

# RESOURCES

## Overall Article on Nuclear Weapons and International Law by Three Organizers of This Conference

Charles J. Moxley, Jr., Dr. John Burroughs, and Jonathan Granoff

- [Nuclear Weapons and Compliance with International Humanitarian Law and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty](#), Fordham International Law Journal (2011); Co-Authors: Prof. Charles J. Moxley, Jr., Dr. John Burroughs, and Jonathan Granoff

This Law Review article provides an overall introduction to legal requirements that relate to the lawfulness of nuclear weapons threat and use.

### Books

[The Legality of Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons: A Guide to the Historic Opinion of the International Court of Justice \(1998\)](#); Author: Dr. John Burroughs

[Nuclear Disorder or Cooperative Security? U.S. Weapons of Terror, the Global Proliferation Crisis, and Paths to Peace \(2007\)](#); Co-Editors: Dr. John Burroughs and Jacqueline Cabasso

[Rule of Power or Rule of Law? An Assessment of U.S. Policies and Actions Regarding Security-Related Treaties \(2003\)](#)

Co-Editor: Dr. John Burroughs

[Rethinking General and Complete Disarmament in the Twenty-first Century](#)

UN Office for Disarmament Affairs Occasional Papers No. 28, October 2016  
Contributors: Dr. John Burroughs and Jacqueline Cabasso

[A World Free from Nuclear Weapons: The Vatican Conference on Disarmament](#) (Georgetown, 2020)

Co-Editor: Rev. Drew Christiansen, S.J., Ph. D.

[Disarmament Sketches: Three Decades of Arms Control and International Law](#)

Author: Hon. Thomas Graham, Jr.

[Spy Satellites and Other Technologies that Have Changed the Course of History](#)

Author: Hon. Thomas Graham, Jr.

[Unending Crisis: National Security Policy After 9/11](#)

Author: Hon. Thomas Graham, Jr.

[Seeing the Light: The Case for Nuclear Power in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century](#)

Author: Hon. Thomas Graham, Jr.

[The Alternate Route: Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones](#)

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[On Tyranny and Crisis](#)

Author: Hon. Thomas Graham, Jr.

[Moving Targets: Nuclear Strategy and National Security](#) (Princeton University Press, 1989)

Author: Prof. Scott D. Sagan

[The Limits of Safety: Organizations, Accidents, and Nuclear Weapons](#) (Princeton University Press, 1993); Author: Prof. Scott D. Sagan

[The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: An Enduring Debate](#) (W.W. Norton, 2012); Co-Authors: Prof. Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz

### **Other Publications (Articles, Journals, Opinions, Reports and Statements)**

Dr. John Burroughs

- [Building Blocks for Nuclear Ban Treaty: NPT & Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice](#), Inter Press Service, November 2, 2020
- [Key Issues in Negotiations for a Nuclear Weapons Prohibition Treaty](#), Arms Control Today, June 2017
- [Looking Back: The 1996 Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice](#), Arms Control Today, July/August 2016
- [Unspeakable suffering - the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons](#) (2013)

By Rev. Drew Christiansen, S.J., Ph. D.

- [The Review of Faith in International Affairs](#)
- [Journal of Catholic Social Thought](#)

By Tom Z. Collina:

- [Who Can We Trust With the Nuclear Button? No One.](#), The New York Times, *June 22, 2020*
- [Why Are We Rebuilding the 'Nuclear Sponge'?](#), The National Interest, November 6, 2019
- [How to Stave Trump's Lust for Nukes](#), POLITICO, September 10, 2019
- [The Cruise Missile Could Be Mattis's Nuclear Crisis](#), The National Interest, January 20, 2017
- [Barack Obama urged to take nuclear weapons off high alert to stop Donald Trump 'blowing up the planet'](#), The Independent, January 6, 2017
- [How President Trump Might Radically Rethink US Nuclear Policy](#), Foreign Policy, November 16, 2016
- [The Non-Nuclear Option](#), Moyers and Company, September 2, 2016

- [Your Call: Modernizing U.S. nuclear arsenal could cost \\$1 trillion](#), KALW - San Francisco, August 4, 2016
- [America Would Never Be the First to Use Nukes. So Why Say We Might?](#), The National Interest, July 28, 2016
- [The Iran Deal is Working. Don't Mess With Success](#), The Hill, July 15, 2016
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- [Russia views US missile defense system as a 'threat'](#), CNN, May 13, 2016
- [What Obama Really Needs to Say in Hiroshima](#), Foreign Policy, May 10, 2016
- [The Ugly Truth About Nuclear Terrorism](#), National Interest, April 11, 2016
- [As Leaders Gather For Nuclear Summit, A Look Back At Progress And Pitfalls](#), NPR, April 4, 2016

