



The seminar outline will be a living document, so it might change slightly as the course proceeds.

Seminar Outline: The Global Governance of Nuclear Weapons

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Course Size: 10-30

Weekly Hours: 2

ECTS: 4

Language: English

Course Description

Ever since they were built, the Global Governance of Nuclear Weapons has been a contentious topic both among politicians and political scientists. With realists frequently stressing the deterring power of nuclear weapons, liberal scholars referring to the resilience of the regime of nuclear weapons governance and critical scholars increasingly emphasising the humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons use, the topic is a major playground for theory application. The course will make use of a variety of historic and current cases to work both theoretically and empirically. From Iran to North Korea, from the India-Pakistan conflict over the Cold War up to the recent Nuclear Ban Treaty adopted at the United Nations, the course aims to cover a broad range issues.

Aims & Learning Outcomes

With its theoretical foundation, the students will be able to understand and apply theoretical concepts of international relations such as realism, liberalism, constructivism, feminism and de-colonialism. Furthermore, the students will gain an overview of the global governance of nuclear weapons in both history and present. Through the assignments and class structure, the students will foster their skills in writing policy memos, academic essays and, through small- and full group discussions enhance their skill set in forming cohesive arguments in debates.

Teaching Methods

Each session will consist of 15-20 min. introduction to the problem by the convener and 70-75 min questions and discussion on both the reading and the topic. The course is divided into two blocks: In the first block, theories of International Relations should be introduced and applied. Pitches of policy memos and guiding questions will encourage discussions. Generally, the required material for a session will consist of one or two core readings (paper and/or book chapter), supplemented by a source of alternative format (podcast, documentary, interview etc.). Further/ optional reading will be provided on a case-by-case basis. For certain topics, experts will be invited to provide their perspectives.



In order to facilitate and encourage discussion, students will be required to prepare a fictional policy memo (≈500 words) on a session of choice, which should be presented in a 5-minute pitch (not graded, *Studienleistung*). In addition, students will be required to grade a self-produced essay that was written by AI in order to reflect upon the content and style, the expectations for the end-term essay as well as AI use in academia. At the end of term, students will be required to submit an essay (≈ 4000 words, formally: *Hausarbeit*) on a topic of their choice. Students are invited to discuss their approach (e.g. in the form of a short abstract) with the convenor of the course. Policy memos and essays should be uploaded to OpenOLAT.

My office hours are open for all students and can be used for general questions on the matter, on non-graded or graded assignments or other questions related to the course or studies. You can book slots via email at jannis.kappelmann@uni-hamburg.de. Office hours are generally held over zoom, but in-person office hours can be requested.

The prime platform used to facilitate interaction is OpenOLAT; STiNE serves registration purposes only:

- Course material will be uploaded to OpenOLAT;
- Registration for policy memos and pitches is possible through OpenOLAT;
- Essays should be submitted through OpenOLAT

Timetable

October 15th 2024 - January 28th 2025 (14 Sessions)

Session 1 (15.10.2024): Science and History of Nuclear Weapons

Required: [Bunn 2013 \(video\)](#) | [EU Non-Proliferation Consortium 2021](#) (Interactive Learning Module, Chapters I, II, III & Summary; Quizzes and Chapters IV and EU & NPT not mandatory)

Recommended: Fermi et.al. 1944, tbd., Futter 2021, p. 63- 84, [Bunn 2013b \(video\)](#), Xia et.al. 2022

Block 1: IR Theory and Nuclear Weapons

Session 2 (22.10.2024): Realist Approaches

Required: Waltz 1981 (in:Sagan/ Waltz 1995), whole | [University of California 2005](#)

Recommended: Gaddis 1986, Sagan 1995, Mazarr 2018, Waltz 1990, Sagan/ Waltz 2013,

Session 3 (29.10.2024): Liberal Approaches

Required: Walker 2000, whole | [Baerbock 2022\(2:50h\)](#)

