



IAEA History Research Project Expert Workshop 2016

The IAEA and the Global Cold War

2 September 2016
Berlin Center for Cold War Studies

Organized by the IAEA History Research Project at the University of Vienna, in cooperation with the Berlin Center for Cold War Studies

Supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York

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About the Workshop

On 2 September 2016, the IAEA History Research Project will host an expert workshop on the history of the IAEA during the global Cold War, in cooperation with the Berlin Center for Cold War Studies. The meeting is part of the IAEA History Research Project's larger research activities focusing on the history of the IAEA. The project aims to catalyze the opening of the IAEA archives and the integration of IAEA history within the global nuclear history narrative. In addition, a digital archive featuring oral history interviews with former IAEA officials, diplomats, and scientists will be launched in late 2016. Former Directors General Hans Blix and Mohamed ElBaradei have both contributed with interviews to the project.

The Berlin meeting will bring together experts from the worlds of practice and academia to shed new light on the history of the IAEA during the Cold War. Inspired by the work of Odd Arne Westad and others, the discussions will look beyond the East-West divide and include the global South in the history of the Cold War.

This day is designed to facilitate an open and in-depth discussion on the global history of this important international organization. A new generation of nuclear historians will have the opportunity to present their most recent work to key figures from the IAEA's history and to learn from their experiences. The IAEA History Research Project believes that this intellectual exchange can give new impetus to historical scholarship on the IAEA. In November 2015, a similar workshop took place at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington DC, with participants such as David Waller, Norman Wulf, and Thomas Shea.

The specific objectives of the workshop are:

To facilitate an exchange of views between historians, diplomats, and officials;

To discuss new historical research on the IAEA;

To develop future research agendas; and

To conduct interviews with former diplomats and officials on the margins of the meeting.

To achieve these objectives, the one-day workshop will be divided into topical sessions. The days before and after the workshop, on 1 and 3 September 2016, oral history interviews will be conducted at the Berlin Center.

Program, 2 September 2016, Berlin Center for Cold War Studies

Light Breakfast and Get-together (9:30 a.m.)

Welcome Remarks (10:00 a.m.)

Bernd Greiner and Elisabeth Roehrlich

- o The Berlin Center for Cold War Studies
- Meeting agenda and goals

The Nuclear Proliferation International History Project (NPIHP) (10:15 a.m.) Leopoldo Nuti

The IAEA History Research Project: Introduction (10:25 a.m.)

Elisabeth Roehrlich and Klaudija Sabo

- Project aims and objectives
- Film presentation: selected excerpts from previous project interviews with Hans Blix, Mohamed ElBaradei, and others

- Coffee Break (11:00 a.m.) -

The Cold War and Personnel Politics in the IAEA (11:15 a.m.)

Dieter Goethel: The Superpowers and Personnel Politics in the IAEA Peter Adler: Personal Recollections: A Leading GDR Scientist in the IAEA Moderated by Frank Reichherzer

Lunch Break (12:45 p.m.) –

The IAEA and the Nonproliferation Regime (2:00 p.m.)

Amb. Mohamed Shaker: The Negotiation of the NPT Joseph Pilat: The IAEA, the NPT, and the Cold War Moderated by Jan Hansen

- Coffee Break (3:30 p.m.) -

The Global Dimension of the Cold War (4 p.m.)

Amb. Abdul Minty: The IAEA and the Anti-Apartheid-Movement
Malfrid Braut-Hegghammer: The IAEA's Technical Cooperation Programs

El Sayed Ghannam: The IAEA and the Middle East

Giordana Pulcini: The US, Israel, and the IAEA during the Reagan Administration Moderated by Benjamin Wilson

Concluding discussion (6:00 p.m.)

- 7:30 p.m. Dinner at Austrian restaurant "Ottenthal" -

Oral history interviews with selected participants will take place the days before and after the workshop, on 1 and 3 September, at the Berlin Center for Cold War Studies.

