

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, ORGANISATION AND DISARMAMENT

MPHIL MONSOON SEMESTER

INDIA AND DISARMAMENT

COURSE TEACHERS: DR J. MADHAN MOHAN AND DR HAPPYMON JACOB

COURSE EVALUATION

BOOK REVIEW – 10 MARKS

INTERVIEW REPORT – 10 MARKS

RESEARCH PAPER – 20 MARKS

MID-SEMESTER EXAMINATION – 20 MARKS

END-SEMESTER EXAMINATION – 40 MARKS

SECTION ONE

CONCEPTS AND CONNOTATIONS

UNIT ONE: ARMS CONTROL

CORE READING

Hedley Bull, “Arms Control and World Order”, *International Security*, 1(1), Summer 1976, pp. 3-16.

Avis Bohlen, ‘The Rise and Fall of Arms Control’, *Survival*, 45(3), 2003, pp. 7-34.

FURTHER READING

Bernard Brodie (1976), “On the Objectives of Arms Control”, *International Security*, 1(1): 17-36.

Coit Blacker and Gorla Duffy (1976), *International Arms Control: Issues and Agreements*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

UNIT TWO: DISARMAMENT

CORE READING

Charles Glaser (1998), "The Flawed Case of Nuclear Disarmament", *Survival*, 40(1): 112-128.

FURTHER READING

Sharon Squassoni (2009), "The New Disarmament Discussion", *Current History*, 714: 33-38.

UNIT THREE: NON-PROLIFERATION

CORE READING

Roger K. Smith, 'Explaining the Non-Proliferation Regime: Anomalies for Contemporary International Relations Theory', *International Organization*, 41: 2, Spring 1987, pp. 253-281.

Jan Ruzicka and Nicholas J. Wheeler, 'The Puzzle of Trusting Relationships in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty', *International Affairs*, 86: 1, January 2010, pp. 69-85.

Anne Harrington de Santana, 'The Strategy of Non-proliferation: Maintaining the Credibility of an Incredible Pledge to Disarm', *Millennium* 40(1), 2011, pp. 3-19.

UNIT FOUR: ARMS RACE

CORE READING

George W. Downs, D.M. Rojke and R.M. Siverson, 'Arms races and cooperation', *World Politics*, 1985, 38 (1), pp. 118-146.

Charles Glaser, 'When Are Arms Races Dangerous? Rational versus Suboptimal Arming', *International Security*, 28:4, 2004, pp. 44-84.

FURTHER READING

Michael Don Ward, 'Differential Paths to Parity: A Study of the Contemporary Arms Race', *The American Political Science Review*, 78(2), pp. 297-317.

Paul F. Diehl, 'Arms Races and Escalation: A Closer Look', *Journal of Peace Research*, 1983, 20:3, pp. 205-12.

Colin S. Gray, 'The arms race phenomenon', *World Politics*, 24:1, October 1971, pp. 39-79.

UNIT FIVE: DETERRENCE

CORE READING

Paul K. Huth and Bruce Russett, 'What Makes Deterrence Work? Cases from 1900 to 1980', *World Politics*, 36:4, July 1984, pp. 496-526.

Christopher H. Achen and Duncan Snidal, 'Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies', *World Politics*, 41:2, January 1989, pp. 143-169.

Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein, 'Deterrence: The Elusive Dependent Variable', *World Politics*, 42:3, April 1990, pp.336-69.

FURTHER READING

George W. Downs, 'The Rational Deterrence Debate', *World Politics*, 41:2, January 1989, pp. 225-237.

Robert Jervis, 'Rational Deterrence: Theory and Evidence', *World Politics*, 41:2, January 1989, pp. 183-207.

SECTION TWO

THEORIES AND EXPLANATIONS

Scott Sagan, 'Why do states make nuclear weapons? Three models in search of a bomb', *International Security*, 21:3, Winter 1996/1997, pp. 54-86.

Etel Solingen, 'The Political Economy of Nuclear Restraint', *International Security*, 19: 2, Fall 1994, pp. 126-169.

Kenneth Waltz, 'Nuclear Myths and Political Realities', *The American Political Science Review*, 84:3, September 1990, pp. 731-745.

Jan Ruzicka and Nicholas J. Wheeler, 'The Puzzle of Trusting Relationships in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty,' *International Affairs*, 86:1, January 2010, pp. 69-85.