Recommended: Kutchesfahani 2019, IAEA 2018a, IAEA 2018b

Session 4 (05.11.2024): Constructivist Approaches



Required: Tannenwald 1999, whole | [Stimson Center/ Tannenwald 2021](#)

Recommended: Egeland 2021, Knopf 2010, Lupovici 2010 Pelopidas 2017, Saha 2022 Smetana/ Wunderlich 2020, Wunderlich 2020

Session 5 (12.11.2024): Feminist/ Gender Approaches

Required: Cohn 1987, whole | [Acheson 2018](#)

Recommended: Das 2007, Das 2010, Eschle/ Choi 2022, Teiwa 1994, Dalaqua/ Egeland/Hugo 2019, Enloe 1990, Tickner 2001, Shepherd 2010, Tickner/ Sjoberg 2011

Session 6 (19.11.2024): Post-/ Decolonial Perspectives

Required: Biswas 2014 (Introduction, p.1- 26) | [Marshall Islands \(1:16h\)](#)

Recommended: Das 2007, Das 2010, Mathur 2016, Jacobs 2013, [ABC News 2017](#), Biswas 2014 (Chapter 2, p.75- 109), Teiwa 1994, Tripathi 2021, Jacobs 2013, Hecht 2012, [Baldus/ Fehl/ Hach 2021](#), [Baldus/ Fehl/ Hach 2022](#)

Block 2: Case Studies

Session 7 (26.11.2024) The Cold War

Required: Pelopidas 2017, whole | [Kubrick 1964](#)

Recommended: Futter 2021 (p. 63-86), Payne 2020

Session 8 (03.12.2024): Iran, the Middle East and North Africa

Required: Bahgat 2008 (Introduction, p. 1-18) | [At the Brink 2020](#)

Recommended: Bowen, Moran 2015, [UN 2019](#), Hadian 2018, Albarasneh, Khatib 2019, Wunderlich 2014, Wunderlich 2020

Session 9 (10.12.2024): Africa

Required: [Samuel 2021a](#) [Samuel 2020](#) | [Belfer Center 2021](#)

Recommended: Hecht 2012, Intondi 2015, Taha 2022, [Samuel 2021b](#)

Session 10 (17.12.2024): The Russian Invasion of Ukraine

Required: Bollfass, Herzog 2022 | [Tannenwald 2023](#)

Recommended: [Knopf 2022](#), Mearsheimer 1993, [Umland/ van Essen 2022](#), Horowitz/ Wachs 2022, Arndt/ Horowitz 2022, Mälksoo 2022



Session 11 (07.01.2025): India and Pakistan

Required: Kapur 2005 | [BBC 2007](#)

Recommended: Das 2007, Das 2010, Saha 2022, Kelman 2015

Session 12 (14.01.2025): East Asia: China, The Koreas and Japan

Required: Bin 2016, p. 3-19 (in Zhao 2016) | [Suh 2022](#)

Recommended: Zhao 2021 Riqiang 2013

Session 13 (21.01.2025): The Nuclear Ban Treaty

Required: Müller, Wunderlich 2020 | [Nobel Peace Prize 2017](#)

Recommended: Davis Gibbons 2018, Meyer & Sauer 2018, Pattton & Philipe & Mian 2019, Sauer & Reveraert 2018, [Roberts 2018](#), Bandarra et. al. 2022

Session 14 (28.01.2025): The Pacific, Reflection and Questions on Assessments

Required: Maurer 2024 1-30

Recommended: Eschle 2023

Assignments

Examination performance (Studienleistungen): Fictional Policy Memo (\approx 500 words, until 48 hours before relevant session, if you work in team of two, \approx 1000 words) & less than 5min pitch of memo on session of choice (each session to be covered), Grading of AI Essay

Please register for a session via [\[Link\]](#)

Policy Memo:

Fictional Policy Memo (\approx 500 words, until 48 hours before relevant session, if you work in team of two, \approx 1000 words) & less than 5min pitch of memo on session of choice (each session to be covered)

In order to facilitate and encourage discussion, students will be required to prepare a fictional policy memo (\approx 500 words) on a session of choice, which should be presented in a 5-minute pitch (not graded, Studienleistung). The Memo is to be uploaded to OpenOlat under "Midterm".