List of Participants

Peter Adler, former Chief of the IAEA's Field Procurement Section (TC Department)

Malfrid Braut-Hegghammer, University of Oslo, Norway

ElSayed Ghannam, Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs & James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies

Dieter Goethel, former IAEA Director of Personnel

Bernd Greiner, Berlin Center for Cold War Studies, Germany

Bettina Greiner, Berlin Center for Cold War Studies, Germany

Jan Hansen, Humboldt University, Germany

Amb. Abdul Minty, former South African Representative to the IAEA Board of Governors and Deputy Director General, South African Department of International Relations Leopoldo Nuti, Roma Tre University, Italy

Joseph Pilat, Los Alamos National Laboratory, United States

Giordana Pulcini, Roma Tre University, Italy

Frank Reichherzer, Centre for Military History and Social Sciences, Potsdam, Germany **Elisabeth Roehrlich**, University of Vienna, Austria

Klaudija Sabo, University of Vienna, Austria

Amb. Mohamed Shaker, former Representative of the Director General of the IAEA to the UN in New York, former Egyptian Representative to the Board of Governors Benjamin Wilson, Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin

Participants



Peter Adler was born 1938 in Plauen, Germany. He studied Physics and specialized in Nuclear Physics at the Karl Marx University in Leipzig during 1956-61. He continued scientific studies at the Academy of Science in Leipzig and obtained a PhD in Physics and Chemistry in 1965. Joined a Governmental Ex and Import Company for Nuclear Equipment and Materials as Scientific Advisor in 1969. With additional studies in Economy he became Commercial Director in 1972. His career within the UN began in 1979 when he joined the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna as Chief

of its Field Procurement Section. From there he was appointed in 1986 by UNDP/IAPSO in Geneva as its Senior Technical Advisor. In 1990, he became IAPSO's Deputy Director and Director of the Division of Procurement Services in Copenhagen, Denmark. In spring 1988, Mr. Adler took over the function of UNDP's Senior Procurement Advisor to the Assistant Administrator of UNDP in New York which he left in May 1999 to assist the UNDP Project for electrification of Northern Iraq, as its Chief of Procurement. During 2000 Mr. Adler retired from UNDP services and has since worked frequently as UN Consultant, with emphasis on training of procurement personnel.

Målfrid Braut-Hegghammer is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Oslo. She is the author of *Unclear Physics: Why Iraq and Libya Failed to Build Nuclear Weapons* (forthcoming, Cornell University Press, 2016). She is a former fellow (pre-doctoral, post-doctoral and junior faculty fellow) at the Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and Center for International Security and Cooperation, Freeman Spogli Institute, Stanford University. Her works has been published in *International Security, The Nonproliferation Review, The Middle East Journal, Huffington*



Post, International Herald Tribune and New York Times (online edition). Her doctoral dissertation "Nuclear Entrepreneurs: Drivers of Nuclear Proliferation" (London School of Economics, 2010) received the British International Studies Association Michael Nicholson Thesis Prize for 2010.

El Sayed Ghannam is an Egyptian career diplomat. Currently, he is participating in the visiting fellowship program at James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies in Monterey. On the professional level, El Sayed joined the Foreign Ministry in 2005 and served as a diplomatic member at both the "Israel Department" and "Disarmament and Nonproliferation" Department. He has been in charge of strategically and politically significant files, especially the regional security arrangements in the Middle East in terms of: Arab-Israeli Conflict; the Peace



Process; Arms Control, Disarmament and Nonproliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction. El Sayed finished a four-year assignment in the Egyptian Mission in Tehran in September 2013, which has provided him with exceptional professional experience in many ways, especially when it comes to international security affairs, as he followed the Iranian Nuclear dossier as well as the Iranian role in the Middle East; in Syria. After the diplomatic assignment in Tehran, El Sayed joined the "disarmament and nonproliferation department". El Sayed graduated, with distinction, from the political science department at the faculty of Economics and political science, Cairo university (with double specializations in International Relations and Public & International Law), and studied master of international security at the free university of Berlin and the Geneva University. El Sayed is the recipient of the "Most Outstanding Participant of the Geneva Center for Security Policy" award for 2014/2015.



