “[The 19th-Century Origins of Nuclear Deterrence](#),” *Journal of the British Academy* 8, no. s3 (June 2020): 7–24.
- Ward Wilson, “[The Myth of Nuclear Deterrence](#),” *The Nonproliferation Review* 15, no. 3 (November 2008): 421–39; and *Five Myths about Nuclear Weapons* (Mariner, 2014).
- Jeffrey W. Knopf, “[The Fourth Wave in Deterrence Research](#),” *Contemporary Security Policy* 31, no. 1 (April 2010): 1–33.
- Ulrich Kühn, “[Deterrence and Its Discontents](#),” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 74, no. 4 (July 2018): 248–54.
- Amir Lupovici, “[The Emerging Fourth Wave of Deterrence Theory—Toward a New Research Agenda](#),” *International Studies Quarterly* 54, no. 3 (September 2010): 705–32.

- Maria Mälksoo, “[A Ritual Approach to Deterrence: I Am, Therefore I Deter](#),” *European Journal of International Relations* 27, no. 1 (March 2021): 53–78.
- Uriel Abulof, “[The Malpractice of ‘Rationality’ in International Relations](#),” *Rationality and Society* 27, no. 3 (August 2015): 358–84.
- Sharon K. Weiner, “[The Ethics of Choosing Deterrence](#),” *Ethics & International Affairs* 37, no. 1 (Spring 2023): 29–38.
- Neil C. Renic, “[Superweapons and the Myth of Technological Peace](#),” *European Journal of International Relations* 29, no. 1 (March 2023): 129–52.
- Gordon Fraser, “[The 19th-Century Origins of Nuclear Deterrence](#),” *Journal of the British Academy* 8, no. s3 (June 2020): 7–24.
- Benoît Pelopidas and Kjølv Egeland, “[The False Promise of Nuclear Risk Reduction](#),” *International Affairs* 100, no. 1 (January 2024): 345–60.
- Richard Ned Lebow and Benoît Pelopidas, “[Facing Nuclear War: Luck, Learning, and the Cuban Missile Crisis](#),” in *The Oxford Handbook of History and International Relations*, ed. Mlada Bukovansky et al. (Oxford University Press, 2023).
- Benoît Pelopidas, “[A Bet Portrayed as a Certainty: Reassessing the Added Deterrent Value of Nuclear Weapons](#),” in *The War That Must Never Be Fought: Dilemmas of Nuclear Deterrence*, by James Goodby and George P. Schultz (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2015), 5–55.
- Dr Patricia Lewis, Benoît Pelopidas, and Dr Heather Williams, “[Too Close for Comfort: Cases of Near Nuclear Use and Options for Policy](#)” (Chatham House, April 28, 2014).

Supplementary on the taboo & tradition:

- Nina Tannenwald, “[The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use](#),” *International Organization* 53, no. 3 (ed 1999): 433–68; “[Stigmatizing the Bomb: Origins of the Nuclear Taboo](#),” *International Security* 29, no. 4 (Spring 2005): 5–49; *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons Since 1945* (Cambridge University Press, 2007); “[How Strong Is the Nuclear Taboo Today?](#)” *The Washington Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (2018): 89–109.
- Michal Smetana and Carmen Wunderlich, eds., “[Forum: Nonuse of Nuclear Weapons in World Politics: Toward the Third Generation of ‘Nuclear Taboo’ Research](#),” *International Studies Review* 23, no. 3 (September 2021): 1072–99.
- Rebecca Davis Gibbons and Keir Lieber, “[How Durable Is the Nuclear Weapons Taboo?](#)” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 42, no. 1 (January 2019): 29–54.
- Lynn Eden, “[The Contingent Taboo](#),” *Review of International Studies* 36, no. 4 (2010): 831–37.
- T. V. Paul, *The Tradition of Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons* (Stanford University Press, 2009).
- Daryl G. Press, Scott D. Sagan, and Benjamin A. Valentino, “[Atomic Aversion: Experimental Evidence on Taboos, Traditions, and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons](#),” *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 1 (February 2013): 188–206.
- Paul C. Avey, “[Who’s Afraid of the Bomb? The Role of Nuclear Non-Use Norms in Confrontations between Nuclear and Non-Nuclear Opponents](#),” *Security Studies* 24, no. 4 (October 2015): 563–96.
- Theo Farrell, “[Nuclear Non-Use: Constructing a Cold War History](#),” *Review of International Studies* 36, no. 4 (October 2010): 819–29.
- Oliver Meier and Maren Vieluf, “[Upsetting the Nuclear Order: How the Rise of Nationalist Populism Increases Nuclear Dangers](#),” *The Nonproliferation Review* 28, no. 1–3 (June 2021): 13–35.

