

HISTORY 103E  
POLITICAL SCIENCE 116

SPRING 2007

## THE HISTORY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Lectures: Mon., Tues., Wed., 10:00-10:50  
Building 200, Room 219

INSTRUCTOR: DAVID HOLLOWAY  
Office hours: Thurs., 1:30-3:30  
Room C442, Encina Hall  
Tel: 3-1737; e-mail: [david.holloway@stanford.edu](mailto:david.holloway@stanford.edu)

TAs: SIMON ERTZ ([ertz@stanford.edu](mailto:ertz@stanford.edu)) and KEVIN Y. KIM ([kyk@stanford.edu](mailto:kyk@stanford.edu))  
Section times and rooms will be established later.

This course examines the way in which states, individually and collectively, have responded to the challenges posed by nuclear weapons. The atomic bomb was developed during World War II, the most destructive war in history. In the aftermath of Hiroshima there were many who believed that catastrophic nuclear war was inevitable, unless the bomb was abolished or the international system reformed in a fundamental way. But the bomb has not been abolished, and states still exist. How then have we avoided nuclear war? Will the approaches we have taken in the past to avoiding nuclear war continue to work in the future?

This course provides an introduction to the international political history of nuclear weapons, from the discovery of nuclear fission in December 1938 up to the present day. We will look at the policies of the different nuclear powers and at the ways in which they have managed their relations with one another. We will examine the ideas they have developed about the military and political utility of nuclear weapons. We will look at the efforts to control and abolish nuclear weapons and at the international institutions created to reduce the danger of nuclear war.

### Course materials

There are five required books for the course.

Gerard DeGroot, *The Bomb: A Life* (Harvard University Press, 2005)

David Holloway, *Stalin and the Bomb: the Soviet Union and Atomic Energy, 1939-1956* (Yale University Press, 1994)

Robert F. Mozley, *The Politics and Technology of Nuclear Proliferation* (University of Washington Press, 1998)

Sidney D. Drell and James E. Goodby, *The Gravest Danger: Nuclear Weapons* (Hoover Institution Press, 2003)

George Bunn and Christopher F. Chyba, eds., *U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy: Confronting Today's Threats* (CISAC/Brookings, 2006)

These books are available in the Stanford Bookstore, although the Mozley book may be in short supply until late April. The books are also on reserve in Green Library. The other readings for the course can be found on the Coursework site or in a reader that will be available at the Stanford Bookstore.

### **Course requirements**

Students are required to attend the lectures and to take part in discussion sections. The times for the sections will be arranged later. Students are also required to:

- Write a 200-word response paper each week on the readings.
- Write a take-home midterm exam (1500-2000 words).
- Write a 500-word commentary on any two of three movies – *The Day after Trinity* (1981), *The War Game* (1965), *Dr Strangelove* (1964). These will be shown at times to be arranged or can be viewed in the library.
- Take an in-class final exam at the end of the quarter.

The course grade will consist of the following: 25 percent for participation in discussion sections; 15 percent for the report on the movies; 30 percent for the midterm exam; and 30 percent for the final exam.

### **Class Schedule and Readings**

#### **Week 1: Introduction**

April 3: Introduction: the general approach

April 4: Wartime projects: UK, US, Germany, Soviet Union

Reading:

Mozley, chapters 1 and 2

DeGroot, chapters 1 and 2  
 Holloway, chapters 3, 4, and 5  
 The Frisch/Peierls memorandum (Coursework site)  
 The Maud Report (Coursework site)  
 The Farm Hall transcripts, 70-79 (Reader)

## **Week 2: Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and the Failure of International Control**

April 9: The atomic bomb and the end of the Pacific war  
 April 10: The failure of international control  
 April 11: National policies and national strategies

Reading:

Mozley, pp. 241-248  
 DeGroot, chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7  
 Holloway, chapters 6, 7, and 8  
 Barton J. Bernstein, "The Atomic Bombings Reconsidered." (Reader)  
 The Baruch Plan (Coursework site)

## **Week 3: The H-Bomb and Nuclear Deterrence**

April 16: The role of nuclear weapons in the Korean War  
 April 17: The Race for the H-bomb  
 April 18: The unacceptability of nuclear war

Reading:

DeGroot, chapters 9 and 10  
 Holloway, chapters 12, 13, 14, and pp. 335-345  
 Wittner, 1-28 (Reader)  
 Thomas Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict*, (Oxford U.P., 1963) chapter 8. (Reader)  
 The Russell-Einstein Manifesto (Coursework site)  
 Report of the General Advisory Committee (Coursework site)