Dieter Goethel, born in 1939, spent his earlier years in East Germany before his family moved to West Germany in 1954. After graduating in Public Administration, he worked for different Federal agencies in Germany. An internship at the IAEA led - in 1972 - to his employment as a junior professional officer in the Organization's Division of Personnel where he assumed, over time, increasingly more responsible positions. He left the IAEA as a section head in 1986 to become Chief of Personnel at the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) in Montreal. He returned to the IAEA in

1989 to assume the post of Director, Division of Personnel, which he held until his retirement in 2002. He received the Director General's "Distinguished Service Award" in 1999 for his contribution to the IAEA's management reform. During his career he also held leading positions in the inter-agency coordination machinery of the UN system. After his retirement he served as a consultant for a number of international and national clients, including various UN agencies and the German Foreign Office; he also lectured at the *Donau-Universität* in Krems, Austria. In 2005 he was appointed Assistant Secretary General and President of the Staff/Management Co-ordination Committee at the

UN, a post which he held for five years. He has published a book about the UN system and over 50 articles, primarily on subjects dealing with management issues in international organizations.

Bernd Greiner is director of the Berlin Center for Cold War Studies, Adjunct Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Hamburg and a research fellow at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research. Main research: 20th century history of the United States of America with a special emphasis on the Cold War and civil-military relations. In 2009, he was granted the Willi Paul Adams Award by the Organization of American Historians for his book *Krieg ohne Fronten. Die USA in Vietnam* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2007), also published in English with the title *War without Fronts: The USA in Vietnam* (London: The Bodley Head, 2010).





Bettina Greiner, Dr., historian, works for the Hamburg Institute for Social Research and is coordinator of the Berlin Colloquia on Contemporary History and the Berlin Center for Cold War Studies. She has written on political repression and (camp) imprisonment in the Twentieth Century. Her dissertation on Soviet special camps in postwar Germany was also published in English: Suppressed terror. History and perception of Soviet special camps in Germany (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014).

Jan Hansen is lecturer and research fellow at the Department of History at the Humboldt University Berlin (History of Western Europe and Transatlantic Relations). He studied history and philosophy at the Humboldt University, where he received his M.A. in 2009. After research fellowships at the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Bonn and the German Historical Institutes in Washington, DC and Paris, he was awarded a PhD by the Humboldt University in 2014. Dr. Hansen's general area of research is the social and cultural history of the Cold War with a special emphasis on anti-



nuclear protests. He is the author of Abschied vom Kalten Krieg? Die Sozialdemokraten und der Nachrüstungsstreit (1977–1987) (2016) and coeditor of Making Sense of the Americas: How Protest Related to America in the 1980s and Beyond (2015).



Ambassador Abdul S. Minty

Anti-Apartheid Movement, London – Founder Member 1960 and Honorary Secretary from 1962 to 1994. Director, World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, Oslo, 1979 to 1994. Established at the suggestion of the United Nations. Worked closely over two decades with the African Group, Non-Aligned and other members of the IAEA over

South Africa's nuclear programme and attended annual conferences of the IAEA to lobby for sanctions and exclusion of apartheid regime from the Board of Governors of the IAEA. He was the South African Governor and designated Governor for Africa, Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) from 1995 to 2011, and the President of the 50th IAEA General Conference 2006. First Chairperson of the African Commission on Nuclear Energy (AFCONE), AU Headquarters, Addis Ababa, from 2011 to 2014. Member of the Board of the South African Nuclear Energy Corporation until 2011. Chairperson of the South African Council for the Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction from 1995 to 2011. Advisor to South African delegation to the 1995 Review and Extension Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Leader of South African delegations to the NPT Review Conferences in 2000, 2005, and 2010 and member of delegation in 2015. South Africa's Ambassador to the UN and the Conference on Disarmament, Geneva, from 2011 to 2015. Ambassador in Residence, Centre for International Studies and Diplomacy, and Senior Research Fellow at SOAS, University of London.