Sessions 6 & 7: the atomic subaltern — testing, mining, downwinders & fallout

March 05

1. Joseph Masco, "[The Age of Fallout](#)," *History of the Present* 5, no. 2 (2015): 137–68.
2. Sébastien Philippe, Sonya Schoenberger, and Nabil Ahmed, "[Radiation Exposures and Compensation of Victims of French Atmospheric Nuclear Tests in Polynesia](#)," *Science & Global Security* 30, no. 2 (May 4, 2022): 62–94.

March 12

3. Togzhan Kassenova, "[Banning Nuclear Testing: Lessons from the Semipalatinsk Nuclear Testing Site](#)," *The Nonproliferation Review* 23, no. 3–4 (July 2016): 329–44.
4. *Polygon* documentary.

Supplementary:

- Robert A. Jacobs, *Nuclear Bodies: The Global Hibakusha* (Yale University Press, 2022).
- Shampa Biswas, "[Nuclear Harms and Global Disarmament](#)," in *The Age of Hiroshima*, ed. Michael D. Gordin and G. John Ikenberry (Princeton, 2020), 259–75.
- Shine Choi and Catherine Eschle, eds., "[Feminist Interrogations of Global Nuclear Politics](#)," Special Section of *International Affairs* 98, no. 4 (July 2022): 1129–1288.
- Anne Sisson Runyan, "[Indigenous Women’s Resistances at the Start and End of the Nuclear Fuel Chain](#)," *International Affairs* 98, no. 4 (July 2022): 1149–67.
- Victoria Audu, "[How The DRC Was Used to Make the First Nuclear Bomb](#)," *The Republic* 7, no. 3 (September 2023).
- Laura Considine, "[Rethinking the Beginning of the ‘Nuclear Age’ through Telling Feminist Nuclear Stories](#)," *Zeitschrift Für Friedens- Und Konfliktforschung*, December 29, 2022.
- Danielle Endres, "[The Rhetoric of Nuclear Colonialism: Rhetorical Exclusion of American Indian Arguments in the Yucca Mountain Nuclear Waste Siting Decision](#)," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 6, no. 1 (March 2009): 39–60.
- Matias Spektor, "[Nuclear Revolution and Hegemonic Hierarchies: How global Hiroshima Played out in South America](#)," in *The Age of Hiroshima*, ed. Michael D. Gordin and G. John Ikenberry (Princeton University Press, 2020), 164–78.
- Togzhan Kassenova, *Atomic Steppe: How Kazakhstan Gave Up the Bomb* (Stanford, 2022).
- Kate Brown, *Plutopia: Nuclear Families, Atomic Cities, and the Great Soviet and American Plutonium Disasters* (Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Frank N. von Hippel, "[The Long-Term Global Health Burden from Nuclear Weapon Test Explosions in the Atmosphere: Revisiting Andrei Sakharov’s 1958 Estimates](#)," *Science & Global Security* 30, no. 2 (May 4, 2022): 54–61.

***** No classes March 16–24. *****

Session 8–9: arms control & the nonproliferation regime complex

March 26

1. Campbell Craig and Jan Ruzicka, "[The Nonproliferation Complex](#)," *Ethics & International Affairs* 27, no. 3 (Fall 2013): 329–48.
2. Rebecca Davis Gibbons and Stephen Herzog, "[Durable Institution under Fire? The NPT Confronts Emerging Multipolarity](#)," *Contemporary Security Policy* 43, no. 1 (January 2022): 50–79.

April 02

3. Rebecca Davis Gibbons, "[The Humanitarian Turn in Nuclear Disarmament and the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons](#)," *The Nonproliferation Review* 25, no. 1–2 (January 2018): 11–36.
4. Elizabeth Mendenhall, "[Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones and Contemporary Arms Control](#)," *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (2020): 122–51.