AI Essay:



Students will be required to grade a self-produced essay that was written by AI in order to reflect upon the content and style, the expectations for the end-term essay as well as AI use in academia. For that, students should make use of the provided grading table. Students should fill the table with the points and grades they provide and 8-12 bullet points on the quality of the essay, structured through the grading table. The grading table is to be uploaded to OpenOlat under “Midterm”.

Exam requirements (Prüfungsleistungen): Academic Essay (Hausarbeit, ≠ German Essay) on session of choice (3500 - 4000 words)

Submission of examination performance: OpenOLAT, 48h before session

Submission of exam (essay/ Hausarbeit): March 31, 2025, 23:59:59

Overview: Readings

Generally, the required material for a session will consist of a paper or book chapter, supplemented by a source of alternative format (podcast, documentary, interview etc.). Sources of alternative format can be accessed through the embedded link in this seminar outline. Further/ optional reading will be provided on a case-by-case basis.

Albarasneh, Ayman Saleh ; Khatib, Dania Koleilat (2019): The US policy of containing Iran – from Obama to Trump 2009–2018, *Global Affairs*, DOI: 10.1080/23340460.2019.1701951

Bahgat, Gawdat G. (2007) *Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in the Middle East*, University Press of Florida

Bandarra, Leonardo et al. (2022) : Global South perspectives on a global ban on nuclear weapons: A comparative approach, GIGA Working Papers, No. 330, German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), Hamburg

Bin, Lin (2016) *Introduction: Differences Between Chinese and U.S. Nuclear Thinking and Their Origins* in Zhao, Tong (2016) *Chinese Nuclear Thinking*, Carnegie Endowment

Bollfrass, Alexander; Herzog, Stephen (2022) The War in Ukraine and Global Nuclear Order, *Survival*, 64:4, 7-32

Bowen, Wyn; Moran, Matthew (2015) Living with nuclear hedging: the implications of Iran's nuclear strategy, via https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/field/fiel-d_document/INTA91_4_01_BowenMoran.pdf

Cohn, Carol (1987) *Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals*, *Signs*, 12:4, 687-718

Das, Runa (2007) Broadening the security paradigm: Indian women, anti-nuclear activism, and visions of a sustainable future, *Women's Studies International Forum*, 30, 1-15

Das, Runa (2010) Colonial Legacies, post-colonial (in)securities, and gender(ed) representations in South Asia's nuclear policies, *Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, 16:6, 717-740

Davis Gibbons, Rebecca (2018) The humanitarian turn in nuclear disarmament and the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, *The Nonproliferation Review*, 25:1-2, 11-36

Egeland, Kjølvi (2021) *The Ideology of Nuclear Order*, *New Political Science*, DOI: 10.1080/07393148.2021.1886772