Leopoldo Nuti (Siena, 1958), is Professor of History of International Relations and Coordinator of the PhD Program in Politics at Roma Tre University. He is co-Director of the Nuclear Proliferation International History Project, and since 2014 President of the Italian Association of International Historians. Prof. Nuti has been a Fulbright student at George Washington University (MA, class of '86), NATO Research Fellow, Jean Monnet Fellow at the European University Institute, Research Fellow at the CSIA, Harvard University, Research Fellow for the Nuclear History Program, Senior Research Fellow at the Norwegian Nobel



Institute, Visiting Professor at the *Institut d'Etudes Politiques* in Paris and Public Policy Scholar at the W. Wilson Center. He has published extensively in Italian, English and French on US-Italian relations and Italian foreign and security policy. His latest books are a history of nuclear weapons in Italy during the Cold War, *La sfida nucleare*. *La po-*

litica estera italiana e le armi nucleari, 1945-1991 (2007) and, as a co-editor, The Euromissiles Crisis and the End of the Cold War (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015).



Joseph F. Pilat is a program manager in the National Security Office at Los Alamos National Laboratory and a global fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, where he codirects the non-proliferation forum. He is also a member of the Proliferation Resistance and Physical Protection Working Group of the Generation IV International Forum and of the Steering Committee of the University of California's Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation. He served as a special advisor to the U.S. Delegation at the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference. He also

served as the Representative of the Secretary of Defense to the Fourth NPT Review Conference in 1990 and to the Open Skies negotiations. He has been an assistant for nonproliferation policy in the Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Negotiations Policy. In addition, he was a senior research associate in the Congressional Research Service and a research associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. He received his Ph.D. in European and Russian History from Georgetown University.

Giordana Pulcini is research fellow at the University of Roma Tre, where she teaches History of the Relationship between Europe and the United States. She earned her PhD with a dissertation on the U.S. domestic opposition to the SALT II Treaty and the rise of the Neoconservatives. She is currently focusing her research on U.S. Strategic and Nonproliferation policy during the Seventies and early Eighties. She has organized the NPIHP Nuclear History Boot Camp since its first edition in 2011.





Frank Reichherzer is researcher at the Centre for Military History and Social Sciences in Potsdam. Before this he held positions as research associate at Humboldt Universität Berlin (2007-2015) and at Eberhard-Karls Universität Tübingen (2005-2007). In 2013/14 he was research fellow at the International Research Centre Work and Human Life Cycle in Global History. His doctoral thesis titled "'Alles ist Front!' Wehrwissenschaften und die Bellifizierung der Gesellschaft vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis in den

Kalten Krieg" was published by Schöningh in 2012. His current research is focusing on time and temporal orders in the military and in warfare. Beside this he is interested in how, why and by whom the binary logic of the cold war was transcended.

Elisabeth Roehrlich is Elise Richter Senior Fellow at the Department of Contemporary History and director of the IAEA History Research Project. She received her PhD in history from the University of Tübingen in 2009, and her first book "Kreiskys Außenpolitik: Zwischen österreichischer Identität und internationalem Programm" (2009) was awarded the prestigious Bruno Kreisky Prize



for Political Books. Dr. Roehrlich has participated in international research collaborations with the Nuclear Studies Research Initiative, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and the Nuclear Proliferation International History Project (NPIHP), based at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington D.C. She has held visiting fellowships at the German Historical Institute in Washington D.C., the Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies in Oslo, and Monash University in Johannesburg, South Africa. In 2015-2016, she was a fellow at the Wilson Center in Washington. Her work on the IAEA has been published or is forthcoming in the *Journal of Cold War Studies, Cold War History*, the *IAEA Bulletin*, and others.



Klaudija Sabo is a historian and filmmaker. Born in Hamburg, she studied culture science and art history with a focus on media and film at Humboldt University Berlin, Goldsmiths University London, and the University of Zagreb. She graduated her M.A. in 2007, and since 2008 has been teaching in theory and praxis of oral history and documentary film. She earned her PhD in 2016. She acted as Assistant in Training at the Institute

for Contemporary History, Contemporary Visual, and Cultural History at the University of Vienna, 2008–2012. Klaudija Sabo has been involved in several oral history projects, including Migrants in the Adult Education at the University Graz, the Austrian Minorities Abroad Project, and the IAEA Oral History Project at the University of Vienna. She is the editor of several books on film and history, including "Zooming In and Out: Production of Politics in Documentary Films" (Vienna, 2013), and "Moving Pictures, Moving Nations: Southeastern Europe after 1989" (Innsbruck, 2012).