By Hon. Thomas Graham, Jr.:

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- [Prudence or Folly: A Case for Extending the New START Treaty](#), *American Ambassadors Live!*, May 5, 2020. Web.
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By Jonathan Granoff

- Jonathan Granoff, "[Nuclear Weapons, Ethics, Morals, and Law](#)," *BYU Law Rev.* 1413 (2000).
- Jonathan Granoff, "[The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and its 2005 Review Conference: A Legal and Political Analysis](#)," *NYU School of Law's Journal of International Law and Politics* (2007).
- Jonathan Granoff, "[Pacta Sunt Servanda: Nuclear Weapons and Global Secure Development](#)," *Southwestern Journal of International Law* vol. 21 (2015) and the American Bar Association's *The International Lawyer* (2015)
- Jonathan Granoff, "[The Process of Zero](#)," *World Policy Journal*, vol. 26, Issue: 4 (Winter 2009)

- Featured Videos: <https://gsinstitute.org/featured-videos>
- Writings: <https://gsinstitute.org/who-we-are/writings>

By Hans M. Kristensen:

- “[US Officials Give Confusing Comparisons Of US And Russian Nuclear Forces](#),” *FAS Strategic Security Blog*, October 22, 2020.
- “[At 11th Hour, New START Data Reaffirms Importance of Extending Treaty](#),” *FAS Strategic Security Blog*, October 1, 2020.
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- “[Remembering Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 75 Years After](#),” *FAS Strategic Security Blog*, August 6, 2020.
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- “[Indian nuclear forces, 2020](#),” *FAS Nuclear Notebook*, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, July 1, 2020.
- “[Democrats And Republicans Agree: Phase Out Land-Based Nuclear Missiles](#),” *Forbes*, August 12, 2020.
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- Past Nuclear Notebook columns can be found [here](#). A full listing of Kristensen’s publications can be found [here](#).

By Prof. Charles J. Moxley, Jr.:

- [Nuclear Weapons and International Law in the Post Cold War World](#) (Austin & Winfield 2000)
- [On the Unlawfulness of the Use and Threat of Use of Nuclear Weapons](#), 2000 report of the Foreign and International Law Committee of the New York County Lawyers’ Association
- [Ending U.S. Reliance on Nuclear Weapons and Achieving Their Global Elimination: Wise Policy and Required by Law](#), March 2008 Statement by the Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy

- [Obama's Nuclear Posture Review: An Ambitious Program for Nuclear Arms Control But a Retreat from the Objective of Nuclear Disarmament](#)

By Allison Pytlak

- "[The Trudeau government is fuelling a humanitarian crisis in Yemen](#)," *The Globe and Mail*, September 24, 2020.\*
- "Are Arms Trade Treaty Meetings Being Used to Their Full Potential?" in [Global Responsibility to Protect](#), Volume 12, Issue 2, May 2020
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- [Why gender matters in international cyber security](#), April 2020.\*
- "Correlates of state-sponsored cyber conflict" and "In search of human rights in multilateral cybersecurity dialogues," [Routledge Handbook of International Cybersecurity](#), edited by Eneken Tikk and Mika Kerttunen, London: Routledge, 2020
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- "[The nuclear-armed states are creating the conditions for NPT collapse](#)" European Leadership Network, 29 May 2018.\*
- [Assuring Destruction Forever: 2019 Report on nuclear weapons modernization](#) (editor), April 2019

By Prof. Scott D. Sagan:

- He is the co-editor of [Learning from a Disaster: Improving Nuclear Safety and Security after Fukushima](#) (Stanford University Press, 2016) with Edward D. Blandford and co-editor of [Insider Threats](#) (Cornell University Press, 2017) with Matthew Bunn.
- Sagan is also the guest editor of a two-volume special issue of *Daedalus*: "[Ethics, Technology, and War](#)" (Fall 2016) and "[The Changing Rules of War](#)" (Winter 2017).
- "[Does the Noncombatant Immunity Norm Have Stopping Power?](#)" with Benjamin A. Valentino in *International Security*
- "[Why the atomic bombing of Hiroshima would be illegal today](#)" with Katherine E. McKinney and Allen S. Weiner in *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (July 2020)
- "[On Reciprocity, Revenge, and Replication: A Rejoinder to Walzer, McMahan, and Keohane](#)" with Benjamin A. Valentino in *Ethics & International Affairs* (Winter 2019)
- "[Armed and Dangerous: When Dictators Get the Bomb](#)" in *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2018)

- [“Not Just a War Theory: American Public Opinion on Ethics in Combat”](#) with Benjamin A. Valentino in *International Studies Quarterly* (Fall 2018)
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- [“Revisiting Hiroshima in Iran: What Americans Really Think About Using Nuclear Weapons and Killing Noncombatants”](#) with Benjamin A. Valentino in *International Security* (Summer 2017).