- Eschle, Catherine, Choi, Sine (2022) Rethinking global nuclear politics, rethinking feminism, *International Affairs*, 98:4, 1129-1147
- Eschle, Catherine (2023) 'Why haven't you known?' Transoceanic solidarity and the politics of knowledge in feminist anti-nuclear activism, *Zeitschrift für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung* 12:195–216
- Futter, Andrew (2021) *The Politics of Nuclear Weapons*, Palgrave MacMillan, Cham
- Gaddis, John Lewis (1986) The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System, 10:4, 99-142
- Hadian, Nasser (2008) *Iran's Nuclear Program: Background and Clarification*, *Contemporary Security Policy*, Volume 29 No 3, 573-576, DOI: 10.1080/13523260802532128
- Hecht, Gabrielle (2012)
- Jacobs, Robert (2013) Nuclear Conquistadors: Military Colonialism in Nuclear Test Site Selection during the Cold War, *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding* 1:2, 157-177
- Jacobs, Robert A. (2022): *Nuclear Bodies: The Global Hibakusha*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Knopf, Jeffrey (2010) The Fourth Wave of Deterrence Research, *Contemporary Security Policy*, 31:1, 1-33
- Kutchesfahani, Sara (2019) *Global Nuclear Order*, Routledge Global Security Studies, Routledge, London, UK
- Lupovici, Amir (2010) The Emerging Fourth Wave of Deterrence Theory - Toward a New Research Agenda, *International Studies Quarterly*, 54:3, 705-732
- Mathur, Ritu (2016) Sly civility and the paradox of equality/inequality in the nuclear order: a post-colonial critique, *Critical Studies on Security*, 4:1, 57-72
- Mazarr, Michael J. (2018) *Understanding Deterrence*, Perspectives, RAND Corporation
- Mearsheimer, John J. (1993) The Case for a Ukrainian Nuclear Deterrent, *Council on Foreign Relations*, 50-66
- Meyer, Paul; Sauer, Tom (2018) The Nuclear Ban Treaty: A Sign of Global Impatience, *Survival*, 60:2, 61-72
- Müller, Harald; Wunderlich, Carmen (2020) *Nuclear Disarmament without the Nuclear-Weapon States: The Nuclear Weapon Ban Treaty*, *American Academy of Arts & Sciences*, DOI 10.1162/daed_a_01796
- Patton, Tamara; Philippe, Sébastien; Mian, Zia (2019) Fit for Purpose: An Evolutionary Strategy for the Implementation and Verification of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament*, 2:2, 387-409
- Payne, Rodger A. (2020): Grappling with Dr. Strangelove's "Wargasm" Fantasy. *International Studies Review* (22), S. 464-481.
- Pelopidas, Benoit (2017) The unbearable lightness of luck: Three sources of overconfidence in the manageability of nuclear crises, *European Journal of International Security*, 2:2, 240-262
- Sagan, Scott D.; Waltz, Kenneth (1995) *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons; Chapter 1: More May Better; Chapter 2: More will be worse*, W. W. Norton & Company, New York
- Saha, Aniruddha (2022) Nuclear Stigma and Deviance in Global Governance: A New Research Agenda, 66:3
- Sauer, Tom; Reveaert, Mathias (2018) The potential stigmatizing effect of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, *The Nonproliferation Review*, 5:6, 437-455
- Smetana, Michal; Wunderlich, Carmen (2021) The Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons in World Politics: Toward the third generation of nuclear taboo research, *International Studies Review*, 23, 1072-1099
- Taha, Hebatalla (2022) Hiroshima in Egypt: interpretations and imaginations of the atomic age, *Third World Quarterly*, 43:6, 1460-1477



Tannenwald, Nina (1999) *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use*, International Organization, 53:3, 433-468

Walker, William (2000) *Nuclear order and disorder*, International Affairs, 76:4, 703-724

Wendt, Alexander (1999) *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge Studies in International Relations, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge UK

Wunderlich, Carmen (2014) *A 'Rogue' Gone Norm Entrepreneurial? Iran within the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime*, in *Deviance in International Relations - 'Rogue States' and International Security*, Palgrave Macmillan, London

Wunderlich, Carmen (2020) *Rogue States as Norm Entrepreneurs - Black Sheep or Sheep in Wolves' Clothing?*, Springer Series Norms Research in International Relations, Springer, Cham, CH

Xia, Lilli et.al. (2022) *Global food insecurity and famine from reduced crop, marine fishery and livestock production due to climate disruption from nuclear war soot injection*, Nature Food, 3, 586-596

Zhao, Tong (2021): *China and the international debate on no first use of nuclear weapons*, Asian Security,