Supplementary:

- [Special issue on the NPT at 50](#), *Contemporary Security Policy* 43, no. 1 (2022), including...
 - Joellen Pretorius and Tom Sauer, "[When Is It Legitimate to Abandon the NPT? Withdrawal as a Political Tool to Move Nuclear Disarmament Forward](#)," *Contemporary Security Policy* 43, no. 1 (January 2022): 161–85.
 - Michal Smetana and Joseph O'Mahoney, "[NPT as an Antifragile System: How Contestation Improves the Nonproliferation Regime](#)," *Contemporary Security Policy* 43, no. 1 (January 2022): 24–49.
 - Kjølvs Egeland, "[A Theory of Nuclear Disarmament: Cases, Analogies, and the Role of the Non-Proliferation Regime](#)," *Contemporary Security Policy* 43, no. 1 (January 2, 2022): 106–33.
- Kjølvs Egeland, "[The Ideology of Nuclear Order](#)," *New Political Science* 43, no. 2 (April 2021): 208–30.
- Jan Ruzicka, "[Behind the Veil of Good Intentions: Power Analysis of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime](#)," *International Politics* 55, no. 3 (May 2018): 369–85.
- Jan Ruzicka, "[The next Great Hope: The Humanitarian Approach to Nuclear Weapons](#)," *Journal of International Political Theory* 15, no. 3 (October 2019): 386–400.
- Charles Fred Iklé, "[After Detection—What?](#)" *Foreign Affairs* 39, no. 2 (January 1961): 208–20.
- Thomas C. Schelling, "[What Went Wrong with Arms Control?](#)" *Foreign Affairs* 64, no. 2 (Winter 1985/86): 219–33.
- Nick Ritchie, "[A Hegemonic Nuclear Order: Understanding the Ban Treaty and the Power Politics of Nuclear Weapons](#)," *Contemporary Security Policy* 40, no. 4 (October 2019): 409–34.
- Nick Ritchie, "[Inventing Nuclear Disarmament](#)," *Critical Studies on Security* 7, no. 1 (January 2019): 73–77.
- Donald MacKenzie and Graham Spinardi, "[Tacit Knowledge, Weapons Design, and the Uninvention of Nuclear Weapons](#)," *American Journal of Sociology* 101, no. 1 (1995): 44–99.
- J Luis Rodriguez and Elizabeth Mendenhall, "[Nuclear Weapon-Free Zones and the Issue of Maritime Transit in Latin America](#)," *International Affairs* 98, no. 3 (May 2022): 819–36.

Sessions 10 & 11: why seek nuclear weapons?

April 09

1. Scott D. Sagan. "[Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?: Three Models in Search of a Bomb](#)," *International Security* 21, no. 3 (1996): 54–86.
2. Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, "[Is Nuclear zero the Best Option?](#)" *The National Interest* 109 (September/October 2010): 88–96.

April 16

3. Benoît Pelopidas, "Renunciation: Restraint and Rollback," in *Routledge Handbook of Nuclear Proliferation and Policy*, ed. Joseph F. Pilat and Nathan E. Busch (Routledge, 2015), 337–48. **[I will circulate.]**
4. Shampa Biswas, "Unusable, Dangerous, and Desirable: Nuclear Weapons as Fetish Commodities," in *Nuclear Desire: Power and the Postcolonial Nuclear Order* (University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 109–34. **[I will circulate.]**

Supplementary:

- Kenneth N. Waltz, "[The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better](#)," *The Adelphi Papers* 21, no. 171 (September 1981); "[Why Iran Should Get the Bomb: Nuclear Balancing Would Mean Stability](#)," *Foreign Affairs* 91, no. 4 (July/August 2012): 2–5.
- Todd C. Robinson, "[What Do We Mean by Nuclear Proliferation?](#)," *The Nonproliferation Review* 22, no. 1 (January 2, 2015): 53–70.
- Hugh Gusterson, "[Nuclear Weapons and the Other in the Western Imagination](#)," *Cultural Anthropology* 14, no. 1 (1999): 111–43.
- Vipin Narang, "[Strategies of Nuclear Proliferation: How States Pursue the Bomb](#)," *International Security* 41, no. 3 (January 2017): 110–50; & *Seeking the Bomb: Strategies of Nuclear Proliferation* (Princeton, 2022).
- Scott D. Sagan, "[The Perils of Proliferation: Organization Theory, Deterrence Theory, and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons](#)," *International Security* 18, no. 4 (1994): 66–107.
- Peter D. Feaver, "[Command and Control in Emerging Nuclear Nations](#)," *International Security* 17, no. 3 (1992): 160–87.
- Alexander Lanoszka, *Atomic Assurance: the Alliance Politics of Nuclear Proliferation* (Cornell, 2018).
- Nick Ritchie, "[Valuing and Devaluing Nuclear Weapons](#)," *Contemporary Security Policy* 34, no. 1 (April 2013): 146–73.
- Stephanie E. Meulenbelt and Maarten S. Nieuwenhuizen, "[Non-State Actors' Pursuit of CBRN Weapons: From Motivation to Potential Humanitarian Consequences](#)," *International Review of the Red Cross* 97, no. 899 (September 2015): 831–58.
- Robin M. Frost, *Nuclear Terrorism after 9/11*, *The Adelphi Papers* 45, no. 378 (2005/2006).
- Amandeep S. Gill, "[A History of the Idea of Nuclear Security: 1945–2006](#)," in *Nuclear Security Summits: A History*, ed. Amandeep S. Gill (Springer, 2020), 19–47.
- John E. Mueller, "[The Atomic Terrorist?](#)" in *Nuclear Proliferation and International Order: Challenges to the Non-Proliferation Treaty*, ed. Olav Njølstad (Routledge, 2010), 127–48.
- Matthew Bunn, Nickolas Roth, and William H. Tobey, "[Revitalizing Nuclear Security in an Era of Uncertainty](#)," Project on Managing the Atom (Harvard, January 2019).