## **Week 4: Nuclear Crises**

April 23: Nuclear deterrence and nuclear war  
 April 24: The Berlin Crisis  
 April 25: The Cuban missile crisis

Reading:

DeGroot, chapters 11, 13, 14  
 Holloway, chapter 15  
 McGeorge Bundy, *Danger and Survival* (Random House, 1988), chapter 9 (Reader)  
 The Castro-Khrushchev correspondence (Reader)

### **Week 5: Nuclear weapons in the East-West arms race**

April 30: China and the bomb  
 May 1: “Atoms for Peace” and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty  
 May 2: The Soviet-American arms race

Reading:

Mozley, chapters 3, 4, and 6  
 DeGroot, chapter 12  
 Holloway, chapter 16  
 Eisenhower’s Atoms for Peace Address (Coursework site)  
 The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (Mozley, 282-288)

**May 4: Take-home midterm exam given out; the exam will be due back at 10 a.m. on May 7, i.e. before the Monday lecture.**

### **Week 6: Nuclear weapons and the East-West arms race**

May 7: Strategic arms control  
 May 8: Nuclear weapons in Europe  
 May 9: Missile defense and the Strategic Defense Initiative

Reading:

DeGroot, chapters 15 and 16  
 The ABM Treaty (Coursework site)  
 NATO Paper MC 14/2 (Coursework site)  
 NATO Paper MC 14/3 (Coursework site)  
 Philip Farley, “Strategic Arms Control,” in Alexander George, Philip J. Farley, and Alexander Dallin, eds., *US-Soviet Security Cooperation* (Oxford University Press, 1988) (Reader)  
 Nina Tannenwald, “The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use,” *International Organization*, 53, 3, Summer 1999, 433-468. (Coursework site)

### **Week 7: Nuclear weapons and the end of the Cold War**

May 14: The Reykjavik summit meeting  
 May 15: The Cold War Legacy  
 May 16: Proliferation and Nonproliferation

Reading:

Transcript of the final session of the Reykjavik meeting (Coursework site)  
 Mozley, chapters 7, 8 and 9  
 DeGroot, chapter 17  
 Drell and Goodby, pp. 1-28  
 Bunn and Chyba, chapter 3

### **Week 8: New nuclear powers**

May 21: India and Pakistan  
 May 22: Iran and North Korea  
 May 23: The changing nuclear threat

Reading:

Drell and Goodby, pp. 29-72  
 C. Rajah Mohan, *Crossing the Rubicon: The Shaping of India's New Foreign Policy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), chapter 1 (Reader)  
 Bunn and Chyba, chapters 1, 4, and 5

### **Week 9: New threats and new doctrines**

May 28: Memorial Day – no class  
 May 29: The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War  
 May 30: The state of the nonproliferation regime

Reading:

Drell and Goodby, pp. 73-124  
 The National Security Strategy of the United States of America (September 2002) (Coursework site)  
 Bunn and Chyba, chapters 2, 6, and 7

## Week 10: Conclusion

June 4: Nuclear weapons and the international system

June 5: History and policy

June 6: The nuclear past and the nuclear future

Reading:

Bunn and Chyba, chapter 8

George Shultz, William Perry, Henry Kissinger, Sam Nunn, "A World Free of Nuclear Weapons," *Wall Street Journal* January 4, 2007 (Coursework site)

Mikhail Gorbachev, "The Nuclear Threat," *Wall Street Journal* January 31, 2007 (Coursework site)

## Websites

There are many websites with useful information about nuclear weapons, nuclear history, and nuclear issues. Among the most useful are:

- Alsos Digital Library for Nuclear Issues. <http://alsos.wlu.edu>
- The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. <http://www.ceip.org/>
- The Monterey Institute for International Studies, Center for Non-Proliferation. <http://cns.miis.edu/>
- The Nuclear Threat Initiative. <http://www.nti.org/>
- Global Security <http://globalsecurity.org>
- The Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University <http://cisac.stanford.edu/>
- The Federation of American Scientists <http://www.fas.org/>
- The International Atomic Energy agency <http://www.iaea.org>
- The Institute for Science and International Security <http://www.isis-online.org/>
- The Natural Resources Defense Council. <http://www.nrdc.org/nuclear/default.asp>
- The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists (The Bulletin Online) <http://www.thebulletin.org/>