By multiple authors/editors:

- [Assuring Destruction Forever: Nuclear Weapon Modernization Around the World](#) (2012); Contributors: Dr. John Burroughs and Hans M. Kristensen
- [“Why the atomic bombing of Hiroshima would be illegal today.”](#) co-authored with Katherine E. McKinney and Allen S. Weiner, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 76, No. 4 (July 2020), pp. 157-165
- [“The Nuclear Necessity Principle: Making U.S. Targeting Policy Conform with Ethics & the Laws of War.”](#) co-authored with Jeffrey G. Lewis, *Daedalus Special Issue: Ethics, Technology, and War*, Vol. 145, No. 4 (Fall 2016), pp. 62-74.

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- L. Maresca and E. Mitchell, [The human costs and legal consequences of nuclear weapons under international humanitarian law](#)
- ICRC legal factsheet on the [Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons](#)
- [‘Nuclear Weapons: Averting a global catastrophe – Appeal to States, global leaders and citizens’](#) by Peter Maurer, President of the ICRC, 23 April 2018
- T. Dunworth, [Pursuing “effective measures” relating to nuclear disarmament: Ways of making a legal obligation a reality](#)

Parliament of the World’s Religions:

- [Responding to the Unique Challenge of Nuclear Weapons: A Passionate Call From The Parliament of the World’s Religions](#)
- [Hiroshima-Nagasaki Accord Statement \(07.13.20\)](#)

**Video**

[75th Commemorative Remembrance of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Introducing the Hiroshima/Nagasaki Accord](#)

## Links to ICJ Decisions

- The ICJ's Opinion in the Nuclear Weapons Advisory Case, available at 35 I.L.M. 809, 809-32 (also available on the ICJ website at <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/95/095-19960708-ADV-01-00-EN.pdf>)
- Dissenting opinion of Judge Weeramantry, available at 35 I.L.M. 809, 879 (also available on the ICJ website at <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/95/095-19960708-ADV-01-12-EN.pdf>).
- These opinions are also available on the ICJ website at:
  - Schwebel: <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/95/095-19960708-ADV-01-09-EN.pdf>
  - Higgins: <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/95/095-19960708-ADV-01-14-EN.pdf>
  - Koroma: <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/95/095-19960708-ADV-01-13-EN.pdf>
  - Shahabudeen: <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/95/095-19960708-ADV-01-11-EN.pdf>
  - Vereshchetin: <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/95/095-19960708-ADV-01-04-EN.pdf>
  - Guillaume: <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/95/095-19960708-ADV-01-06-EN.pdf>
  - Bedjaoui: <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/95/095-19960708-ADV-01-01-EN.pdf>
  - Herczegh: <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/95/095-19960708-ADV-01-02-EN.pdf>
  - Shi: <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/95/095-19960708-ADV-01-03-EN.pdf>
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  - Ranjeva: <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/95/095-19960708-ADV-01-07-EN.pdf>

## Applicable Websites

Arms Control Association  
[www.armscontrol.org](http://www.armscontrol.org)

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists  
[www.thebulletin.org](http://www.thebulletin.org)

Federation of American Scientists  
[www.fas.org](http://www.fas.org)

Global Security Institute  
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International Committee of the Red Cross  
[www.icrc.org](http://www.icrc.org)

Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy  
[www.lcnp.org](http://www.lcnp.org)

Ploughshares Fund  
[www.ploughshares.org](http://www.ploughshares.org)

Reaching Critical Will/WILPF  
[www.reachingcriticalwill.org](http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org)

UN Office for Disarmament Affairs  
[www.un.org/disarmament](http://www.un.org/disarmament)

Western States Legal Foundation  
[www.wslfweb.org](http://www.wslfweb.org)

Women of Color Advancing Peace, Security & Conflict Transformation  
[www.wcaps.org/](http://www.wcaps.org/)