SECTION THREE

NUCLEAR POLITICS AND STRATEGY

UNIT ONE: NUCLEAR REVOLUTION

Marg Trachtenberg (1991), "Strategic Thought in America, 1952-1966", in *History and Strategy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Thomas C. Schelling (2008), "Arms and Influence", in Thomas G. Mahnken and Joseph A. Maiolo (eds.), *Strategic Studies: A Reader*, New York: Routledge.

Brodie, Bernard (2008), "The Absolute Weapon" in Thomas G. Mahnken and Joseph A. Maiolo (eds.), *Strategic Studies: A Reader*, New York: Routledge.

UNIT TWO: NUCLEAR STRATEGY

Albert Wohlstetter (2008), "The Delicate Balance of Terror" in Thomas G. Mahnken and Joseph A. Maiolo (eds.), *Strategic Studies: A Reader*, New York: Routledge.

Robert Jervis (2007), "Why Nuclear Superiority Doesn't Matter", in Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen (eds.), *International Security*, Volume I, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

UNIT THREE: NUCLEAR LEARNING

Rajesh M. Basrur (2009), "The lesions of Kargil as Learned by India", in Peter R. Lavoy (eds.) *Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia: The Causes and Consequences of the Kargil Conflict*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jeffrey W. Knopf (2012), "The Concept of Nuclear Learning", *The Nonproliferation Review*, 19(1): 79-93.

Joseph S. Nye Jr., "Nuclear Learning and U.S.-Soviet Security Regimes," *International Organization* 41(3): 371-402.

UNIT FOUR: CULTURE, NORMS AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS

CORE READING

Kerry M. Kartchner (2009), "Strategic Culture and WMD Decision Making" in Jeannie L. Johnson, Kerry M. Kartchner, and Jeffrey A. Larsen (eds.), *Strategic Culture and Weapons of Mass Destruction: Culturally Based Insights into Comparative National Security Policy Making*, New York: Palgrave.

Raminder Kaur (2009), "Gods, Bombs and Social Imagery" in Itty Abraham (ed.), *Atomic Publics and the State in India and Pakistan*, Indiana University Press.

Nina Tannenwald (2007), "Introduction" and "Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons", *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons Since 1945*, New York: Cambridge University. (Chapter 1 and 2).

T. V. Paul (2011), "Bases of the Tradition of Non- Use" in *The Tradition of Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons*, New Delhi: Foundations Books.

FURTHER READING

Rodney W. Jones (2009), India's Strategic Culture and the Origins of Omniscient Paternalism, in Jeannie L. Johnson, Kerry M. Kartchner, and Jeffrey A. Larsen (eds.),

Strategic Culture and Weapons of Mass Destruction: Culturally Based Insights into Comparative National Security Policy Making, New York: Palgrave

Peter Vincent Pry (2012), "Ideology as a Factor in Deterrence", *Comparative Strategy*, 31(2): 111-146.

Paul C. Szasz (2004), "The International Law Concerning Weapons of Mass Destruction", in Sohail H. Hashmi and Steven P. Lee (eds.), *Ethics and Weapons of Mass Destruction Religious and Secular Perspectives*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Scott D. Sagan (2004), "Realist Perspectives on Ethical Norms and Weapons of Mass Destruction" in Sohail H. Hashmi and Steven P. Lee (eds.), *Ethics and Weapons of Mass Destruction Religious and Secular Perspectives*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

SECTION FOUR

INDIA'S NUCLEAR BEHAVIOUR

CORE READING

Amitabh Mattoo, 'India's nuclear status quo', *Survival*, Autumn 1996, 38:3, pp. 41-57.

William Walker, 'India's nuclear labyrinth', *Nonproliferation Review*, Fall 1996, pp. 61-77.

Bharat Karand (2008), "Laying the Foundation: India's Nuclear and Missile Capabilities and Minimum Deterrence Concept, 1947-1998" in *India's Nuclear Policy*, London: Praeger Security International.

Andrew Kennedy (2011), "India's Nuclear Odyssey: Implicit Umbrellas, Diplomatic Disappointments, and the Bomb", *International Security*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Fall 2011), pp. 120-153.

Kanti Bajpai (2009), "The BJP and the Bomb", in Scott D. Sagan (eds.), *Inside Nuclear South Asia*, New Delhi: Foundation Books.