Ambassador Dr. Mohamed Shaker is member of the Board of the Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs (ECFA). He was chairman of the Board of ECFA 1999 to 2003 & 2009 to 2015. He is Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the National Center for Middle East Studies, Cairo. Ambassador Shaker is also a member of the Egyptian International Law Society. Ambassador Shaker was elected Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Sawiris Foundation for Social Development in 2001, a charity organization. As of the outset of 2008, he was also elected as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Magdi Yacoub Foundation for Heart Research. Ambassador Shaker



was also selected in October 2004 as a member of the Court on Values for a two-year period. Ambassador Shaker held the position of Egypt's ambassador to the United Kingdom (1988-1997); to Austria and Egypt's Governor on the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Vienna (1986-1988); and to the United Nations in New York as Deputy Permanent Representative of Egypt (1984-1986), and Deputy Representative of Egypt to the United Nations Security Council (1984-1985). Ambassador Shaker completed his studies as Docteur es Sciences Politiques at the Graduate Institute of International Studies, University of Geneva, in 1975, after having acquired the Licence en Droit (LLB) from Cairo University in 1955. On 22 August 1982, Ambassador Shaker was appointed Representative of the Director-General of the IAEA to the UN in New York, a post he relinquished on 31 December 1983. Ambassador

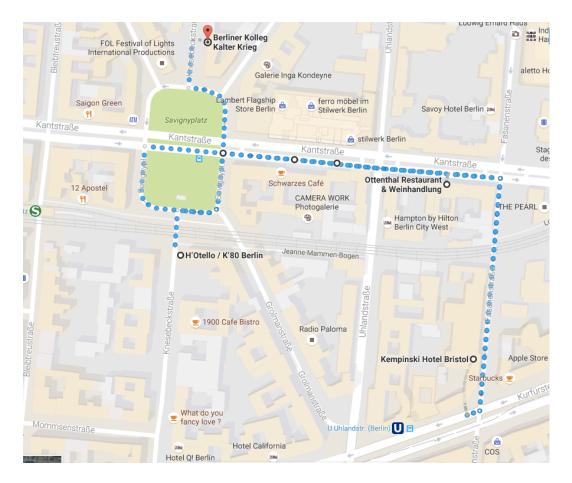
Shaker was the President of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons held in Geneva in August-September 1985. He was also President of the UN Conference for the Promotion of International Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy held in Geneva in March-April 1987. Ambassador Shaker was a member of the UN Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters from January 1993 to December 1998 and Chairman of the Board for 1995 and member of the UN Expert Group on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Education (2001-2002). Two of Dr Shaker's works are *The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty: Origin and Implementation 1959-1979_*(3 volumes), New York: Oceana Publications, Dobbs Ferry, 1980. and *The Evolving International Regime of Nuclear Non-Proliferation*, Leiden/Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2007, The Hague Academy of International Law, *Recueil des Cours*, Vol. 321, 2006.



Benjamin Wilson is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science in Berlin. In 2014 he completed doctoral work at MIT in the Program in Science, Technology, and Society. He is writing a book on the history of expertise and ideas in American nuclear strategy and arms control during the Cold War.

Directions

Conference venue, hotels, and restaurant are within walking distance (5–10 minutes)



Dinner

Restaurant Ottenthal Kantstraße 153 10623 Berlin

Lodging

For workshop participants from out-of-town, reservations have been made at the H'Otello/K'80 Berlin and the Kempinski Hotel Bristol. The cost of your room has already been paid by University of Vienna. However, you will be required to present a credit card at check-in, to cover any incidental expenses.

POC

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FREE WIFI AT CONFERENCE VENUE

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