Session 12: The War in Ukraine

April 23

1. Mariana Budjeryn, "[Was Ukraine's Nuclear Disarmament a Blunder?](#)" *World Affairs* 179, no. 2 (September 2016): 9–20.
2. *Current reading TK.*

Supplementary:

- Mariana Budjeryn, "[Distressing a System in Distress: Global Nuclear Order and Russia's War against Ukraine](#)," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 78, no. 6 (November 2022): 339–46; & [Inheriting the Bomb: The Collapse of the USSR and the Nuclear Disarmament of Ukraine](#) (John Hopkins University Press, 2022).
- Maria Rost Rublee, "[Fantasy Counterfactual: A Nuclear-Armed Ukraine](#)," *Survival* 57, no. 2 (March 2015): 145–56.
- Giles David Arceneaux, "[Whether to Worry: Nuclear Weapons in the Russia-Ukraine War](#)," *Contemporary Security Policy* 44, no. 4 (October 2, 2023): 561–75.
- Alexander K. Bollfrass and Stephen Herzog, "[The War in Ukraine and Global Nuclear Order](#)," *Survival* 64, no. 4 (July 4, 2022): 7–32.
- Sarah Bidgood, "[What We Talk About When We Talk About US-Russia Strategic Stability](#)," *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament* 6, no. 1 (2023): 9–27.
- John J. Mearsheimer, "[The Case for a Ukrainian Nuclear Deterrent](#)," *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (1993): 50–66.
- Steven E. Miller, "[The Case against a Ukrainian Nuclear Deterrent](#)," *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (1993): 67–80.

Session 13: Artificial Intelligence

April 30

1. James M. Acton, "[Cyber Warfare & Inadvertent Escalation](#)," *Daedalus* 149, no. 2 (April 1, 2020): 133–49.
2. James Johnson, "[Inadvertent Escalation in the Age of Intelligence Machines: A New Model for Nuclear Risk in the Digital Age](#)," *European Journal of International Security* 7, no. 3 (August 2022): 337–59.

Supplementary:

- James Johnson, "[Artificial Intelligence in Nuclear Warfare: A Perfect Storm of Instability?](#)" *The Washington Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (April 2, 2020): 197–211 & *AI and the Bomb: Nuclear Strategy and Risk in the Digital Age* (Oxford University Press, 2023).
- Andrew Futter and Benjamin Zala, "[Strategic Non-Nuclear Weapons and the Onset of a Third Nuclear Age](#)," *European Journal of International Security* 6, no. 3 (August 2021): 257–77.
- Matthijs M. Maas, "[How Viable Is International Arms Control for Military Artificial Intelligence? Three Lessons from Nuclear Weapons](#)," *Contemporary Security Policy* 40, no. 3 (July 3, 2019): 285–311.

Session 14: Conclusions**May 07**

1. Rens van Munster, "[The Nuclear Origins of the Anthropocene](#)," in *International Relations in the Anthropocene: New Agendas, New Agencies and New Approaches*, ed. David Chandler, Franziska Müller, and Delf Rothe (Springer, 2021), 59–75.
2. "[After the Atomic Bomb: Hibakusha Tell Their Stories](#)," *International Review of the Red Cross* 97, no. 899 (September 2015): 507–25.

United Nations visit**May 14**Session 15: Movie "night"**May 21**

- Stanley Kubrick (dir.), *Dr. Strangelove, Or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*