C. Raja Mohan (2007), "India's nuclear Exceptionalism", in Sverre Lodgaard and Morten Bremer Mærli (eds.), *Nuclear Proliferation and International Security*, New Delhi: Routledge.

FURTHER READING

Leonard Weiss (2010), "India and the NPT", *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 34, No. 2, March 2010, 255-271.

Itty Abraham (2009), "Introduction: Nuclear Power and Atomic Publics", in Itty Abraham (eds.) *Atomic Publics and the State in India and Pakistan*, Indiana University Press. (Chapters 1).

M. V. Ramana (2009), “India’s Nuclear Enclave and the Practice of Secrecy”, in Itty Abraham (eds.) *Atomic Publics and the State in India and Pakistan*, Indiana University Press. (Chapters 3).

Karsten Frey (2009), “Politics, Ideology and India’s Strategic Community” in Itty Abraham (eds.), *Atomic Publics and the State in India and Pakistan*, Indiana University Press.

C. Raja Mohan (2009), “India’s Nuclear Diplomacy and the Global Order”, in Arvind Gupta (Eds.), *India in a Changing Global Nuclear Order*, New Delhi: IDSA-Indian Pugwash Publication.

Arundhati Ghose (1997), “Negotiating the CTBT: India's security concerns and nuclear disarmament”, *Journal of International Affairs*, 51(1).

Walter C. Ladwig (2007), “A Cold Start for Hot Wars? The Indian Army’s New Limited War Doctrine”, *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Winter 2007/08): 158–190.

Ali Ahmed (2012), “Political Decision-Making and Nuclear Retaliation”, *Strategic Analysis*, 36(4).

Waheguru Pal Singh Sidhu (2004), “Evolution of India’s Nuclear Doctrine”, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi.

Bharat Karnad (2008), “Laying the Foundation: India’s Nuclear and Missile Capabilities and Minimum Deterrence Concept, 1947–1998” in India’s Nuclear Policy, Praeger Security International.

Roy-Chaudhury, Rahul(2009) 'India's Nuclear Doctrine: A Critical Analysis', *Strategic Analysis*, 33(3): 404-414

T.T. Poulse (1998), “India’s Deterrence Doctrine: A Nehruvian Critique”, *The Nonproliferation Review*/Fall.

Karsten Frey (2007), “Structure and Process of India’s Nuclear Policymaking” in *India’s Nuclear Bomb and National Security*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Robert S. Anderson, “Introduction”, in Robert S. Anderson, *Nucleus and Nation: Scientists, International Networks, and Power in India*, the University of Chicago Press Chicago and London.

SECTION FIVE

ISSUES AND IMPLICATIONS

UNIT ONE

GLOBAL ZERO

Harald Müller (2010), “Enforcement of the Rules in a Nuclear Weapons – Free World”, in Corey Hinderstein (eds.), *Cultivating Confidence: Verification, Monitoring, and Enforcement for a world free of nuclear weapons*, Washington D. C.: NTI.

David Cortright and Raimo Vayrynen (2010), “Why Disarmament? And Why Now?”, in *Towards Nuclear Zero*, London, Routledge.

George Perkovich and James M. Acton (eds.) (2009), “Establishing Political Conditions to Enhance the Feasibility of Abolishing Nuclear Weapons” in *Abolishing Nuclear Weapons: A Debate*, Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Scott D. Sagan (2010), *Shared Responsibilities for Nuclear Disarmament: A Global Debate*, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, pp-1-14.

UNIT TWO

NUCLEAR TERRORISM

Robin M. Frost, *Nuclear Terrorism after 9/11*, Adelphi Paper 378, 2005.

Matthew Bunn, ‘A Mathematical Model of the Risk of Nuclear Terrorism’, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 607, September 2006, pp. 103-120.

Charles D. Ferguson and William C. Potter, *The Four Faces of Nuclear Terrorism* (California: Monterey Institute of Nonproliferation Studies, 2004).

UNIT THREE

CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

Richard Price, ‘A Genealogy of the Chemical Weapons Taboo’, *International Organization*, 49:1, Winter 1995, pp. 73-103.

Milton Leitenberg, ‘Biological Weapons and Bioterrorism in the First Years of the Twenty-First Century’, *Politics and the Life Sciences*, 21:2, September 2002, pp. 3-27.

J.P. Perry Robinson, ‘Implementing the Chemical Weapons Convention’, *International Affairs*, 72:1, January 1996, pp. 73-89.