

## Conference Program

# The Making of a Nuclear Order: Negotiating the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

Hosted by the Center for Security Studies (CSS) at ETH Zurich, in association with the Nuclear Proliferation International History Project (NPIHP)

Ittingen, Switzerland, Saturday and Sunday, 1-2 March 2014

### Friday, 28 February 2014

#### *Arrival of Participants*

18:00        Andreas Wenger (CSS, ETH Zürich), Welcome Address  
Welcome Apéro and Dinner at Kartause Ittingen

### Saturday, 1 March 2013 ('Obere Aula', Kartause Ittingen)

8:15        Roland Popp (CSS, ETH Zürich), Opening Address

#### Panel 1, 8:30-10:30: Europe and the NPT

*Chair: Frank Gavin (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)*

8:30        Andreas Lutsch (University of Mainz/University of Würzburg), *In Favor of 'Effective' and 'Non-discriminatory' Non-dissemination Policy? The FRG and the NPT Negotiation Process (1962-1968)*  
Elmar Hellendoorn (Utrecht University), *The Netherlands and the NPT Negotiations: Faithful Ally and Trojan Horse?*  
Eliza Gheorghe (Johns Hopkins University, SAIS Bologna Center / University of Oxford), *Romania and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Negotiations, 1965-1970: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*  
Marcy Rutan Fowler (Vienna Center for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation / King's College London), *The Role of Yugoslavia in the Debate over the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty*  
Lodovica Clavarino (University Roma Tre), *A Thorny Issue: West German Accession to the NPT between Domestic Politics and International Constraints (1967-1975)*

10:30          Coffee Break

Panel 2, 11:00-13:00: Opposition to the NPT

*Chair: Jan Ruzicka (Aberystwyth University)*

- 11:00          Carlo Patti (Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro), *The Brazilian Opposition to the NPT (1967-1969)*  
Hassan Elbahtimy (VERTIC / King's College London), *Egypt and the Birth of the NPT, 1958-1968*  
Jo-Ansie van Wyk (University of South Africa, Pretoria) / Anna-Mart van Wyk (Monash University in Johannesburg), *South Africa and the NPT: From Proponent to Proliferator to Participant*  
Zhan Xin (Northeast Normal University, Changchun), *Partial Resistance: NPT and China's Early Nuclear Non-Proliferation Policy (1968-1977)*  
Vinod Kumar (Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi), *Between Norm Entrepreneurship and Third World Activism: Explaining India's Role in NPT Negotiations and its Approach to the Treaty*

13:30          Lunch

Panel 3, 15:00-17:00: The NPT and Asia

*Chair: Anna-Mart van Wyk (Monash University in Johannesburg)*

- 15:00          Se Young Jang (Graduate Institute, Geneva / George Washington University, D.C.), *A Constrained but Deliberate Choice: South Korea's Decision to Ratify the NPT in 1975*  
Fintan Hoey (Franklin University, Switzerland), *The Nuclear Umbrella: Extended Nuclear Deterrence and the U.S.-Japanese Alliance*  
Taka Daitoku (Northwestern University), *A Strategy of Detached Attachment: Japan's Realistic Approach to the Emerging NPT Regime, 1968-1976*  
Jayita Sarkar (Graduate Institute, Geneva), *Dissecting the Indian Nuclear Security Guarantee Period, 1964-68: Between Policy and Gimmick?*  
Christine M. Leah (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), *Unusual Suspects: Australia and the Decision to Sign the NPT*

17:00          Coffee Break

Roundtable, 17:30-19:00: Assessing the State of the New Nuclear History

*Chair: Andreas Wenger (CSS, ETH Zurich)*

17:30          Participants:

Frank Gavin (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)  
David Holloway (Stanford University)  
Leopoldo Nuti (University Roma Tre)  
Christian Ostermann (Woodrow Wilson Center)

19:30          Dinner

**Sunday, 2 March 2013 ('Obere Aula', Kartause Ittingen)**

Panel 4, 8:30-10:30: Divergent Approaches to the Emerging Regime

*Chair: Liviu Horovitz (CSS, ETH Zurich)*

8:30          Jonathan R. Hunt, (University of Texas at Austin / CISAC, Stanford University), *"Among Nations, Respect for the Rights of Others is Peace:" Mexican Atomic Diplomacy and the Grand Bargain in NPT Negotiations, 1962-1975*  
Mariana Budjeryn (Central European University, Budapest), *NPT and National Identity: The Case of Ukraine (1990-1994)*  
Emma Rosengren {co-authored with Thomas Jonter} (Stockholm University), *Producing or Banning the Bomb? The Emergence of the Swedish Disarmament Policy and the Making of the NPT*  
Leopoldo Nuti (University Roma Tre), *"A Turning Point in Postwar Foreign Policy": Italy and the NPT Negotiations, 1966-1969*

10:30          Coffee Break

**Panel 5, 11:00-13:00: Forging a Nonproliferation Regime**

*Chair: David Holloway (Stanford University)*

- 11:00**      **Grégoire Mallard (Graduate Institute, Geneva)**, *Crafting the Nuclear Regime Complex (1950-1975): Dynamics of Harmonization of Opaque Treaty Rules*  
**Jacob Darwin Hamblin (Oregon State University)**, *“A Glaring Defect in the System”: Nuclear Safeguards and the Invisibility of Technology*  
**Ori Rabinowitz (King’s College London)**, *The NPT and the Establishment of Nuclear Tests as Standard of Possession*  
**Elisabeth Röhrlich (University of Vienna)**, *Confronting Atomic Anarchy: The Creation of the IAEA and the Origins of the NPT Order*
- 13:00**      **Concluding Remarks**
- 13:30**      **Lunch**

*Departure of Participants*