

Uncovering the Sources of Nuclear Behavior: Historical Dimensions of Nuclear Proliferation

Zurich, Switzerland, 18-20 June 2010

In Association with the Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security (PHP)

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Thursday, 17 June 2010

Arrival of Participants

18:00 *Welcome Reception and Dinner at Altes Klösterli*
*Welcome Address – **Andreas Wenger** (CSS, ETH)*

Friday, 18 June 2010 (Semper-Aula, ETH Zurich)

8:30 *Coffee at Foyer, HG G 60 (Semper-Aula), ETH-Zurich*

8:50 *Opening by **Andreas Wenger** (CSS, ETH) & **Roland Popp** (CSS, ETH)*

PANEL 1: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES: STATE OF THE FIELD

Chair: T.V. Paul (Mc Gill University)

9:00 **Nina Tannenwald (Brown University)**, *The Identity of a Non-Nuclear State*

Nicholas Wheeler (Aberystwyth University), *Avoiding and Reversing*

*Nuclearised Security Competition: Lessons for Nuclear Non-
Proliferation from Theories of Trust-building*

William Walker (University of St Andrews), *Problems of International
Nuclear Order*

10:30 *Coffee Break*

PANEL 2: HISTORICAL REALITIES OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION: EUROPEAN DYNAMICS

Chair: Andreas Wenger (CSS)

11:00 **John Baylis (Swansea University)**, *The Development of British Nuclear
Weapons: Beliefs, Strategic Culture and Nuclear Myth-makers*

Georges-Henri Soutou (Sorbonne), *French Nuclear Behavior: Just Do It!*

Leopoldo Nuti (Rome Tre University), *The Nuclear Challenge: Italian Foreign Policy and Nuclear Weapons, 1945-1991*

12:45 Lunch, Dozentenfoyer, ETH HG J

PANEL 3: HISTORICAL REALITIES OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION: SMALL AND MEDIUM POWERS

Chair: Daniel Möckli (CSS)

14:30 **Thomas Jonter (Stockholm University),** *Why Sweden Did Not Build the Bomb, 1945-1968*

Peter Braun (Federal Department of Defence, Switzerland), *Dreaming of the Bomb: The Development of Switzerland's Nuclear Option from the End of World War II to the Non-Proliferation Treaty*

Anna-Mart van Wyk (Monash University, South Africa Campus), *From Nuclear Pariah to Non-Proliferation Hero: South Africa's Nuclear Legacy*

16:00 Coffee Break

PANEL 4: HISTORICAL REALITIES OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION: THE SOUTHERN CONE

Chair: Nicholas J. Wheeler (Aberystwyth)

16:30 **Matias Spektor (Getulio Vargas Foundation, Rio de Janeiro),** *Kissinger, Carter and Brazil's Quest for Uranium Enrichment*

Sara Z. Kutchesfahani (University College London), *Nuclear Rivalry to Nuclear Cooperation: The Role of an Argentine and Brazilian Nuclear Non-Proliferation Epistemic Community in the Creation of ABACC*

Lucas Assis (Getulio Vargas Foundation, Rio de Janeiro), *Brazilian Nuclear History: Ideas and Choices*

18:00 Concluding Remarks, First Day

19:30 Dinner at Hotel Zürichberg

Saturday, 19 June 2010 (Hotel Zürichberg)

PANEL 5: HISTORY AND THEORY OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

Chair: Vojtech Mastny (PHP)

9:00 **Etel Solingen (University of California-Irvine)**, *Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Nuclear Proliferation*

Francis J. Gavin (Robert S. Strauss Center/University of Texas at Austin),
Nuclear Weapons, Crises, and International Stability: Reassessing the Berlin Crisis, 1958-1962

Itty Abraham (University of Texas at Austin), *Who's Next? Who Cares? Non-Proliferation Policy and the Ambivalence of Nuclear Power*

10:30 *Coffee Break*

PANEL 6: HISTORICAL REALITIES OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION: THE MIDDLE EAST

Chair: Roland Popp (CSS)

10:45 **Avner Cohen (Monterey Institute of International Studies)**, *The Making of a National Nuclear Narrative: Israel and the Invention of Nuclear Opacity*

Dima Adamsky (Harvard University), *Ideational Foundations of Israeli Nuclear History*

Maria Rost Rublee (University of Auckland), *Incentives and Disincentives for Nuclear Acquisition: Insights from the Egyptian Case*

12:30 *Lunch, Hotel Zurichberg*

PANEL 7: HISTORICAL REALITIES OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION: EAST AND SOUTH ASIA

Chair: Itty Abraham (Austin)

13:45 **Naeem Salik (National Defence University, Islamabad),** *Pakistan's Nuclearisation – Imperatives of National Security & Survival of a Smaller State*

Sumit Ganguly (Indiana University, Bloomington), *The Road from Pokhran II*

Vincent Wei-Cheng Wang (University of Richmond), *Taiwan's Nuclear Behavior: Security Imperatives and Normative Transformation*

15:15 *Coffee Break*

PANEL 8: PREVENTING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION III: ALTERNATIVE MEANS OF COUNTERPROLIFERATION

Chair: Jussi Hanhimäki (The Graduate Institute, Geneva)

15:30 **John Krige (Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta),** *Proliferation and World Order: The U.S. and EURATOM, 1955-60*

Sarah E. Kreps (Cornell University), *Attacking the Atom: Does Bombing Nuclear Facilities Delay Proliferation?*

Thomas Nichols (Harvard University, U.S. Naval War College), *Nuclear Attack and Conventional Retaliation: Small States, Proliferation and Nuclear War*

17:00 Concluding Remarks, Second Day

19:00 *Dinner at Zunfthaus zur Waag*

Sunday, 20 June 2010 (Hotel Zürichberg)

PANEL 9: PREVENTING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION I: THE ROLE OF GREAT POWERS

Chair: Erwin Schmidl (Institute for Strategy and Security Policy, Vienna)

8:45 **Edoardo Sorvillo (Roma Tre University),** *'The Milk is Spilt': The Indian Nuclear Test and the Rise of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation 'Regime', 1974-1978*

William Burr (National Security Archive, Washington, DC), *The United States and the Origins of the Nuclear Suppliers' Group, 1974-1976: Nuclear Nonproliferation through Export Regulation*

Roland Popp (CSS, ETH Zurich), *'Closing the Barn Door': U.S. Non-Proliferation Policy and the Israeli Nuclear Programme during the 1960s*

10:15 *Coffee Break*

PANEL 10: PREVENTING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION II: THE ROLE OF INSTITUTIONS

Chair: Oliver Thränert (German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin)

10:30 **Dane Swango (University of California, Los Angeles),** *Reassessing Article IV Using Archival Evidence*

Kai-Henrik Barth (Georgetown University/Qatar), *The Nuclear Establishment as Domestic Driver of Iran's Nuclear Ambitions*

Vojtech Mastny (Parallel History Project), *The Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, 1962-1969: Could It Have Done Better?*

12:00 Final Discussion

12:30 *Lunch, Hotel Zürichberg*

Departure of Participants